

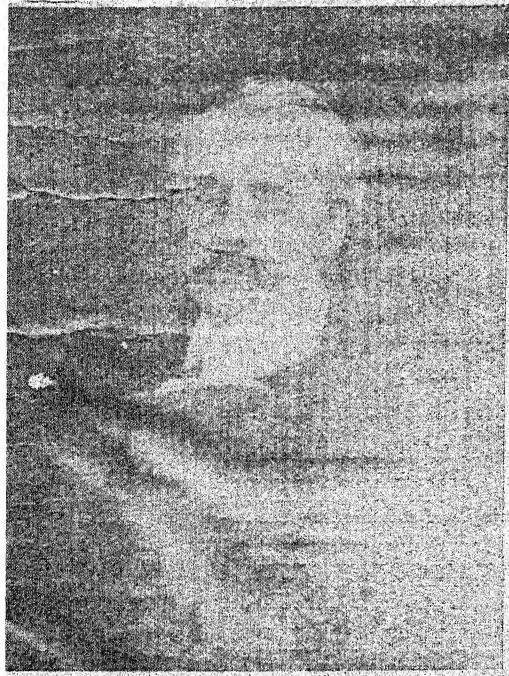
Some Members of the New Government.



MR. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Prime Minister & First Lord of the Treasury.



MR. ANDREW BONAR LAW
Lord Privy Seal & Leader of the Commons.



MR. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.





THE RT. HON. MR. E. S. MONTAGU

The Secretary of State for India.

The appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India and of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under-Secretary of State has been received with immense satisfaction throughout India. Sir S. P. Sinha's selection as Under-Secretary of State for India and his elevation to the House of Lords were quite unexpected, and therefore, the more welcome. His appointment is justly regarded by the Indian people as an earnest of the resolve of the British Cabinet to translate into action the oft-repeated declaration of responsible British statesmen that India should be treated as a fitting partner in the British Commonwealth. Mr. Montagu's advice to the Minister to depute Sir S. P. Sinha along with H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir to represent India at the Peace Conference is another mark of well-deserved tribute to Mr. Sinha's great, and tried ability to discharge important & delicate functions of high responsibility.

JTOA 17/2

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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JANUARY, 1919

No. 1

INDIAN AGENCIES IN ENGLAND

BY MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A., (OXON.)

HE traditional insularity of Englishmen together with the maxim that India is not to be a matter of party politics has kept the British public entirely uninformed with regard to the condition of affairs in this country. The necessity of agencies that carry on informative propaganda in England has therefore been obvious and it has been recognised as imperative from the early days of the Congress movement. The organisation of the British Congress Committee has been the outcome of the recognition of this fundamental fact that the political destiny of India at present is in the hands of the British electorate. But it must be admitted that considering the importance of the work and the actual results achieved by such nationalities as the Slavs, our efforts in the direction of political propaganda have been very meagre and utterly inadequate. It would however be ungrateful not to acknowledge the useful, if limited, amount of work the British Congress Committee has been doing for years in the cause of India; and in recent years its labours have been supplemented by the untiring activity of the British Auxiliary of the Home Rule League in its work among the working classes.

As is well known the *Times* is the only paper that publishes Indian news of a political character. Readers of Lord Morley's *Recollections* will remember how he speaks of that journal as the only print that matters on Indian questions. This is indeed a notorious fact, the baneful effects of which the Indian political world must be well

aware by this time. Even his traducers have not accused Lord Northcliffe of any tinge of pro-Indianism. On the other hand we know that the articles and cables that the *Times* publishes are invariably calculated to bring discredit on the cause of Indian Nationalism.

The Indian point of view is presented to the British political world by the newspaper *India* which is the organ of the British Congress Committee. The more radical programme of the Home Rule League is expounded and advocated by the *Herald*, the National Labour Weekly. The fact that these two organisations are pursuing two independent and occasionally hostile policies is not, as it may seem to a superficial observer a matter politically harmful to our interests in England. Indeed it will be nothing less than a disaster to the cause of Indian Nationalism if the British Congress Committee either comes to be captured by, or merges itself into the Home Rule League; it is with the greatest alarm that we view the attitude taken by the party that controlled the deliberation of the Delhi Congress which amounts to a demand that the British Congress Committee should merely voice the opinion of the left wing of the nationalist party. That a re-vivification of the Committee is necessary is admitted on all hands. It is also generally agreed that a more active association of Indians with its work is desirable in many ways. But the first and foremost thing is to bring Congress to an alignment and unity.

the policy and activities of the committee is highly impolitic and absolutely inexpedient. It need hardly be said that moderation and sanity in politics have nowhere so irresistible an appeal as among the British middle classes. It is no less true that to the leaders of socialist thought and to the labour movement in general such moderation would appear as a time-serving policy lacking in idealism and high principles. Undoubtedly power is vested in the hands of the middle classes at present. But it is indubitable that before long the rising tide of the Socialist Labour movement will very considerably modify, if it will not utterly change the course of the current of British politics. Indian Nationalism cannot afford to alienate one to gain the favour of the other. If we are anxious that anything should be done to further the cause of India now, it is not in our interest to alienate the ruling classes of England traditionally accustomed to gradual changes in politics and slow alteration of social bases. It is to that section of the community that the appeal of the Congress lies.

This however does not mean that the work of the Home Rule party in the Labour Press has not been doing good to India. To the labouring classes the Congress programme is tinged with bourgeois timidity, unmistakably expressed in the diplomatic language of its resolutions and presidential addresses. Only a stern and unbending nationalism would find support among them. This difference of outlook on political problems which is the most obvious fact in English public life has to be taken into account in settling the policy the nationalist movement has to pursue in England. Our leaders have to take into consideration not only the dead yesterday and the living to-day but also the unborn to-morrow. It should be our policy to see that whatever party gets the power in England Indian interests do not suffer. The maintenance of different organisations with different sections of

public opinion is therefore an imperative necessity which demands recognition.

It should be remembered that the cause of India has a mighty host to contend against. It has to contend against the machiavillian cunning and the deepseated policy of the greatest of newspapers, against the misrepresentation of interested associations, against the personal prejudices of influential statesmen. Arrayed against us stand the forces of Imperialist Conservatism reinforced as it is by the ablest minds of Anglo-India; for behind the conservatives stand the towering figures of Lord Curzon, and Lord Lansdowne. We have to fight the forces of capitalism and vested interests organised together under the name of the Indo-British Association behind which looms the sinister figure of Lord Sydenham of Combe. He is supported by a whole army of superannuated ex-officials grown fat in the enjoyment of large pensions for whose unemployed hands dubious powers behind the scenes have found congenial work. This army of India's ex-administrators banded together by a desire to maintain the domination of India by their class, guided by powerful but mysterious forces, and wielded into a solid phalanx by a deep and unconcealed hatred of every kind of reform in India, this army of India's enemies with access to the inner councils of the Conservative party with unbounded influence in the press, form an almost insuperable obstacle in the path of Indian progress. To successfully fight against this combination would require all the money, ability and organisation which India can devote to propaganda in England.

The attempt of these reactionaries to oppose the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme by representing it as revolutionary in its declared aim and catastrophic in its immediate effects shows how unscrupulous these agencies are in bidding for middle class support against a liberal policy in India. The same object of alienating the peace-loving middle

classes of England in whose hands political power rests at present, underlies the creation of the Bolshevik myth in India. To Lord Sydenham and his satellites of the Indo-British Association everything that the Home Rule party says or does creates a Bolshevik menace. Here they attempt to exploit the utter disgust with which the British middle classes have watched the confusion and anarchy due to the Bolshevik regime in Russia.

The only remedy against this continued misrepresentation of Indian affairs lies in a counter-propaganda addressed to the same audience. We have to make the British middle classes understand that our objects are not revolutionary and their realisation does not menace the safety of the Empire. The propaganda of the Home-Rulers among the Labourites will naturally be of a kind that will be distasteful to the higher classes. The only thing for us to do, therefore, is to keep the agencies separate and expound different aspects of nationalist policy to different classes in England.

As it is, our cause is insufficiently represented in England. The British Congress Committee should be strengthened and more elaborate methods of political work should be undertaken. For this the most necessary thing is to recruit in its interest the services of men who know the value of spade work in politics. The Committee has at present the inestimable service of that genuine lover of India Mr. H. S. L. Polak. Now, if at all, we should introduce those important changes that would make the Congress Committee a powerful political organisation in England. It is foolish in the highest degree to remain supinely satisfied with our efforts after having a Central Committee and a weekly newspaper in London. Indeed it is not the Central Committee or the weekly newspaper that matters. What really counts in English politics is the influence one can wield with the local political organisation of the country.

In England there exists a vague and undefin-

ed sympathy for India and Indian aspirations. It manifests itself in a hundred ways, till now we have neither fostered nor utilised it. I venture to suggest that if properly cultivated with the aid of sympathetic workers this undefined and vague sympathy can be developed into a practical interest in Indian affairs. What requires to be done in order to turn this general impulse of the British mind to purposes useful to Indian Nationalism is merely to find travelling workers who would speak not on Indian politics but on India in general about Indian Women, about Indian home life, about the people and religion of India. It is not necessary to import Indians to England for this purpose. Ordinary British men can easily be coached up in these matters to a singular perfection at a lesser cost.

I also venture to suggest that the work of the British Congress Committee should be supported by the presence in London of an Indian publicist of first class ability. It is absolutely necessary for the nationalist cause to maintain a representative at the capital of the Empire, a representative whose voice will carry weight both in the press and with the public. Spasmodic deputation and occasional visits would not be of much benefit. At least when Parliament sits, an Indian leader of eminence should be in London to guide the efforts of English friends and keep them informed of developments in India.

We have remained silent long enough while our cause was being misrepresented, our leaders vilified and our ideals misinterpreted. We have pinned our faith too long in the natural love of freedom and justice which characterise the English people, forgetting that unless we ourselves put our case fairly before them the continued misrepresentation of interested people would sooner or later work its mischief. I beg to submit to the Indian public that the time for action has come and that unless they make up their minds soon to combat the influence of the agents in England, the demand will

LIFE AND SPEECHES OF GANDHI

BY
MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

HT appears to me unnecessary for any prefatory note to be written to the Life and Speeches* of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; they live and speak for themselves. Personally, I have had such a great shrinking from writing anything, during his life-time, about one whom I reverence so deeply, that I have many times refused to do so. But a promise given in an unguarded moment now claims fulfilment, and I will write very briefly.

To Mr. Gandhi, any swerving from the truth, even in casual utterance, is intolerable; his speeches must be read as stating uncompromisingly what he feels to be true. They are in no sense diplomatic, or opportunist, or merely 'political,' using the word in its narrower sense. He never pays empty compliments: he never hesitates to say, for the truth's sake, what may be unpalatable to his audience.

I shrink, as I have said, out of the very reverence that I have for him, from writing for the cold printed page about his character; but I may perhaps not offend by setting down something, however inadequate, concerning his intellectual convictions. It is of the utmost importance to understand these; because, in his case, they are held so strongly, as to bind fast his whole life and to stamp it with an originality, all its own.

The greatest of all these is his conviction of the eternal and fundamental efficacy of *ahimsa*. What this means to him, will be explained a hundred times over in the writings which follow.

To Mr. Gandhi,—it would not be too much to say,—*ahimsa* is the key to all higher existence. It is the divine life itself. I have never yet been able to reconcile this with his own recruit-

* *and Writings of Gandhi*. G. A. Natesan

ing campaign, for war purposes, during the year 1918. But he was, himself, able to reconcile it; and some day, no doubt, he will give to the world the logical background of that reconciliation. Leaving aside the question of this exceptional case, I do not think that there has been any more vital and inspiring contribution to ethical truth, in our own generation, than Mr. Gandhi's fearless logic in the practice of *ahimsa*. Sir Gilbert Murray's article in the *Hibbert Journal* has made this fact known to the larger world of humanity outside India.

A second intellectual conviction is the paramount use of religious vows in the building up of the spiritual life. Personally, I find it far more difficult to follow Mr. Gandhi here. Especially I dread the vow of celibacy which he, not unfrequently, recommends. It appears to me unnatural and abnormal. But here, again, he has often told me, I do not understand his position.

The further convictions, which are expressed in his writing, concerning the dignity and necessity for manual labour,—the simplification of society,—the healing powers of nature as a remedy for all disease,—the *Swadeshi* spirit,—the false basis of modern civilisation—all these will be studied with the deepest interest. They will be seen, through Mr. Gandhi's speeches, in a perspective which has not been made evident in any other writer. For, whatever may be our previous opinion, whether we agree or disagree with Mr. Gandhi's position, he compels us to think anew and to discard conventional opinion.

I am painfully conscious of the inadequacy, and perhaps the inconsequence, of these slight notes, as an introduction to the great subject which follows, and I can only plead, in excuse, the strain of work from which I have been unable to get free.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN MOSLEMS

5

BY

HON. SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLAH, KT., C.I.E.

IT is useless to pass our days in vain regrets of what was or what might have been. The Musalmans have put a luminous page in history in consequence of their achievements in the arts of peace. I have already shown on historical authority how brilliant the achievements of Moslems of the past were in connection with arts, science and literature. There is nothing to prevent us, if there is the will, from reaching great eminence in these matters. The present state of things must be admitted to be in comparison quite deplorable, and it behoves us to find out the causes and to apply effective remedies. How backward our educational condition is can be gathered from the following statistics. I have collected these statistics for each quinquennial period beginning with 1886-1887, which synchronizes with the birth of the Mahomedan Educational Conference. I have selected this period with the object of showing what work has been accomplished during the last 30 years, and what amount of work still remains to be done.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Taking primary education first there were in 1886-87 495,680 Moslem children in primary schools out of a total of 2,381,217. This gives a percentage of 21. In 1916-17 this number increased to 1,309,845 when the whole total had reached 5,818,730. Though the actual number of Moslem children at school has substantially increased, there is only a slight improvement in percentage which works out to a little over 22 per cent. It will be observed that during a period of 30 years the Musalmans have simply maintained their standard. The increase in numbers is practically on the same ratio as that of the sister communities. It is satisfactory to

find that the number of pupils in primary schools have been maintained at the same proportion as the Moslem population in India. If however we examine these figures from the standpoint of literacy in the community, the result is very discouraging. The Musalmans in British India have a population of about 60 millions and working out the figure at the recognised percentage of 15, the total number of Moslem children of school-going age is 90 lakhs. Out of these about 1,310,000 attend primary schools throughout British India leaving 7,290,000 children growing up in illiteracy. It is worth considering what kind of Musalmans these poor children will be when they grow up in ignorance without even a rudimentary knowledge in any of the vernaculars. Out of the total number of children of school-going age only about 15 per cent will be literate in vernacular, while 85 per cent will grow up in ignorance.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Let us now examine the state of Moslem education in secondary schools. In 1886-87 there were 58,644 Moslem students in secondary schools while in 1916-17 the number increased to 172,392. This again shows progress, but not sufficiently appreciable as compared with the total population. I do not propose to show the vast discrepancy between the number of Moslem boys of the secondary school-going age, and the actual number attending the schools, as it cannot be expected that every Moslem boy of the age of secondary education should be at a secondary school. It cannot possibly be expected that every Muselman should be literate in English. The best form of comparison therefore is to examine the number of schools as com-

munities. In the year 1916-17 the total number of students of all communities attending secondary schools was 1,186,335. Working out the number on the Moslem population of twenty per cent, Musalman students attending secondary schools should be 237,260 while the actual number is 172,392, or about seventy per cent of what it should be. This shows what an amount of leeway has still to be made up, if in secondary education the Musalmans want to come up to the same standard as that which has been reached by the sister communities.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

When the statistics for collegiate education are examined the discrepancy becomes quite pronounced. In 1886-87 there were only 338 Moslem students in all Arts Colleges throughout India. In 1916-17 the number shows a substantial increase to 4,921. Here again I will repeat that much progress has been made, but whether it is commensurate or not must be examined in relation to the advance made by sister communities. In 1886-87 the total number of students in all Arts Colleges was 8,060 while in 1916-17 the number increased to 47,135. This shows that while the total increase consisted of over 39,000 students, the increase of Moslem students was about 4,500. The only way to remove the stigma of backwardness in education is not only to send the same proportion of additional students as the sister communities manage to do, but to send a sufficiently increased number to make up the original deficiency. Applying this test to the figures which I have quoted the following result is seen. In 1886-87 there should have been on the 20 per cent. basis a total of sixteen hundred Moslem students in Arts Colleges, while there were only about 350. This shows that they were backward to the extent of 1,250 students. In 1916-17 the total number of students of all classes as already stated was 47,135. Twenty per cent. of this number gives 9,427 while there were only 4,921 showing that the Musalmans

were backward to the extent of about 4,500 students. There is some improvement in percentages, but the discrepancy is still very great, and it is accentuated for the same reason which has been given in connection with secondary education, viz., the large population of depressed and backward classes who hardly send any student to Arts Colleges. The community has not only to make up the difference of 4,500, but also the further difference due to this cause.

EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING.

It must be recognised that the community is in earnest to make up the lost ground, and a strenuous effort is being made in many directions to progress further as rapidly as possible. There are signs of awakening in numerous directions, and the time and attention which are being devoted to the cause of education by many of the best minds among the Muhammadans is a very hopeful sign of future progress.* * * *

There is a genuine awakening amongst the Moslems of India to be up and doing. The movement to establish a Moslem University at Aligarh, which evoked great enthusiasm at one time, has passed through many vicissitudes, but I am glad to learn that it has now reached a stage when the introduction of legislation to constitute the University may shortly be expected. The dream of Sir Syed Ahmed, the farsighted patriot who devoted his whole life to the educational uplifting of his community, is going to be shortly realized. His Exalted Highness the Nizam, that great patron of learning, has established a University at Hyderabad. There are other movements throughout India for establishing more colleges and high schools. All this connotes progress in the right direction.

SCHOLARSHIPS

In consequence of what little interest I have been able to take in regard to the progress of Moslem education in India, I have been impressed with the fact of the economic backwardness

of the community. There are many young men in our community who are most anxious to prosecute their studies but are unable to do so for want of funds. I feel confident that if a scheme for the financial help of deserving students was put in working order, and such help was judiciously distributed in the shape of scholarships, it would go a great way towards the educational progress of the community. I clearly realize the difficulties in the way of collecting subscriptions. As you all know there are many calls upon the purse of private individuals, and though deserving objects have ever commanded the support of the charitable, it may not be possible to collect a sufficiently large sum to fully meet the demand. There is, however, no cause for disappointment. In every province there are large charitable endowments amounting to large sums of money. When I was moving in the direction of legislating in connection with charitable endowments in this Presidency, I was informed on good autho-

riy that amongst the Musalmans of Bombay city alone there were charitable bequests amounting to over two crores of rupees, a large part of which remained fallow and unutilized. Even assuming that this figure is a bit exaggerated, it shows what a huge sum of money is available throughout India in charitable bequests alone; and even if a part of this is utilized for the needs of the educational progress of the community, most of the financial difficulties in the way would instantaneously disappear. It appears desirable to organise an association to approach all those in whom these charitable endowments and bequests are vested, and to make a serious attempt to induce them to devote a part, if not the whole, of these funds to the promotion of education amongst the Musalmans of India. Even partial success in this direction will help towards the removal of one of the main difficulties in the path of Moslem educational progress.—*From the Presidential Address to the Mahomedan Educational Conference,*

The Moderates on the Reform Scheme

HE prominent leaders of the Moderate party have issued a manifesto re-stating their position with regard to the Montagu Chelmsford Reform scheme in view of important political events that have happened since the All-India Moderate Conference met at Bombay. The signatories to the manifesto include the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Raja of Digapattiya, Sir Benode Mitter, the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Roy, Mr. Satyananda Bose, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Mr. C. C. Ghose, Mr.

B. L. Mitter, Mr. J. N. Roy, Rev. R. A. Nag,
Mr. D. N. Chakravarthy, Babu Krishna Kumar
Mitter, Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, Dr. S.
P. Sarbadhicary, Kumar Arun Chandra Singh,
Messrs Nibaran Chandra Roy, Narendra Kumar
Bose, B. C. Chatterjee, J. N. Ghose, J. N. Bose,
and Panindra Lal Dey. The manifesto runs
thus:—

Important events that have happened since the All-India Conference of the supporters of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Indian Constitutional Reforms which was held at Bombay at the beginning of November, 1918, under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji suggest the desirability of re-stating our position clearly in relation to Reform. The two Committees on Franchise and Finance have been taking evidence and will shortly publish the full report.

Midleton's motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons.

session of the Indian National Congress has been held at Delhi, and it has come to public notice that the "Civil Service Associations" are in being, which are interesting themselves privately in the Reform Scheme from the point of view of its possible effect on the position of the Service in future. The speeches in the House of Lords show that the opinion, at least in the more conservative circles in England, has stiffened against the Reform Scheme, while the defeat of Lord Midleton's hostile motion by the narrow majority of four is a sign, the meaning of which will not, we venture to think, be over-looked by any one, nor can the result of the general election be said to have brightened Indian prospects. Several members of the last Parliament, who took a friendly interest in the cause of Indian Reforms, have failed to get seats in the new House. It is true that no responsible man has sought to go behind the declaration of the 20th August, 1917, and it may be assumed that the question of Indian Reform will not be shelved indefinitely, but the point of importance is that the Scheme put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy should be embodied in an Act of Parliament in the course of this year, if possible, with the improvements and extensions which even its supporters think to be most desirable. Any attempt at whittling down the Scheme in response to the position in England and in India will be keenly resented and resisted to the utmost of their power by the most ardent of its supporters and the most moderate among the Indian politicians.

Just as we disapprove of all reactionary attempts, so also we deplore that the Indian National Congress should have passed resolutions which, in our opinion, not only amount to a rejection of the Scheme as it stands, but also lay down a course of action highly detrimental to the best interests of the country. We have in mind the resolutions passing a vote of censure upon the British Committee, and thus paralysing its activities at this juncture, sending a deputation to England with no discretion vested in it, but bound by a resolution of the Congress to advocate and press for a set scheme, and, lastly, putting forward three gentlemen as representatives of India at the Peace Conference, and thus raising a laugh in the country, since only the Governments, and not the unofficial bodies, like the Indian National Congress, can send such representatives.

That there should be a substantial transference of power to the people acting through the Legislative Councils is common ground to all Indian reformers. It is clear that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme does propose a very good beginning in the desired direction, and it has the further merit of providing for the future stages of progress towards the goal of complete Responsible Government. The Scheme is not perfect, and is capable of improvement in several important particulars. It is the duty of every Indian reformer to make the best endeavour he can to obtain improvements which will make the Scheme more conveniently workable and more adequate to the conditions and requirements of the situation in India. Nothing would have been more helpful to the cause than that all Indians have been at heart than they should have made a united effort to persuade the Government to accept reasonable practical proposals for improvement, on the common whole, and to accept the acceptance of the Scheme as it goes.

We consider it fortunate in the extreme that the attitude of antagonism assumed by a section of Indian politicians who, although far from representing the majority of their countrymen, have succeeded in organising for the present a majority in the Congress, which was founded and built up by wise and far-seeing patriots who had the correct political instinct and knew when to seize occasion by the hand, has rendered such united action impossible, and in consequence many old Congressmen, much against their will, had to abstain from the two Sessions of the Congress held in 1918, in order that they might be able to organise an effective support of the Scheme and also work in a friendly spirit for desirable improvements therein.

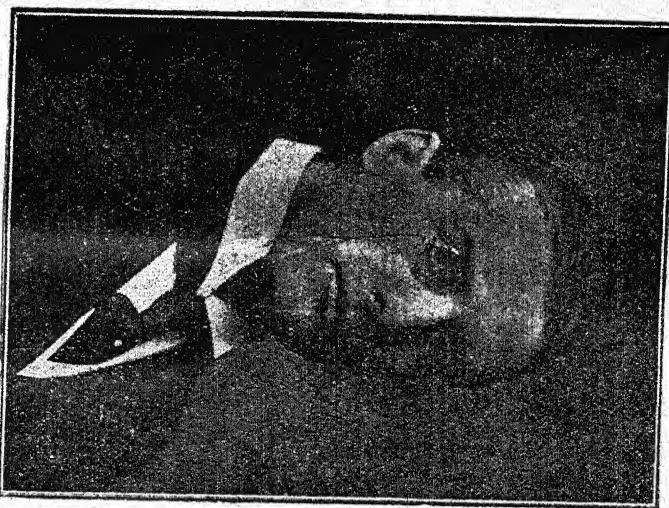
A careful survey of the political situation in England and in India in all its aspects leads us to think that it is a vain hope that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme will be altered beyond recognition, as the Congress wishes. We are persuaded that it is the part of wise patriotism, at present to accept the Scheme, to prevent its being narrowed or curtailed in its scope, and to seek for improvements that can be effected without its frame work being destroyed. We, therefore, feel ourselves compelled to say that we cannot endorse many of the resolutions that found favour with the majority of the delegates of the last Congress, or approve of their general attitude towards the Reforms. We must equally protest against every attempt, by whomsoever made and by whatsoever manner, at any mutilation of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals.

We are constrained to utter a grave warning against the inevitable, disastrous effects of such a grievous mistake on the future relations of the British Government and the Indian people, which will result in discontent and agitation on the one side, followed by repression and suffering on the other. That would, indeed, be a bitter irony after the glorious victory that Britain and her Allies have won for liberty and justice, and a sad commentary on the righteousness in international dealings, which has been so often affirmed by the great statesmen of the age.

We dissociate ourselves from extremism of all varieties, radical or reactionary; we stand for the policy of the gradual attainment of Responsible Government enumerated in the creed of the Indian National Congress and the Declaration of August, 1917. We are satisfied that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals of Reform are a concrete expression of this policy, and worthy of support both in England and in India and we, therefore, make an earnest appeal to all to accept the Scheme and help in its translation into law at the earliest possible date.

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G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.



MR. JOSEPH AUSTIN CHAMBERLAIN

Chancellor of the Exchequer.



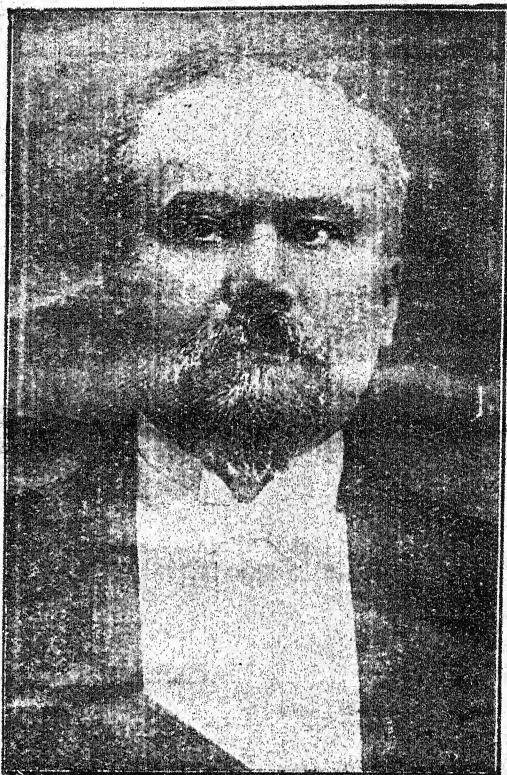
MR. WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL

Secretary of State for War.

Among the Delegates at the Peace Conference.



MARSHAL FOCH



M. POINCARE



THA



PRESIDENT WILSON

THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

9

[The thirty-third Indian National Congress and numerous other conferences and conventions assembled at Delhi in the Christmas week. About the same time the Mahomedan Educational Conference met at Surat and the All-India Christian Conference at Nagpur. An attempt is made in the following pages to give the reader a brief but succinct account of the proceedings of the numerous gatherings held at Delhi and other important centres during the closing week of December last. Ed. I.R.]

The Indian National Congress

THE thirty-third session of the Congress assembled at Delhi on Thursday the 26th December. It was attended by over 5,000 delegates.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Haziq-ul-Mulk Hafiz Muhammad Ajmal Khan, delivered his welcome address in Urdu in the course of which he laid stress on the Hindu-Muslim agreement and the announcement of August 20. Now when the right of self-determination is being granted to the smallest nationality in Europe, he asked :

Shall India, who has so ungrudgingly and cheerfully made sacrifices to the defence of the principles of liberty and freedom, right and justice, be deprived of the right to determine her own form of government? Can she be denied the right which her sons have won for others?

Mrs. Besant, in moving the election of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as the President, referred to him as the symbol of Indian unity. She was seconded by the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq and supported by Messrs. B. Chakravarty, V. S. Sastri, Jinnah, Khaparde, K. K. Chanda and others.

Pandit Malaviya then delivered his presidential address. In response to the delegates' demand, he spoke in Hindi for about half-an-hour thanking them for their warm welcome. He referred to the attendance of peasant delegates for the first time at the Congress at his special request, and detailed the glories of Moghul and Mahratta power in mediæval times. The Congress, said the Pandit, was assembling to tell the Englishman :

"Maintain your rule but bear the peoples' happiness in mind, and rule in accordance with the peoples' wishes. That was in short the aim and object of the Congress."

He then read the printed portion of his address dealing at some length with the happy termination of the war and India's great contributions towards the victory and then discoursed on the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. He criticised the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals which, he said, fell far short of the Congress-League scheme. He added :

It is for you to decide whether in view of the events which have taken place since the Congress met you will reconsider any or all of the matters which were considered by the Special Congress or whether you will let its decisions stand as they are. Considering how grave and momentous are the issues involved I would reconsider them and welcome any suggestions which would improve them. Since the Congress met events have taken place which would obviously justify such a course.

Discussing the new outlook after the war the President appealed to the good sense of freedom-loving Englishmen to apply the principles of autonomy and self-determination to the problems of India as well. (See page 41.)

After the President's address, a considerable part of which was delivered extempore, the election of the members of the Subjects Committee was proceeded with. The Congress adjourned until Saturday, the whole of the next day being occupied with the sittings of the Subjects Committee. The Congress met again on the 28th. Resolutions on Loyalty and on the Allies' victory were put from the chair and carried. The Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde next moved for the re-affirmation of the Special Congress resolution on the declaration of

ing commissions in the army. Messrs Patel, Golam Mohuddin, and Pandit Bajpaye and Udai Singh spoke in support of this resolution which was declared carried.

Before proceeding with the day's work the President announced that he had received several amendments with regard to a resolution which he said should be discussed in the Subjects Committee. The Congress accordingly adjourned so that the Subjects Committee and the Council of the League might discuss the resolution in question (See page 65 for the Resolution on the Reform Scheme).

This Resolution was moved on the third day by Mr. Chakravarty and seconded by the Hon. Mr. Patel. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry who was given a courteous and considerate hearing moved an amendment to the resolution. His amendment was to drop from the first clause of the resolution all the words beginning from "subject to this modification" and to omit the clause pronouncing the reform scheme "disappointing and unsatisfactory" and the clause fixing a period of fifteen years for the conferment of responsible government as a whole. Mr. Sastry said the clause he wished to drop was new and had been introduced in supersession of another resolution by the Special Congress fixing the period of six years for full provincial autonomy.

Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea seconded the amendment. Mrs. Besant said that she was in agreement with Mr. Sastry with regard to the first part of the amendment. She and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami urged the Congress to stand by the Bombay resolution. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma and Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer strongly urged the desirability of adhering to the Special Congress resolution, while Mr. C. R. Das, Fazlul Huq and others spoke on the resolution amendments. The amendments were and were defeated by an over-

whelming majority. On the Congress re-assembling on the 30th Pandit Rambuj Chaudhury moved the resolution relating to Punjab and the Reforms. Mr. B. C. Pal moved the resolution on the Rowlett Committee Report (see page 65). The Resolution on Self-determination which was settled in the Subjects Committee was moved by Mrs. Besant (for speech, see page 43) Mr. C. R. Das seconding. Speeches in Hindi and Urdu were also made in support of the same.

Mrs. Sarala Devi Choudhrani moved a resolution demanding women's suffrage which was seconded by Anusuyabhai Sarabai. Mr. J. B. Petit moved the resolution relating to the Report of the Industrial Commission.

The last day of the Congress session began with the reading of a few messages by the President. The resolution regarding India's representation at the Peace Conference, (printed on page 65,) was moved by Mr. C. R. Das and supported by Mr. B. G. Horniman. Mr. Chakravarti amended the resolution as follows :—

That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives to the same extent as the self-governing Dominions at any Conferences that may be held to deliberate on or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction. In view of the shortness of time and in anticipation of the request made in the preceding part of the resolution being acceded to by His Majesty's Government, this Congress elects as its representatives Lok Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Hassan Imam.

Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya opposed both the resolutions. Various other speakers supported the amended resolution which was carried, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Ramaswami and Pandit Radha Kant voting against it. Though the resolution was carried there is no use concealing the fact that a large body of Congressmen have been averse to Mr. Tilak's election to the Peace Conference.

Sir Dinshaw Petit moved "that having regard to the unprecedented economies to which India had been subjected during the period of the war and considering the injury likely to be caused to the infant or nascent industries of the country by the

addition of any further burden of heavy taxation as well as by the facilities enjoyed by competing foreign industries and in view of the cessation of hostilities the Congress should urge that the Government should, as indicated by Sir William Meyer, reconsider the matter and relieve India of the burden of the contribution of £45 millions for war purposes."

The President then urged the adoption of a resolution for appointing a conciliatory board under the chairmanship of Sir Dinshaw Petit to deal with the Hindu-Moslem controversies.

Sharp differences of opinion arose over the resolution demanding complete provincial autonomy, the nomination of Mr. Tilak for the Peace Conference, and the postponement *sine die* of the resolution welcoming the visit of the Prince of Wales.

It is thus clear that at the Congress an attempt was made, and made with success, to press for claims unthought of at the Special Congress. Those who had pledged themselves to the resolutions of the Special Congress and those who had come in the vain hope of discovering a common ground found themselves stranded. Words of sober counsel fell on deaf ears. The clamour was for more and yet for more. There was no use arguing for steadiness or consistency. The extreme wing of the Congress carried the day when demands made in the name of the Congress were passed with acclaim in the noise and tumult of a great gathering. No wonder that even a section of the nationalists could not keep pace with the new order and therefore gave up all hopes of reconciliation.

A resolution was adopted for sending a deputation to England to press on the attention of the British democracy the demands asked for in the present session of the Congress. It urged :—

This Congress resolves that a Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, the Hon'ble Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. C. R. Das, the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Barkat Ali and Lala Harkishan Lal and the Pre-

sident ex-officio, be appointed to select the members of the deputation to proceed to England to advocate and press the demands of the Congress as contained in the resolutions of this session to and co-operate with the Provincial Congress Committees in collecting the necessary funds with Mr. Kelkar as the convener.

Some of the leading Congressmen who had originally expressed willingness to join the deputation now declined to do so as they could not bind themselves to the terms of the Delhi resolution ; and even a modest amendment suggesting the advocacy of the reforms on the general lines of the Congress demands was thrown out. The cleavage among the Congressmen became more pronounced. The difference of opinion took an acute turn when the Congress passed such a resolution as the following on the British Congress Committee.

That in the opinion of this Congress the Congress constitution should be so amended as to bring the work of the British Congress Committee into co-ordination with that of the other component parts of the Congress Organisation.

b. That in the opinion of this Congress it is necessary to make the newspaper *India* more attractive and to associate an Indian with the editorial management.

c. That in the opinion of this Congress half the delegation fees which used to be earmarked for the British Congress Committee, be set apart generally to be utilized for propagandist work in England.

d. That in the opinion of this Congress the deputation which will proceed to England in connection with the Constitutional Reforms be authorised to enter into negotiations with the authorities of the British Congress Committee to make the necessary arrangements on the lines suggested above.

e. In Article 28 of the Congress Constitution after the word "shall" omit the words "remit to the British Committee of the Congress through the General Secretaries of the Congress" and substitute therefor "make to the All-India Congress Committee," and also omit the words "subject to a minimum of Rs. 3,000" at the end of the said article and the words "This amount shall be a fund of the Indian National Congress" and shall be administered by the All India Congress Committee subject to the supervision and control of the Indian National Congress." The Indian Congress Committee may at their discretion spend in the United Kingdom or elsewhere such amounts or any portion thereof for work of propaganda of this Congress that the Congress desires the All-India Congress Committee to consider and report what changes may be introduced in the Constitution of the Congress Committee.

This resolution was adopted on the 27th December 1918 on the British Congress Committee.

which under the guidance of such men as Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Hume and Sir Henry Cotton laboured unceasingly for over a quarter of a century in advancing the neglected interests of India ; and their successors have been but steadily pursuing the sound policy and sober counsel laid down by Sir William and his colleagues. What sacrifices the good men of the British Committee have undergone in the service of the Congress is a matter of recent history. In fact it is a most ennobling chapter in the history of the relations between England and India. Some Congressmen have therefore thought it cruel that a responsible body like the Congress could be persuaded to vote for so ungrateful a step.

And then, what a reward for all that Mr. Polak, one of the great heroes of the South African Indian struggle and at present the able and energetic acting Editor of *India* has been doing for our country with such singular disinterestedness ! Friends of this country may well quail as they see the graceless way the new Congress has chosen to deal with the propaganda work of the newspaper *India*, battling against apathy and obloquy with a devotion and courage which no money can buy. To treat the men who do our work at considerable sacrifice with such scant courtesy as to style them the *agents* of the India Office is to betray a woeful want of charity or judgment. Certainly no self-respecting body of English friends would care to work for Indian interests if they are regarded as mere agents and tools for carrying out the mandates which are opposed to their convictions.

We cannot conclude this brief and hurried account of the proceedings of the Delhi session of the Congress without expressing our deep regret that such an astute political veteran like the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should have blundered in advising the Congress to accept the decisions of the Special session

of the Congress on the Reform Scheme and in particular the demand for complete Provincial Autonomy in the case of some Provinces. The method and the manner in which the Delhi Congress has dealt with the decisions arrived at the Special session at Bombay undoubtedly show how unjust have been the accusations hurled on the large body of the old Congressmen who felt it their duty to meet in a separate assembly and support the main policy of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme in the best interests of the country even with its imperfections. With our internal dissensions, and an organised Anglo-Indian agitation in India and in England under the leadership of the Sydenhamites, with a knowledge of the composition of the present Cabinet and the heroic endeavours of Mr. Montagu to lead India onward by some steps at least, it is unwisdom on the part of the extreme wing to expect to persuade the British Democracy to its own way of thinking.

The Indian National Congress

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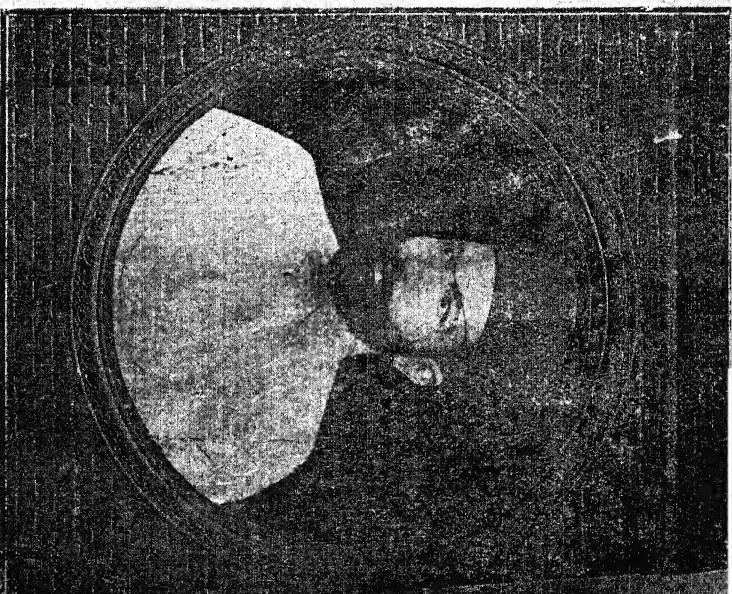
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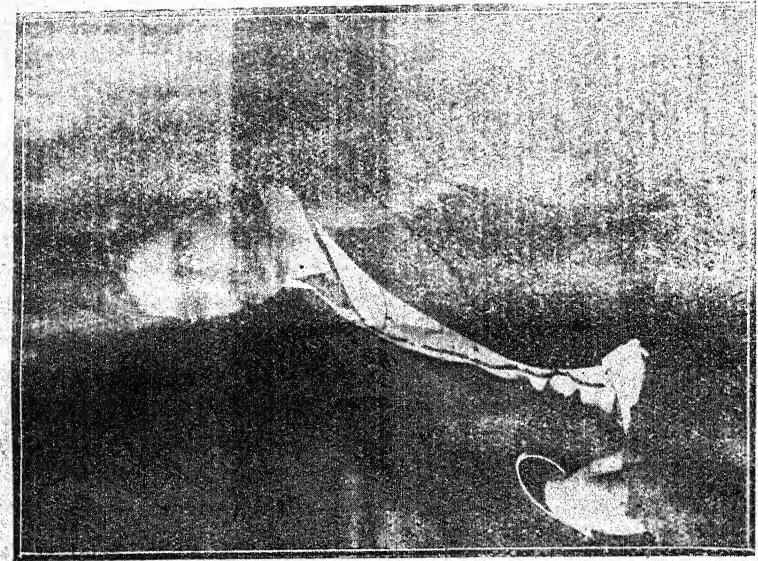
HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

President, Delhi Congress



HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

Chairman, Region Committee, Delhi Congress.



DR. M. A. ANSARI

Chairman, Reception Committee, Moslem League.



HON. MR. FAZLUL HUQ

President, Moslem League.



HON. SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLAH
President, M. E. Conference.



RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH
President, Hindu Conference.



MR. JEHANGIR B. PETIT
President, Industrial Conference,



H. C. D. D.
(Dr. D. D. Tagore)
President, Indian National Congress.



MRS. ANNIE BESANT
President, Ladies' Conference.



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU
President, Social Service Conference.



T. V. P. MADHAVA RAO
Dandiya Conference.



HON. MR. ABBOTT
President, Anglo-Indian Empire League.

The Moslem League

The eleventh session of the All-India Moslem League assembled at Delhi on the 30th December. There were on the *dais* a number of Hindu gentlemen, besides the leading Muslim delegates from different parts of the country. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered a lengthy address of welcome in the course of which he discussed the Muslim world situation, the position of Indian Moslems, Hindu-Moslem Unity, and Self-Determination for India. His observations on the last subject are printed elsewhere (page 43) in this issue. The Hon. Mr. Fuzlul Huq in his presidential address referred to Muslim apprehensions regarding Turkey and observed that to the Indian Mussalmans the fate of Turkey could not but be a matter of the deepest concern, for with it was closely interwoven the question of Khalifate and of the guardianship of the holy places of Islam.

After referring to the victory of the Allies and India's part in the great world-war he touched on the Hindu-Moslem problem and concluded with a reference to the doctrine of self-determination as applied to India. (See page 43.)

The League re-assembled on the following day. Resolutions were passed protesting against the firing on Mussalmans during the recent Calcutta riots and against the occupation of Jerusalem and Najafiaishraf by non-Muslims. The resolution on self-determination was on the lines of the Congress resolution. Regarding the Peace Conference the League demanded the right of sending their representatives by election. The question of the repeal of the Press Act and the Arms Act was then taken up. Another resolution demanded enquiries into the working of the C. I. D. The League also opposed the excess profits tax. But by far the most important of the Resolutions passed at the League were those relating to

the treatment of the Moslem world at the ensuing Peace Conference. It was urged that the British Government being the largest Muslim Empire in the world should sympathise with the feelings of Indian Moslems in their desire to see Turkey and the sacred places of Islam unhampered by interested outsiders. The League accordingly passed the following resolutions :—

Having regard to the fact that the Indian Mussalmans take a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists outside India and that the collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of the Mussalmans in the country and the annihilation of the military powers of Islam in the world, cannot but have a far-reaching effect on the minds of even the loyal Mussalmans of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it to be its duty to place before the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the true sentiments of the Muslim community and requests that the British representatives at the Peace Conference will use their influence and see that in the territorial and political redistribution to be made the fullest consideration should be paid to the requirements of the Islamic law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the Prophet, over the holy places and over the Jaxiratul Arab as delineated in Muslim books.

The League further hopes that in determining the political relations of the Empire for the future His Majesty's Ministers shall pay the fullest consideration to the universal and deep sentiment of the Mussalmans of India and that resolute attempts should be made to effect a complete reconciliation and lasting concord between the Empire and Muslim states based on terms of equity and justice in the interests alike of the British Empire and the Muslim world.

The release of the Muslim internees was the subject of another resolution which ran as follows :—

The All-India Muslim League views with great dissatisfaction the unreasonable attitude of the Government in not releasing Maulana Mahomed Hussain and the Muslim internees even after the signing of the Armistice and urges their immediate release in order to allay Muslim feeling in view of the vague nature of the charges framed against them by the committee of enquiry appointed by the Government to investigate their case.

Mr. Wazir Hassan moved a special resolution urging the release of the Ali brothers :—

The League strongly protests against the continuation of the internment of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali.

The session

thanks to the President

Muslim Educational Conference

The thirty second session of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference met at Surat on December 27, the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presiding. Seven hundred delegates and over fifteen hundred visitors including Hindus and Parsees attended. The proceedings of the Conference were generally in Urdu and occasionally in Gujarati and English.

After prayers in Arabic Mr. Edross, read an address in Urdu. Then the Hon. Mr. Baredawalla who followed expressed a desire that Turkey and England should become close friends. He referred to the backwardness of the present Mussalmans in education and suggested the founding of scholarships and hostels.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah in the course of his presidential address (see page 5) pointed out that there was only one way in which the Mussalmans of India could take their rightful place in the progress of the world and that was through education in a wider sense. Mussalmans ought to be able on merit and merit alone to take their place in self-governing India. It was humiliating to be always in need of special protection. The Mahomedan Educational Conference, he said, was steadily working out the mission which it undertook a generation ago and so the success which the present session achieved was a good augury for the future.

He then referred to various educational activities among Mussalmans. He proceeded to offer constructive suggestions with regard to the ways and means of advancing education and appealed for charitable endowments. He then described the scheme of Tata scholarship which gave help to deserving students. He suggested a similar scheme for the Moslems.

A message sympathising with the objects of the Conference from H. E. the Governor of Bombay was not read. The resolutions passed at the

will be read in another page.

The Industrial Conference

Special importance attached to the last session which was held at Delhi, on December 30, in view of the publication of the report of the Industrial Commission. The recommendations of the commission were put to a most searching scrutiny and the resolutions of the Conference on this subject are printed in our Industrial Section. The President, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit subjected the report to an able and elaborate criticism in the course of his address. His views on the poverty of India, on India's need for financial assistance and fiscal autonomy appear on page 30 under the heading "Indian Industrial and Economic Problems." He also laid stress on one or two vital points in connection with the material advancement of India which must not be lost sight of. In the first place he expressed his complete concurrence with those who refuse to treat the industrial problem as a problem apart, and who have been consistently urging all these years that political freedom is essential to industrial growth.

He dealt at some length on Imperial preference and pointed out that it would in practice mean "forcing India to sell her raw materials to the different parts of the Empire or her Allies cheaper than she can sell them elsewhere, and compelling her to buy her entire requirements of finished products from England and her Colonies and the Allies." And he proceeded :—

It is pure camouflage to urge that the possession by India of fiscal freedom and her unrestrained use of it to protect her infant industries, will clash with England's free-trade policy. I hope there is no one so foolish in India still existing as to take such an argument seriously at this stage of our history. If the Colonies remain in the Empire and still arrange their tariffs in their own advantage and for their own benefit even against England; if they can thus advance their own interest without damaging those of the Empire, I fail to see why India cannot unless it is sought to be made out in so many words that India is to continue to be the Cinderella of the Empire for all time and that what other parts of the Empire can claim with justice and obtain as a matter of right, India cannot.

All-India Christian Conference

The fifth All-India Conference of Indian Christians was held at Nagpur on the 28th December last, under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E. A large number of delegates attended the session among the distinguished visitors being the Lord Bishop of Nagpur. Mr. D. C. Anketell welcomed the delegates to the Conference, and the Bishop spoke on behalf of the other sections of the Christian community.

The President in his opening address gave a two-fold warning to the community—first, the danger of adopting European habits, manners and customs indiscriminately; second, the possibility of the community allowing social divisions, inherited caste-feelings and sectional interests to prevail over the equality and fraternity of every member of the church politic. He then dealt with the question of communal representation on which the Conference passed a resolution.

Mr. Das also pointed out the danger of foreign missionaries taking largely to politics. He concluded by saying that the community should pay great attention to the development of skilled labour among Indian Christians as the backbone of industrial progress lies in such development.

The Conference adjourned on the first day after doing formal business. The Committee in work during the year then met for a consideration of their reports. The Law Committee reported that a new Christian Marriage Act was in contemplation. A Committee of the National Missionary Council had prepared a memorandum on the subject.

The Conference gave general support to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme while pleading for separate representation for Indian Christians. The Conference passed resolutions touching practical training in industries and agriculture, the establishment of technical and primary schools, hostel accommodations, and scholarships for Indian students in Europe and America.

The Hindu Conference

The fifth session of the All-India Hindu Conference commenced its sittings at Delhi, on December 27. Babu Girdhari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee having welcomed the delegates, the Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh was elected President.

The President delivered an impressive address, the main part of which appears in another page in this issue (p. 44) under the heading, "On Hindu Ideals."

With regard to the reform scheme, he said :—

I strongly hold that the scheme is a distinct advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government and with certain modifications and amendments would personally accept it as framed by the illustrious authors.

He then referred to communal representation and after deplored the introduction of the same by the Minto-Morley scheme continued :—

I would remind my Sikh brethren who too now demand separate representation for themselves that they cannot politically gain more strength by following a policy of separatism than by being with the community which claims them to be its kith and kin. They should not forget that they are Hindus and will remain Hindus.

He also spoke of the religious disputes between the Hindus and Mahomedans.

It is high time now for you, gentlemen, to devise means for the stoppage of such occurrences in future. A better opportunity you cannot avail of. Meeting as you are in a city which has very pleasant and affectionate memories for the two sister communities in India. I would suggest that a joint commission of the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League should sit and enquire into the causes and suggest remedies.

The Conference passed resolutions demanding Communal representations, and the stoppage of cow-killing, and the Bakrid riots. Another resolution urged the recovery of Sanskrit Manuscripts now in German hands. Pandit Deva Ratna Sharma moved one demanding responsible self-government for India immediately and an equal status in all respects for India in the British Empire.

The Temperance Conference

The All-India Temperance Conference met at the Sangam Theatre, Delhi, on the 30th of last month. There was an influential and representative gathering when the proceedings opened with Temperance hymns followed by an impressive prayer by the Rev. Herbert Anderson, the indefatigable General Secretary of the All-India Temperance Council. Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lal then delivered the Welcome Address in which he urged the adoption of active measures to save the young, and advocated prohibition. Pandit Bishan Narain Razdan, President, Amritsar Temperance Society and a veteran temperance worker having been elected to the chair, delivered his presidential address.

The address over, the Hon. Mr. Sarma moved the first resolution recommending the adoption of prohibition, which was carried unanimously after being duly seconded and supported. Mr. S. S. Bhatia of Lahore moved the second resolution regarding the adoption of the principle of local option and restriction of the facilities for drinking. The Rev. Mr. Anderson moved a resolution urging the need for providing counter attractions and said that Government should deal more sympathetically with the large funds at its disposal to bring brightness into the lives of the poor and to minimise the temptation. This was supported by Principal Rudra. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadashiva Iyer of Madras then moved the fourth resolution on Juvenile smoking.

The General Secretary then presented his Report of the working of the All-India Temperance Council in which he detailed the various important features of the year's work in the Provinces and quoted facts and figures to bring home the large increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors and made out a strong and unanswerable case for active measures by Government to check the increase.

Anglo-Indian Empire League

The Annual Conference of the Anglo-Indian Empire League met at Allahabad on the 30th December last. In the absence of Mr. J. H. Abbott owing to illness the chair was taken by the Hon. Mr. Du Bern of Rangoon who read Mr. Abbott's speech after expressing regret at his absence.

The Hon. Mr. Du Bern then addressed the meeting and said in the course of his speech that it was his view that they must not approach politics with an aggressive spirit. They wanted to protect themselves and not to attack their neighbours, be they Indians or Europeans, as they must all work in amity, but they did not want to be submerged.

Resolutions were also adopted to unite the various branches of the League and the associations in each province into one provincial body with absolute Provincial autonomy and to form a central council to deal with imperial and general questions.

Peace

BY

MR. A. WILLIAM JAMISON

The stricken earth, torn, bleeding, rent in twain,
With countless many millions wounded, slain,
Hears once again the joyful clarion call :
Peace on Earth, goodwill to each and all.

For some past years the gaunt grim shadow fear
Has dwelt among us, casting forth his spell ;
The heart bowed down with grief, the silent tear,
For those we loved on earth no longer dwell.

We had no fear of them, those cherry swain
Manhood's best prize, the pride of Earth and Home;
Who hearing Britain's call,—with ne'er a thought of
[gain,

Gave their life's blood, for countless hearts to mourn.

The world in travail ; those foul friends we curse
Who clog the wheels of progress ; and imbibe
The bitter hatred of the Universe.

No mortal words may ever dare describe.

There were no need of arsenals and forts,
If half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were not bestowed on plentious camps and courts ;—
'Twere better to redeem man's mind from error.

If we could cry as though we feel we ought,
Our eyes with tears would wet for ever be ;
The great instruction all too dearly bought
Has brought us nearer, God, man's veiled eyes to see,

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

BY MR. K. G. KRISHNASAMI AYYAR, B.A.

THE Second of the Fourteen conditions in President Wilson's conditions of peace is :—

"Absolute freedom of navigation of the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed wholly or partly by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

The Third condition is :—

"The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all peoples consenting to the peace and associating for its maintenance."

According to International Law, the territories of a state include not only the compass of land, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, belonging to such state, but also that portion of the sea within a Marine League from the shore lying along and washing its coast which is commonly called its maritime territory. Outside this territorial area the sea is in general insusceptible of appropriation as property.

The following is the historical aspect of the rights relating to the High Seas.

Before the commencement of the 16th century Spain asserted dominion over the Pacific and Gulf of Mexico, Portugal declared the Indian Ocean and all the Atlantic South of Morocco to belong to it. Both pushed the assertion of proprietary rights to the extent of prohibiting all foreigners from navigating or entering their waters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish and the commerce of Holland with the East were in defiance of this assertion of rights and in affirmation of the freedom of the seas. The complaint of the Spanish envoy against the intrusion of the English Vessels into the waters of the Indies was met by the following answer from Queen Elizabeth :—

"I refuse to admit any right of Spain to debar my subjects from trade or from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all; neither a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons, for as much as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof."

This reply of Elizabeth, however, was not consistent with England's control over the British Seas.

At the beginning of the Seventeenth Century it is probable that no part of the seas which surround Europe was looked upon as free from a claim of proprietary rights on the part of some power and over most of them such rights were exercised to a greater or lesser degree. In the basin of the Mediterranean the Adriatic was treated as a part of the dominion of Venice. In 1630 the Infanta Maria, when about to marry the King of Hungary and son of the Emperor, was not allowed to go to Trieste on board her brother's fleet, but was obliged to accept the hospitality and escort of Venetian vessels. The Ligurian sea belonged to Genoa, and France claimed to some not well defined extent the waters stretching outwardly from her coast. England asserted the dominion over the Channel, the British Sea and the seas outside Ireland and more vaguely claimed the Bay of Biscay and the ocean to the north of Scotland.

The latter was disputed by Denmark which considered the whole space between Iceland and Norway to belong to her. In 1637 Denmark seized vessels placed outside Dantzig by the then King of Poland to levy duties on merchantsmen entering. The action of Denmark increasing the dues payable on passing the Sound led to a war with Sweden, Holland and the Hanse Towns and the result of the war was that Swedish ships were exempted and the dues levied from the Dutch were regulated. Finally the Baltic was shared between Denmark and Sweden.

England continued to require that foreigners intending to fish in the German Ocean (North Sea) should take out English license. An attempt by the Dutch to prohibit English ships visited with

heads in person were expected to make practical acknowledgment of the dominion of England. Philip II of Spain when coming to marry Queen Mary, was fired into by the English Admiral, who met him, for flying his own royal flag within the British Seas. In 1606 the King of Denmark when returning from a visit to James I, was met off the mouth of the Thames by an English captain, who forced him to strike his flag. A refusal to accord the honors of the flag in part caused the war of 1652 between England and Holland and furnished a pretext for that of 1672. The obligation to honor the flag was acknowledged in the Treaties of Westminster of 1654, of Breda, and of Westminster of 1674, in the last of which it was expressly recognised that the British Seas extended from Cape Finisterre to Stadland in Norway.

The prevalence of piracy during the middle ages and the consequent necessity to secure the approaches to the shore from the attack of pirates coupled with the advantages that were derived by the foreign trader from such protection, led to the establishment and recognition of rights of control over various seas by the adjacent states which was attended by levying of tolls and dues to recompense the protecting state for the cost and trouble to which it was put. The acts of piracy committed by a French Admiral within the English Seas against merchant vessels of various nations, led to the acknowledgment by the procurators of the merchants and mariners of Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Germany, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, Denmark and Norway, of the possession by England of the exclusive dominion over the English Seas and the right of 'making and establishing Laws and Statutes and restraints of arms and 'all other things which may appertain to the exercise of Sovereign dominion' over them. For nearly three centuries beginning from the fourteenth, England kept the peace of the British Seas by constant employment

or by vessels sent out from time to time. (*Vide* Borough's Sovereignty of the British Seas).

In spite of all this there was a marked difference in the degree to which proprietary rights over the open sea was maintained, between the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century. At the latter time the said rights were everywhere dwindling away. By the commencement of the nineteenth century they had almost disappeared. The pretensions of Denmark to the northern seas shrank in the course of the eighteenth century into a prohibition of fishery within 69 miles of Greenland and Iceland. But these Danish ordinances were disregarded by the seamen of England and Holland with the support of their respective Governments. In the end the fishing grounds were tacitly opened, Denmark continuing to claim nominally a breadth of 20 miles off the coasts of Iceland until 1872 in which year she revised her fishing regulation accepting the 3 miles limit. The situation of the Baltic Sea was tried to be utilised by Denmark and Sweden for being shut up against hostilities between powers not possessing territory as its shores. The maritime predominance of England prevented the attempt from fructifying and virtually the claim abated in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century Russia claimed to regard the whole of the sea north of the 51st Latitude on its then American shore and north of the 45th Latitude on its Asiatic shore as being its territorial possession. 'The Russian Government published an ukase in 1821 prohibiting foreign vessels from approaching within a hundred Italian miles of the coasts and islands bordering upon or included in the ocean' within the limits mentioned above. The pretension was resisted by the United States and Great Britain and was entirely given up by conventions made between Russia and the said two powers. Similar attempts were made by Russia in 1875 elsewhere to claim rights in a considerable extent

of water but not with any degree of success. The doctrine that was accepted at that time about territorial rights in the high seas is clearly stated by Mr. Fish the American Secretary of State in the following words:—

"There was reason to hope that the practice, which formerly prevailed with powerful nations, of regarding seas and bays usually of large extent near their coast as closed to any foreign commerce or fishery not specially licensed by them, was, without exception, a pretension of the past, and that no nation would claim exemption from the General Rule of Public Law which limits maritime jurisdiction to Marine League from the coast."

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the United States after acquiring possession of the Russian territories in America endeavoured to separate the Behring Sea in its legal aspect from the Pacific Ocean and claimed two-thirds of its waters—a space 1,500 miles long and 600 miles wide, as attached to Alaska. Britain naturally objected to this and the result was the Behring sea arbitration. In the early stages of the arbitration itself America tacitly dropped the proprietary or territorial claim and claimed jurisdictional rights of control for certain purposes resting on a totally different basis.

From the above historical summary it will appear that in theory at least freedom of navigation for vessels other than battle ships during peace time has been firmly established so far as the high seas are concerned.

The treaties of the eighteenth century show unmistakable signs of the tendency to narrow the range of maritime occupation.

When international law came into existence the common European practice with respect to the sea was founded on the possibility of the acquisition of property in it and it was customary to look upon most seas as being in fact appropriated. The exorbitant pretensions of Spain and Portugal tended to set in a reaction against this view. Grotius in his 'Mare Liberum' declared the sea to be incapable of appropriation. The English international jurists naturally combated

the views of Grotius. Except Holland no other nation cared to claim the benefit of the doctrine propounded by Grotius. The continental jurists also agreed with the English jurists. The views of all these jurists is summarised as follows by Holland:—

"Fluidity itself is not a bar to property as is proved by the case of rivers. Though the sea is inexhaustible for some purposes, its fish, the pearls, the coral and the amber that it yields are not inexhaustible. There is no reason why the borderers should not rather challenge to themselves the happiness of a wealthy shore or sea than those who are seated at a distance from it. Sea is a defence and it must be a disadvantage to any people that other nations should have free access to their shores with ships of war without asking their leave or without giving security for their peaceful and inoffensive passage."

The treaties on international law in the eighteenth century all affirm the principle that the sea can be occupied in so far as it is used and guarded.

The extent over which dominion exists in any particular case is to be determined from the facts of effective protection or from treaties. In cases which, after the application of these tests are doubtful, it is to be presumed that the sea belongs to the states bordering on it so far as may be necessary for their defence, and that they also own all gulfs and arms.

All the jurists were agreed that while the right of appropriation of seas may be maintained in principle and as a customary fact, a State could not forbid the navigation of its seas by other peoples without being wanting in the duties of humanity.

The Marine League prescribed by International Law for territorial jurisdiction along the open coast owes its origin perhaps to the old theory that the range of a canon shot was a Marine League. If this hypothesis is accepted the area of territorial maritime jurisdiction should now be extended to about 20 miles or more, on account of the longer range of canon shot from modern guns land as well as sea. In 1894 the Institute de Droit

1894 it was re-

Zone of six marine miles from low water mark ought to be considered territorial for all purposes and that in time of war a neutral state should have the right to extend this zone, by declaration of neutrality or by notification, for all purposes, of neutrality, to a distance from the shore corresponding to the extreme range of cannon. The decision of the Behring Sea Arbitral Tribunal recognised the 'ordinary three mile limit'; but the tribunal refused to legislate in that matter as beyond its province, and refused to affirm that it found the three mile limit to be, as a matter of fact, universally accepted. According to Hall

'a State has theoretically the right to extend its territorial waters from time to time at its will with the increased range of guns.' Hall thus sums up the state of the Law:—

'In any case the custom of regarding a line three miles from land as defining the boundary of marginal territorial waters is so far fixed that a State must be supposed to accept it in the absence of express notice that a larger extent is claimed.'

The question relating to the zone of territorial waters having not yet been authoritatively settled the coming Peace Conference will have to settle it.

WHAT IS THE BEST ECONOMIC POLICY

BY MR. A. S. BANDHARKAR, A. B. (HARVARD)

HE solution of the Indian economic problem is contained in the answer to the larger question, 'What is the best economic policy for any country at any age?' The best economic ideal for all would be, of course, that of Free-trade without any restriction throughout the world where every country is following a geographical division of labour after attaining the maximum industrial efficiency. Everybody can then buy the best goods at the cheapest market, granting the presence of free competition. But this is an international ideal of the future when there will reign "Peace on Earth, goodwill to men." The present is an age of nationalities. This sense of nationality, the willing sacrifice of the individual for the nation has evolved from the home and the community sense; then we find two or more nations combining together politically and economically. The German Empire and Austria Hungary are examples of such a double combination, while the union of Germany and Austria Hungary is purely an economic one. The members of the British Empire can be sundered together only by economic ties

since they are geographically scattered over the surface of the globe. This process of evolution bids fair to end in a world-commonwealth and it is then that the international economic ideal will probably be reached. That glorious moment is not, however, yet in sight. Nations cannot yet give up the idea of conquest and domination. They are suspicious of their neighbours as is seen from their foreign policy of alliances, *ententes*, balance of power and buffer-states. Besides, in order to reach the maximum industrial efficiency, a necessary condition for the international ideal, each nation must develop first as an individual economic unit; it must know what it is best fitted for. This is only possible under Protection.

Again, let us picture ourselves in a newly settled colony. The first thing we must do is to supply us with the necessities of life. It is not impossible to imagine an extreme case where we could get these from other countries and be able to pay for them in gold and silver, for some length of time at least, by devoting ourselves to mining and minting of these metals. But this

makes us wholly dependent on others and we are sure to die of starvation if a sudden crisis such as the present war disturbs or puts an end to our commerce. Thus we can see how badly we needed encouragement, support and protection for industries like paper, matches and glass-ware from a consideration of the dearth and consequent dearness of these necessary articles at present. We also see how Germany, being self-sufficing, has been able to stand the economic strain of the war almost single-handed and understand how England regretted, as a result of the submarine blockade, that she did not pay enough attention to her agriculture and raw products. The other extreme of hedging ourselves round with an impregnable tariff-wall at the outset is also equally dangerous, for, the development of industries is slow and takes time. Granting, then, that under existing circumstances the primary concern of every nation should be to raise itself to an economically self-supporting state or to achieve the national economic ideal, let us turn to the general method how this may be done.

A protective wall should be built gradually. At first, private industrial enterprises and free competition should be encouraged. This will tend to heighten the quality of goods and lower their prices—a desirable thing. State control and support should be extended only to those industries which are necessary to rich and poor alike. Support is necessary to protect these important industries from foreign competition; control, to protect the poor from the industrial manufacturer and the capitalist by regulating prices. I said 'only' because state control by doing away with competition removes the chief impetus for improvement. It is said that competition sometimes ruins modest concerns to the advantage of the bigger ones; these being better capitalized can produce and sell goods at a cheaper rate with the result that the former are either compelled to sell themselves off or stop working. There

are even instances, notably in America, where the bigger concerns are found selling goods at a loss to put their rivals out of their way. Again, monopolies so formed can make their own prices for any adulterated or inferior quality of goods they might produce in the absence of competition. This is no doubt largely true of some monopolies in America and to a smaller extent in England. But the evil is not in the nature of things as is seen from an examination of the prices and quality of goods turned out by French or German monopolies. In France it is prevented by a strong public opinion and popular sense of justice; in Germany, by a strict supervision or control by the State which identifies itself with the interests of its subjects. In both these countries, moreover, wealth is not honored for its own sake which does not encourage business men to make money by fair means or foul at their disposal. If then monopolies can sell goods at a cheaper rate and if these goods are such as are consumed by a majority of a people, the interest of the smaller industrial concerns, who are a minority must give way before those of the majority. This is the fundamental law which ought to underlie all human activities as it is the safer and lesser of the two alternative evils. Thus did the guilds disappear to make way for the more advantageous steam-manipulated industries. Hence, when the stage of large scale production is reached where a larger concern can buy over the smaller ones to the advantage of the majority who purchase the goods, the state should not interfere but keep a strict watch over the monopolies so formed to see whether the quality of goods produced is good and the wages are advancing correspondingly with the increase in the cost of living; no colossal profits should be allowed. Employers as well as employees should be made to contribute certain amounts to pensions, insurances etc. for the benefit of the latter. Employment agencies and co-operative

institutions may also be advantageously established for these working classes. There should be duties on articles of necessity going out of the country in case there is scarcity at home like wheat in the present war. In short, the State or Government should have full right to interfere with private industries when they think it necessary for the welfare of the nation as a whole and take charge of them in time of crisis. When every possible industry is developed to its fullest extent and the country is as self-sufficing as it can be, the tariff wall should be gradually pulled down and the internal industries exposed to the stimulating action of foreign competition. Those industries, unessential for satisfying the primary wants, for which the country is not at all fitted should be allowed to die out leaving the majority at liberty to buy at the cheapest market; for, that country is the most prosperous where the inhabitants can satisfy their economic wants as cheaply as possible. The country is now ready, if other nations are prepared and willing to join her in harmony to act her part on the world's stage in the drama of universal free-trade.

It will be seen from what has been said above that a State should not rest content with remaining purely political in its functions. It has its economic duties to fulfil as well. It cannot afford to leave wilful economic instinct to run wild and create a havoc among its people. Just as it protects the life and property of its subjects from murderers and thieves, by means of legislation, it must protect their economic rights from the economic criminal, the capitalist or the industrial monopolist. The 'let alone' policy may be alright in the presence of competition but it is positively pernicious in the absence of it. Individual liberty of action or anarchy whether social, political or economic is the goal of mankind and is sure to prove harmful if admitted before its time. The liberal school of economists and the Anglo-Saxon countries failed to see this—and one wonders

whether this war with its insufficient wages and high-soaring prices will ever open their eyes—and connived at the selfish human instinct which badly needs to be purged of its dross until its possessor learns to respect others' lives as his own. The ever-recurring labor strikes in England and America bear witness to inequalities of distribution and consequently to the existence of this narrow instinct at large. The spiritual progress of man consists in the broadening of self until it embraces the whole human race and Christ's moral precept, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself' becomes a habit. An economic problem must not be abstracted, like a problem in mathematics, from its political or social aspects with which it is inextricably interwoven. A nation cannot aspire to be great unless its moral and social progress keeps pace with its material progress. Let us take one instance where wealth conflicts with welfare. It is argued that in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks so many labourers are employed who otherwise would be begging about in the streets, starving in their homes or else be a burden on the public being supported by charitable institutions for the poor. This argument does not hold water because it assumes that the labour or capital engaged in drink industries cannot be utilized elsewhere for the betterment of mankind. We shall see what happens in an individualistic country in the absence of home and foreign competition by making a careful study of America (I mean the eastern manufacturing states which practically represent the whole of America.) The evils of capitalism are seen there at their best because the tariff wall of America is the most impregnable in the economic world. There, they have not hesitated even to place a duty on books with the purpose, perhaps, of protecting native intellect (!) and public goods such as telegraphs, telephones and tramways are under private management.

Let us first confine our attention solely to

America's economic position. It is said by some English and American economists, particularly the latter, that dearness or high cost of living is a sign of national prosperity when it is due to the excess of circulating money, as in their countries, and shows a favourable international trade. This has been so often dinned into our ears, by these economists and Anglo-Indian journalists, that it is not surprising to find even some section of the Indian public unable to divest themselves of this shop-keeper's point of view. They believe that India is getting prosperous as a result of this war notwithstanding the rising cost of living for the masses. Their contention savours of the old long exploded mercantile theory that gold and silver make wealth.

In the first place, let the elementary fact be pointed out, once for all, that money as such has no economic value; it cannot satisfy human wants. Theoretically there is no need of species whatsoever in an independent self-supporting country where exchange can otherwise be effected. Even international trade is nowadays carried on by means of paper like bills of exchange and other modern credit devices, which have no intrinsic value. It is convention pure and simple that has given value to money, be it paper or metal—the latter merely satisfying an aesthetic want—and it is international agreement that has fixed gold and silver as the standards.

Secondly, dearness of living does not always show a favourable international trade since it might be due to scarcity of products at home; in this case the country may be on the verge of famine. On a careful analysis of the subject one finds that the cost of living varies as the ratio of circulating money to the quantity of products at home. It increases with the increase in the first factor and decrease in the second.

Thirdly, granting that this excess of circulating money, in as much as it shows an increase

in foreign trade, may place a country economically not quite independent, in a favourable international position, it does not necessarily do so where industries are not owned by the State but are managed and owned by private individuals as in America or England. The State or Government cannot utilize their private fortunes at its own sweet will. This is the fact generally overlooked by admirers of America's greatness being dazzled by her superficial material splendour.

Fourthly, a country cannot rightly be said to be internally prosperous where the balance of international trade is mainly in the hands of a few capitalists in the form of interest or excess profits while wages have not correspondingly increased. This is exactly the case in America where it will not be an exaggeration to say that more than half the wealth of the country is in not more than ten hands. The internal prosperity of a country, as I have said above, must be measured by the material condition of the *majority* and the evenness in the level of distribution. In this case the cost of living is no longer high for the masses though the absolute prices of things may have risen; for, dearness and cheapness are comparative, the value of anything being dependent only on the ratio of the intensity of one's desire to possess it to one's ability to pay for it. A rise in prices lessens this ability only to regain its former value with a corresponding rise in wages. So much for America's economic position. Let us see now how she fares morally and socially.

In that country internal competition is silenced by the big trusts buying out the smaller concerns or under-selling and ruining them if they refuse to be sold; the external competition is kept away by the tariff wall with the result that the big manufacturers ask their own prices for adulterated goods and make enormous profits of monopoly. This coupled with their foreign trade which is

very great due to the resources of the country make them millionaires. This excessive wealth gives them power. They own the newspapers and form the public opinion. They can hire persons to fire on the labour-strikers and punish anybody they please. All legislative and executive authority is practically vested in them. They are the sole rulers of their country and it was they who declared war with Germany when they found that their trade with allies had to be stopped owing to German submarines. This power commands for them social respect from the masses. Economists write (or are they made to write?) about the self-sacrifice of these capitalists who invest their all in their industry purely from a philanthropic motive of supplying the wants of their fellowmen. It is no wonder then, that money at all costs naturally becomes the byword with its attendant social evils and moral degradation as pointed out in the report of the Chief Commissioner of Police, New York, the other day. No wonder to find theft and dishonesty cultivated under the name of smartness, want of faith and suspicion, under the name of prudence, the people thinking all these and many more Machiavellian virtues as a necessary equipment from the business point of view. It is also thus natural to find American newspapers full of divorces, swindlings, murders and mercantile crimes of all kinds or American slums discontented and stricken with poverty and wasting diseases, as inevitable consequences of blind money worship.

We thus see that the condition of America is far from enviable and that a policy of protection is liable to be fraught with grave economic, social and moral dangers. If, as some American economists affirm, material progress cannot be separated from its accompanying moral and social degeneration, where lies the use of cherishing it as a human ideal? This, however, is not true and there are remedies to avert the dangers. These

are, chiefly, (1) free internal competition and state control or supervision of important industries and public goods, the interests of the State, of course, being supposed identical with those of its subjects. This will prevent exploitation of labour and unnecessary rise in prices and equalize distribution. It will also make management in time of crises much easier. (2) Sound ethical training to would-be citizens in their impressive periods of childhood and youth implanting in them a strong sense of justice and moral value of the Golden Rule "Do unto others as you would be done by," also explaining them clearly how self-sacrifice, compromise and co-operation lie at the root of all progress and make modern society possible. And last but not least (3) business men should never be honored by the State or public at large as if they are doing their country a great service; recognition should be given only to men like Cadburys and Lever brothers who deserve it through their philanthropic work or marked unselfishness. The desire of making money has in it more than sufficient initiative for the building-up and carrying-on of industries. These precautions will keep the various evils generally associated with capitalism at bay.

It is exceedingly fortunate for India that she has started late in the race for material prosperity. In case she gets home rule or fiscal autonomy, she has a rich mine of history and experience to profit by and can avoid, if she wishes, the short-comings and pit-falls of Western civilization. Being for the most part agricultural like Russia, it would pay her to devote more attention to agriculture and make her balance of international trade more favorable. Now let us all wish her with one accord an all-round progress, moral, intellectual, material, social and political in her new industrial campaign.

All this above discussion, however, presupposes a certain common standard of living, which is not justified. Economics, after all, is based on the satisfaction of human desires and these being subjective can vary within widest possible limits. Hence it is quite possible, nay probable, that a people might so subjugate its desires as to be content with a simple life supported by the products of its soil. Thus lived our ancestors of old leaving India defenceless at the mercy of the foreign invader with the result that we find ourselves in our present position.

Agricultural Labour in Western India

BY DR. HAROLD H. MANN

ONE of the commonplaces of books in India is a statement to the effect that Indian labour is extremely inefficient; and that it is to this inefficiency in part that the slow development of the country is due. But so far as exact data on the subject are concerned there is little or none in existence, or at any rate presented in most of the books or papers which speak so confidently on the matter. And yet it is a matter on which the greatest caution, it seems to me, should be exercised in expressing an opinion, for efficiency in labour is such a complex matter that unless it is very carefully investigated, and the various factors included in the term "efficiency" are isolated, it may be possible to come to totally erroneous conclusions. I will only suggest one factor which has, I believe, been forgotten in most statements on the subject—namely, that of the efficiency of supervision in the west, the question of supervision and the means by which the most can be got out of the actual workers has been reduced to a science. The methods of appealing to the workers, of giving stimuli to which they most readily repair, of encouraging regularity of work,—and so on, have been very carefully studied and applied. In India, on the other hand, little has been done,—and the usual methods of trying to get the best out of Indian workers differ little from those who are employed elsewhere, although the mental attitude of the latter is very different. I do not wish to discuss the matter, however, further on general lines. My purpose to-day is rather to lay before you the scheme I have made for investigating the efficiency of Indian Agricultural Labour, and request criticism from a body of economists like the present. I also wish to lay before you some of the first results which I have obtained, in spite of the very great difficulty I find in interpreting them and in comparing them with figures obtained in the west. The method which I have adopted, in

co-operation with one of my old students, Mr. P. K. Mody, in these inquiries is to analyse the factors which determine and measure the actual amount of work performed in a day by a man in various agricultural operations. There is one difficulty which is almost peculiar to agricultural work which makes such measures of the work done by a worker in a normal day's work. This is the fact that in most agricultural work you have animals and man co-operating. How much of the efficiency or lack of efficiency is due to the man or men involved, and how much is due to the animals? If we compare a man's work in ploughing, for instance, in India with that of a man in America, how much of the greater work done in America, is due to the fact that horses are used instead of bullocks,—leading to quicker work and possibly to better work. As a consideration of this point would necessitate a preliminary study into the relative efficiency of different types of animal labour, and for this I have no facility at present, I feel I must for the moment abandon the idea of getting at the absolute efficiency of the man himself, and only consider what he can do under the conditions of equipment under which he finds himself.

AVERAGE DAY'S WORK.

I want to-day simply to present the results of a few tests of the average day's work done in ploughing. Now, the work done in this operation can only be determined, even apart from differences of soil, etc., when (1) the depth of the furrow, (2) the width of the block of soil moved at each movement of the plough, (3) the shape of the furrow is known. It is only when (if this be possible) the results are reduced to a constant depth, and to a constant shape of furrow, and the corresponding area which would then be covered by a man ploughing in the course of a day, be calculated

that figures can be made comparable at all. Thus for instance in comparing the day's work done by a man with a country plough, and with a modern iron plough, it is necessary to recognise that the furrow in the former case is nearly triangular while in the latter the furrow is rectangular—hence at a similar depth the amount of soil moved will be very much greater in the latter case. In the figures which follow I have tried to reduce all the records to the area which would be covered in a day by a plough giving a rectangular furrow, four inches deep. One more difficulty arises in the interpretation of the results. In most cases one man both drives the bullocks and guides the plough; in a few, a boy is employed to drive the animals. If this is needed, it is obvious that the efficiency of the man is less than if he does the whole operation. I have taken—how far I am justified in the figure I am not sure—in my calculation a boy as equal to three-fifths of a man, and have reduced my figures accordingly. Again, in certain cases, a plough requires two pairs of bullocks, while another plough in the same land works with one. In comparing the work done by the labourer, should this be taken into account? After careful consideration, I have ignored it and the day's work which I have recorded is that done by one average good ploughman, with the animal equipment which he thinks is necessary. With this explanation I may give the figures I have got in several of our districts and on several of our soils. They are as follows:—One man's work per day in ploughing, (4 in deep rectangular, furrow). (1) Light, moist garden land (Charotar Gujarat), country plough 0.65 acres. (2) Moist clay loam (Alibag, Konkan); country plough, 0.44 acres; Meston plough, 0.20 acres. (3) Moist sandy loam (Kumta, Kanara); country plough, 0.13 acres; Meston plough, 0.50 acres (4) Dry, black cotton soil, (Gadag, Dharwar, country plough 0.47 acres; Ransome's C. T. I. plough 0.72 acres. (5) Wet, black cotton soil;

Gadag. Dharwar; country plough, 0.93 acres. (6) Wet, black cotton soil (Surat, Gujarat); country plough, 0.62 acres.

A COMPARISON.

I quote the figures as I have collected them. I doubt the record of the Meston plough at Ali-bag—and before any of these figures will deserve full credence, the number of records on which they are based will have to be very much increased. But, with the above exception, it would seem that the efficiency of a man's labour can be very much increased by adopting modern iron ploughs rather than those of the country. At Gadag the increase was about 50 per cent; in Kanara by between three or four-hundred percent. The amount is probably greater than this because no allowance has been made for the quality of the work done—though I hope to do this in my further investigations. Now let us compare these figures with those obtained in America using ploughs drawn by two horses, and managed by one man. There is only one of my figures which can be easily compared with those recorded in America, namely, that obtained in the dry black cotton soil at Gadag with Ransome's C. T. I. plough. In this case one man and a boy were actually required for the work, but I have calculated the results for man as described above. In this case we have (1) Ransome's C. T. I. plough at Gadag (8 hour day work of one man), 0.72 acres. (2) Similar plough in America (8 hour-day work of one man), 1.08 acres. This would indicate that the plough man in America, using his horses is fifty per cent more efficient than the ploughman here, using his bullocks. *From a paper prepared for the Economic Conference, Bombay.*

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THE IDEA OF A WORLD-STATE

BY

MR. P. J. THOMAS, B.A. (HONS.).

HERE is at present almost a consensus of opinion among the various schools of opinion in the civilised world as to the inevitable need after the present war of devising some international arrangement to prevent the future occurrence of war. The Prime Minister of England in his memorable speech on the recent peace proposal has only echoed this growing consciousness when he stated with his characteristic force that "a great attempt must be made to establish by some international organisation an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes." The American President and the French Premier have repeated this with no less force, and even the Pope's last peace proposal contained some obvious indication of this new creed. The thoughts of the world's *intelligentsia* are all now directed to this supreme problem which has been the dream of the best thinkers in every age. English writers like Viscount Bryce and J. A. Hobson are devising scheme after scheme, which are being quoted and criticised in journals and societies. It is meet at this critical hour that we in India also should try to follow intelligently the development of this idea.

A REACTION AGAINST NATION-CULT.

What are the world-tendencies that seem to lead to this direction? The present conception of a civilised state is more or less identified with the conception of a nation. The Nation-idea though an evolution of modern history received its pernicious aspect of selfish aggrandisement and fatal militarism from the German thinkers and statesmen of the 19th century. To Hegel, Nietzsche, Bernhardi and Bismarck, and to Italian enthusiasts like Garibaldi and Mazzini, the nation is the highest form of human association, the very

be-all and end-all of all organised human existence. It is this theoretical idea that produced in practice the crushing weight of modern armaments and the vast waste of wealth and energy involved in warlike effort, and finally brought about the present destructive world-war which will probably stem the tide of civilisation for many decades. There is going on at present a vigorous onslaught against this nation-cult which has become a deadweight upon advancing humanity. As long as this cult exists, there will be militarism and the clash of competing armaments. So crush this cult of narrow Nationalism—this is the growing cry of suffering humanity.

This onslaught against an all-engrossing nationalism has recently found some gifted votaries both in the east and west. Sir Rabindranath Tagore is probably the most pronounced of those critics of the nation-cult. He denounces Nationalism as "the training of a whole people for a narrow ideal," and asserts unequivocally that "when it gets hold of their minds it is sure to lead them to moral degeneracy and intellectual blindness." He considers that nationalism is but a passing phase in civilisation and that "those who are making permanent arrangements in accomodating the temporary mood of history will be unable to fit themselves for the coming age of the true spirit of freedom."

There is another tendency working to the same conclusion from a different direction. There has of late been a general recognition of the common interests of humanity,—the interests of commerce, of culture, science, and what not,—all of which depend upon a fair degree of peace and goodwill between the various nations. International trade, on which depend the livelihood of

a great part of the human race especially in this era of territorial division of labour, cannot be carried on without the safety of the various trade routes, both overseas and overland. It is this dominant fact of international dependence that emboldened Norman Angell even to deny the possibility of a world-war like the present. The work of international money market cannot but be jeopardised by an outbreak of war, and just imagine what an amount of suffering this results in. It is the vital importance of these and allied world-problems that gave rise to the codes of International Law, to the famous Hague Tribunal, and to arrangements like the International Postal Union at Berne. The present conflagration of Europe has threatened all these with extinction and by its ruthless submarine and inhuman air-raids has dislocated the world's industry, commerce and all that go in their train. So let us make an end of war—this is the cry of Humanity.

THE IDEA IN HISTORY.

The idea of a world-state has tantalised seers and conquerors from time immemorial. Alexander's attempts at a world-empire failed at the hasty cessation of his meteoric career, but the work of Hellenisation which he initiated went on as an agency of unifying the three continents. Rome carried this process of Hellenisation further, and for a time it appeared that Pax Romana was a reality throughout the known world. Christianity then acted as a unifying force wherever it spread; and at least in the Middle Ages, Christendom was indeed a unity under the twin swords of Empire and Papacy. That Papacy has acted as a useful international agency for long, at least in Europe, is now acknowledged by all; and the careers of Hildebrand and Innocent III assume a new importance looked at from this standpoint. The Reformation cut off the unity of Christendom, and Europe became thenceforth disunited into warring creeds and competing nations. With the

growth of independent nationalities, the ideal of cosmopolitanism fell into disrepute, in spite of the occasional dreams of a Henry IV or a Leibnitz. Napoleonic repeated Alexander's experiment but with less success, and only evoked the force of absolute nationalism in all its vehemence. After Napoleonic's downfall came the grand scheme of a Holy Alliance as the arbiter of Europe—the product of the faith and imagination of Czar Alexander I. This scheme fell through chiefly by the indifference of England, and the concert of Europe became merely a name. After this came the various congresses for the settlement of specific disputes, but those did not produce any lasting understanding between the powers. The establishment of the Hague Tribunal seemed to improve international relations for a time, but this hope was frustrated when in 1914 the Austrian Prince was murdered at Serajevo.

IS IT PRACTICABLE?

There have been, and now are, many thinkers who contend that an International State must always remain an unrealisable Utopia, and they base their judgment on the past failures of international schemes and on the belief in the eternal verity of national sovereignty and independence. With them, Mr. Hobson has no patience. He points out, denying the truth of the so-called repetition of history, "that a psychological and sociological experiment is not the same when fundamental changes have taken place in the psychical and social conditions." To him sovereignty of the state is a mere delusion, and the modern development of federalism affords ample evidence for it.

Certainly the national state is in no way the apex of political evolution. All history bends towards the final goal of world-unity. "The centripetal or co-operative powers that forged the national state out of smaller social unities are not exhausted but are capable of carrying the organising process further." The forces that made the

city-states in the ancient world made nation-states in the modern; and the further stage of this development may possibly be an international organisation. The trend of history points to some such evolution.

The XIX century, according to Hobson, has made three contributions to the possibility of an international state: *first* the settlement of political government upon a basis of nationality which is an essential step to internationalism; *secondly*, the series of inchoate and fragmentary but genuine attempts of the great powers in the various congresses to work together upon critical occasions in the interests of justice and order and to embody in acts or conventions some policy which is the result of their deliberations; *thirdly*, the progress of Federation which furnishes a hopeful mode of reconciling the demands for local autonomy, with effective central sovereignty. "The network of national, financial and intellectual communications connecting all parts of the developed world and establishing quick, constant, cheap and reliable modes of transport for men, goods, money and information form the actual basis of what may not improperly be called an economic world-state."

The present war itself, paradoxical as it might seem, is contributing to the possibility of realising the idea of a world-state. It has convinced the whole world how fatal is the result of "the clash of competing ambitions," and how intensely denationalising a process warfare is. If individual suffering improves people, national suffering also must. To some thinkers, on the contrary, the present war appears to put off, if it does not render futile, the possibility of organising an international polity. To them Viscount Bryce has some weighty answers to make. It was civil war that in the past has cemented national unity; the great Civil War and the French Revolution finally unified England and France respectively, in spite of the destruction that they worked in both

countries. Bryce would therefore conclude that the present international war, despite all its incidental injuries, might result in better international unification. Truly the proverb says, "It is darkest before dawn."

PRACTICAL STEPS.

As a matter of fact there already exist the germs of an international government in the Hague Conferences and Courts, and in similar inter-governmental instruments like the Postal Union. We have, too, a code of International Law and a judicial and administrative apparatus, but their sanctions are quite imperfect and have already failed to perform even the first function of government, which is to keep public peace.

The grand problem now before us is, "How to provide the present International Code with the requisite sanctions and thereby render impossible the outbreak of war." Evidently this is the most difficult of problems, and no amount of argument will solve it unless an essential change takes place in the outlook of the leading nations. Many schemes have been suggested for effecting this change, of which we will examine only two of the most prominent.

Mr. Lowes Dickinson lays it down that there must be a general treaty by which the signatory states shall submit all differences to arbitration. In the event of nations refusing the award, the signatory states must take joint action, diplomatic, economic and forcible against such refractory state or states. This scheme evidently still leaves nations to develop competing armaments and warfare will still go on with all its accompanying atrocities. It does not strike at the root of the present evils.

Mr. J. A. Hobson, a very keen writer upon sociological subjects, would not be contented with such half-way steps. No good result can be achieved unless we make it impossible for nations to take up arms. He says:

"An international arrangement that meets our

requirements must be strong enough to reverse the motives, aggressive and defensive, which in the past have caused nations to arm. Nations will not pile up armaments if they believe that they will have no need or opportunity to use them. To produce this belief in the uselessness of national armies and navies is therefore a prime object of international policy. The successful establishment of this belief involves, however, a change of disposition among national governments amounting to the process known in religious circles as conversion. They must be induced to forego that right of war which according to past statecraft has been the brightest jewel in the crown of sovereignty."

This is indeed the very crux of the problem. Only by impairing a substantial part of national sovereignty shall we be able to effectively guarantee the peace of the world. "The early confederation of the United States left the sovereignty of the various states practically unimpaired, and the result was internal insecurity and external humili-

ation. But when the real "Federal" State was formed in 1789 the states were deprived of many of their important powers, but the commonwealth became strong and effective both for home government and for foreign diplomacy. The same process will probably have to be undergone in the federalisation of the world. We have already got almost a confederation and the administrative machinery above-mentioned; but its sanctions are imperfect and it failed to prevent war. The present organisation will probably be strengthened after the war and gradually what may be called a world-state may finally evolve, capable of withstanding war and internal catastrophes. If there is really working an evolution in the world's history, such an organisation must be the inevitable culmination of that process of evolution. Such is the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," which has been the dream of seers and savants of every age and in every clime.

Indian Industrial and Economic Problems

BY MR. JEHANGIR BOMANJI PETIT

POVERTY OF INDIA

IT is a fact which cannot be denied that India is one of the poorest countries in the world and that her economic resources are of the scantiest character. The fabulous wealth of India which formed the topics of the historians of old, and attracted traders and plunderers alike to her unguarded and hospitable shores, is now, for all practical purposes, a thing of the past. Whether it be by her own folly or as the result of the heavy drain which necessarily accompanies a costly foreign Government, which unduly largely employs foreign agencies in every department of the Government and remits to England as much as the annual yield of the whole

country from land, by way of home and other charges,—and that too from an almost entirely agricultural country like India; whether it be by some artificial or natural cause beyond the control of the Government and the people, or as the result of a policy of unequal and unrighteous distribution of the burdens of State; the stern fact remains and cannot be gainsaid that even to-day, after 150 years of British rule, India—in spite of her enormous wealth of raw products—is the poorest country in the world with only an annual average income of £ 2 per head; and that her resources for industrial and other developments, are therefore necessarily almost nil. The need for supplementing them by

all possible means open to the Government and the people, is consequently proportionately greater and more urgent than any other. It is equally true that a great many industries that could be started with success and for which the raw materials and other facilities are near at hand, could not be started in this country for want of the requisite funds. This is not only true in the case of such gigantic industries as the production of steel, sugar, colour, dyes and oils, but also in the case of a great many minor industries such as the manufacture of glass, candle, soap, matches, etc. It is now a matter of common knowledge that in a large majority of cases in which industrial enterprises have collapsed, the main cause of the failure is want of capital to begin with and in some cases, insufficient resources not only for current expenses but even for obtaining urgent expert advice and technical knowledge. That this should be so in a country which is not industrial to any very appreciable extent in the sense in which many of the great European countries are, and in which money under normal conditions ought not, therefore, to be difficult to find, is itself an important factor for very careful and serious consideration. The fact, however, is there, that it is so. Although I am prepared to admit that as a rule, capital in this country is shy, slow to move and unwilling to flow in untrdden paths, it cannot still be denied that it is difficult to raise money in India for industrial purposes first, because the country is poor and there is not much capital in it; and secondly, because there are no efficient banking organizations which can mobilize the financial forces of the country and make capital easily accessible. When the industrial development of a country is dependent upon capital, acquired largely through the gathering of small sums, special industrial banks like those in Japan and Germany or similar organizations, should be established with large capitals and numerous

branches, designed to afford financial support to industries for longer periods and on less restricted security than is within the power or practice of existing banks. Such banks or organizations must, of course, require a large measure of Government support, although they need not necessarily be brought under rigid Government control. I am emphatically of opinion that Government should lend its whole-hearted support to such banks and place very large funds at their disposal, if possible, without interest; but in no case at a rate higher than 2 or 3 per cent. These banks should be included in the list of approved banks or financial concerns, in which trustees should be allowed to deposit Government funds. Remittances to these banks should be accepted by the district treasuries and the presidency banks.; and they should be allowed to issue bonds for a limited period of not longer than 10 years to the extent of at least double paid-up capitals. Fixed deposits for shorter periods than 2 years should not be received; and no current accounts should be opened in these banks, excepting for parties whom they finance.

I fail to see why the large reserves in India and those held in England on account of this country under various heads, cannot also be partly utilized for the industrial development of the country and placed at the disposal of such banks as I have described, if necessary even under stringent Government control. There is the large gold standard reserve, amounting to over Rs. 50 crores. Then, there are the paper currency reserves which go considerably over this figure; and the large cash balances. We may assume that the last two may be required at any moment and cannot, therefore, safely be utilized for any other purpose. We may not ever speak of the gold ordinarily held in India which had gone down from about £ 6 million to about £100,000 on the 1st April, 1917, but no part of which is now held in India. But I cannot under-

stand why a substantial portion, say about Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 crores out of the 50 crores of the gold standard reserve cannot be utilized for industrial purposes. I have seen and heard various objections urged against this and similar proposals but am sorry to have to say that I have not yet heard of a single really convincing argument advanced against this suggestion. First of all this gold standard reserve has no business to be in England. One of the recommendations of the Fowler Committee laid down that *the gold standard reserve should be held in gold and in India.* This has not been done; and instead, about £ 5 to 6 millions are usually lent out to private borrowers in England at short notice; and the balance is invariably invested in Exchequer Bonds, Exchange Bills, and British and Colonial Government Securities. There is no cogent reason why this should be so; and I am of opinion that a substantial portion of it can certainly be made available for industrial purposes in this country, with reasonable safeguards.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

There are other methods both direct and indirect by which financial assistance can be given for industrial purposes and is being given in some countries of the world, such as, money grants in aid, bounties and subsidies, guaranteed dividends, supply of machinery and plant on the hire purchase system, guaranteed or preferential Government purchase of products for limited periods and exemption from income tax, import duties and other cesses during the initial stages of newly-established and infant industries. Some of these are undoubtedly likely to be beneficial, and are even recommended in the report of the Commission; but, for various reasons I am against money grants-in-aid, bounties and subsidies, and guaranteed dividends except on very special grounds.

I cannot help saying that the Government in the past has not only neglected to develop the

natural and other resources of the country but has also in a variety of ways, including huge protective tariff walls levied against Indian goods in England contrived to crush our nascent industries. The action of the East India Company with regard to Indian industries is sad reading and must form one of the blackest pages of British history. In recent years, the imposition of the excise duty on the cloth made in India at the dictation of Lancashire, and the more recent and artificial raising of the rate of exchange between England and India for wiping out the balance of trade in favour of India even as a special war measure, must also condemn England in the judgment of an impartial posterity.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

We must also set our face against the proposal of what is called *Imperial and Allied Preference*, unless meanwhile India is given fiscal autonomy and full control over her tariffs. In our present helpless economic and industrial condition we cannot possibly afford to be charitable to others out of sentimental considerations. To a student of our trade returns it is painfully evident that at present India is almost entirely an exporter of raw materials and a heavy importer of nearly all her requirements of finished products. In a word, therefore, the compulsory inclusion of India in any such scheme of preference will be tantamount to forcing India to sell her raw materials to the different parts of the Empire or her Allies, cheaper than she can sell them elsewhere; and compelling her to buy her entire requirements of finished products from England and her Colonies and allies, at rates higher than those prevalent elsewhere.

In order that such and similar iniquities may not again be perpetrated in the future in the name and under the excuse of Imperial exigencies and in order that we may be enabled to adjust our own tariffs to suit the peculiar requirements and conditions of our country, it is absolutely necessary that India should have complete fiscal autonomy.—*Presidential Address to the Indian Industrial Conference.*

FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE

(A Story of Mediæval India).

BY

MR. RAGHUPATHI SAHAI, M.A.

BROTHER AND SISTER.

DOWN the skirts of the Arravelis, on the verge of a rivulet which winded through the thick jungles was sitting Champavati, daughter of the exile King, Rana Pratap. Close by sat her little brother Sunder Singh. Champavati was eleven and her brother four years of age. Fortune stands on a restless globe, and though born amid the glories and grandeurs of an imperial court, these delicate scions of royalty were now sharing the hard fates of their heroic parents in the dreary regions of the Arravelis where, having sustained defeat after defeat at the hands of Akbar, they were living in exile with the few surviving followers, the shattered remnants of a once mighty confederacy. There driven to bay by the triumphant forces of the Moghal, they were gathering the wreckage of their broken army for a last desperate dash which might, perchance, win back their lost empire and restore the vanished glory of Rajasthan. But the storm of troubles through which Champavati and Sunder Singh had to pass in this up-hill, heroic struggle for freedom had dried up the vital essences within them, and though supremely handsome, they looked, alas, like two drooping flowers, like two pathetic spots, as it were, amid the gaieties of the scene.

It was a lovely spring. The place all round was covered with a luxuriant growth of trees and plants looking exceedingly beautiful in their emerald paraphernalia over which the golden rays of the setting sun spread a matchless lustre.

In the midst of this scene when nature seemed marvelling at her own great release of energy and her lavish bounties which transformed the valley into a dream of beauty, sat Champavati and Sunder Singh like two small specks of sorrow

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lurking behind nature's joy, like two stifled sobs that throbbed imperceptibly in the breast of nature. Once more nature's laughter was an awful irony on the sorrows of these two frail human creatures.

Champavati sitting on a smooth rock near one of the flower-beds was weaving with her emaciated hands a garland of flowers for her brother who, sitting beside her was playing with the pebbles which lay scattered in heaps on the rock. Occasionally he would pick up one of these pebbles and fling it into the stream where the water splashing up into a ripple would break into a series of expanding circles, until kissing the margin of the pool, they would, one by one, disappear altogether. This making and remaking and at last the vanishing of the ripples the child noticed with excited glee and his rapt tiny face was a symbol of the irony of human joys in which self-unconscious sorrow's blended as if to uphold and sustain its very antithesis. For this child of four who lived but for the present, whose life-stream seemed to consist of but successive surges of momentary conscious states, and who was endeavouring to mimic nature's joy and played with delight, was sad, though he did not know it.

After a while he turned round, and looking up into his sister's face told her that he was hungry. But Champavati had nothing with which to appease her brother's hunger. She affectionately kissed him, and in order to beguile him, began to relate a story to which he listened with the rapt attention of a child.

"Once upon a time," she said, "there lived a king who had lost his kingdom and was living in a forest. One day he was hungry and took out a cake to eat, but just then a crow came down

and flew away with it." "The poor king must have cried then?" interrupted Sunder Singh. Champavati smiled, a calm sad smile, at this innocent query of her little brother. She fondly caressed him and answered, "He was not a stupid child like thee to cry at such a thing." "Am I a stupid child?" asked her brother with evident embarrassment. "Yes, thou art a very stupid and naughty darling," she said. This hurt the child's innocent vanity, and touched to the quick he answered in sweet defiance: "No, I am wise and good." Upon this Champavati's cruel retort was, "Wise and good children do not always cry for food." The child answered in a helpless tone, "What am I to do? I am hungry and so I weep. I am very hungry." There was a pathetic eloquence in this simple statement of a fact,—Champavati endeavoured to speak, but her voice failed her,—What should she say? what could she say?—She was painfully conscious that her brother was extremely hungry and at this thought she was on the point of sobbing and breaking down. She restrained herself and wiped away a tear. She lovingly embraced her brother and put the flower-garland which had been by now completed, on his neck.

All of a sudden Sunder Singh uttered a cry and raising his tiny hand to his neck, looked up imploringly in his sister's face. Champavati hastily drew off his hand from his neck and saw that the skin had grown blackish and that there was a swelling on the spot. Immediately she noticed a bee flying away from one of the flowers of the garland. The bee had stung the child on the neck. All this while Sunder Singh was crying bitterly and to soothe him Champavati told him that she would give him bread to eat. Saying this she got up but felt dizzy and sat down again. After a moment she rose and drank some water from the stream. This somewhat refreshed her. Then taking the child in

her arms she slowly made up to the place of their parent's abode.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

*Is there one cruel turn of fortune's wheel
unseen of me?*

*Is there a pang, a grief my wounded heart
has missed?*

In a cottage embowered by wild shrubs, in the heart of the dreary forest, on an obscure and desolate spot, surrounded all round by a wall of bamboo trees through which a narrow way had been made, sat Rana Pratap and his Queen Maharani Gunwati. They were clothed in the coarsest garments and looked very sad. But behind this miserable exterior shone the formidable Rajput valour and the indomitable Rajput courage. Both seemed absorbed in some sad thought. After a while the Rana heaved a sigh and said, "Gunwati how unfortunate we are today. For the first time it is that a hungry Brahman had to go away from our doors without receiving food. O' God to what a pitiable condition have we been reduced! Alas, that it was to come to this!—the descendants of the chiefs of Chittore, the crown and glory of the Kshattriya race, who once held sway over the whole of Rajasthan reduced to such ignoble poverty! A hungry Brahman had to return from these doors unfed. How can I bear the cruel shame of it? God, take mercy on us and put an end to this. How I would welcome death at this moment!" Saying this the Rana fell down senseless. The Maharani raised him, and taking his head in her lap began to fan him with the skirts of her saree. After a while the Rana opened his eyes. The Maharani said, "My Lord, be not so much downcast. Bhagwan who has not forsaken us till now will not withdraw the hand of his help at this moment of trial. Bhagwan is merciful. And so, My Lord, I beseech you not to allow this trouble to break your heart. This state does not become the lion-hearted Rana

Pratap of Chittore." The Rana said, "Ah Gunwati today for the first time I have failed to feed a hungry Brahman. What shall I say to him when he comes to us again? We have borne the agonies of hunger for many a day and I remained firm. My child Akshaya Kumar had to die of hunger and I bore it. My dear daughter Swarna Kumari passed away amid the agonies of starvation and I said nothing. Thou too hadst to go without bread for several days on so many times but I did not lose heart even then. But today—ah....." There are moments when the mightiest heart will crack. Expression which soothes the oppressed heart of sorrow sometimes singularly fails to do so and renders itself more heart-rending. Rana Pratap could not bear the weight of his own words, and again broke down and lost consciousness.

Just then Champavati entered the cottage with her brother.

Gunwati—"Champa, why hast thou come here at this moment?"

Champavati paused a moment and replied, "Mother, I would not have come here at this moment but....."

Gunwati—"But what?"

Champavati—"The Brahman shall not go hungry from our doors."

Gunwati—"What dost thou know of the *Atithi*?"

Champavati with her eye fixed to the ground answered—"I was listening to father's words."

Gunwati (frowning and angry)—"Dost thou over-hear the talk of others from concealment like a spy?"

Champavati—"No, mother. I have committed this fault to-day for the first time. So pardon me, mother. But pray tell father that the *Atithi* shall not go away hungry. I will give him food."

The Rana at once opened his eyes and sat up

"Will thou feed him, and where wilt thou get food," he asked excitedly.

"I am just coming" said Champavati and went out of the hut.

Sunder Singh was tired with weeping. He was extremely hungry and was feeling dizzy. Gunwati took him in her lap and in a few moments the child sobbed to slumber.

After a moment Champavati returned with two small eakes. The sight of the cakes made the Rana's face glow up and he seemed supremely delighted. In glad surprise he asked, "Champa, where didst thou get these cakes?" Champavati said, "Last evening I had no appetite and so I preserved my cakes. This morning I took some wild fruits. (This was an inspired falsehood. The fact was that Sunder Singh's constant crying from hunger was unbearable to Champavati and so she preserved her cakes for him, herself having only taken some dried berries. To what high pitch of heroism had sorrow raised this little girl of eleven!) and had kept these cakes for Sunder, but as he is now asleep I shall give these to the *atithi*." Hearing this the Rana's heart swelled with love, and tears gushed from his eyes. He embraced his daughter and only said, "God bless thee, noble girl."

THE RETURN OF THE ATITHI.

It was now for several years that the Rana had been living in exile like this. Such indeed was his indigence that on many occasions he and his family went without food for days. Only a few surviving servants still clung to their unfortunate master and served him faithfully. They managed to feed the Rana, the royal family, and the other Rajput followers of the King out of what they could procure from the neighbouring villages. But with all their efforts only a cake or a half cake was all that each could get as his share. The Rana and the Maharani used to take only a few morsels just to keep body and soul to.

gether, and gave the rest of their shares to their children.

Such had been the Rana's hard fate now for years. For freedom's sake he had been compelled to taste the bitter cup of adversity and to drink it to its dregs. Only the inspiration of his cause sustained him through these trials and enabled him to bear up in the face of such an ordeal right manfully. A pathetic light is thrown on this solitary figure, "clinging to hope with the tenacity of despair," bearing the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune without any sign of dismay and following the gleam—the gleam of liberty, of freedom and franchisement with a calm, heroic, almost superhuman faith.

On the morning of the day of which we write, the Rana's servants had brought a small quantity of flour. When the cakes were made of it they were so few that only the Rana's Rajput followers and the Rana's children could get, each a cake or two. The Rana and the Maharani took nothing. Champavati knew it and herself abstained from eating her share. The two small cakes which she had just brought were the same that she had preserved. The Rana, as we have said, was deeply moved by this example of self-sacrifice and for a moment experienced that supreme bliss which the sight of a noble deed always brings.

But the sight of these small cakes only partly allayed the Rana's anxiety. His next care was that more cakes were required to satisfy a hungry man. He communicated his anxiety to Rani Gunwati in a whisper, not daring to belittle his daughter's utmost self-denial,—alas it was by her utmost self-sacrifice that even these two tiny cakes had been preserved—by telling her that they would not do. But, as if guided by the unfailing instinct of sympathy, the girl said immediately, "Father, I have two pieces with me and I think that we may buy some more flour for these and make some more cakes which would be enough for the *atithi*." The Rana snatched the copper-coins

from his daughter's hand as she was holding them out to him and hastened to the market.

Shortly after the Rana's return the Brahman reappeared. Beforehand Champavati had cleared the place near the hut and placed a grass mattress for the guest. The *atithi* looked fifty years old and even in rags he appeared grand and commanding. As he approached the cottage he called out, "A hungry Brahman wants some food. God bless thee." Champavati came out of the hut and asked him, to sit down on the mattress. As he sat down he asked Champavati, "who art thou my child?" Champavati said, "I am Ranaji's daughter at your holiness' service." The stranger's face displayed a suppressed compassion and loving admiration, as saying this the girl went inside to bring the scanty food for him. She returned with about ten small cakes on a plantain leaf and some *chatni* and placed these with a glass of water before the *atithi*. The *atithi* began to eat.

Champavati—(hanging down her head in shame) "Maharaj, it is due to our poverty that you have to eat this course food. How can you ever like such bad diet?"

Atithi—"No, my child, there is no harm. I like the food. God will bless thee."

After a while he finished and rose to depart. A glow of joy illuminated Champavati's face—she had bought this precious moment of bliss at great cost and the joy was as great as the sacrifice.

While leaving, the satisfied Brahman blessed Champavati and said that at night he would again come to see the Rana. Champavati entered the hut in order to tell her parents that the Brahman went away well satisfied, and thus to enable them to share the bliss that was hers. But hunger had weakened her extremely and she fell down head-long at the threshold—senseless.

FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE.

"When the pain becomes too sharp it is cured."
Ghalib.

It was pitch dark. A brisk breeze hissed through the thick cluster of trees and shrubs. The branches waved, the twigs shook and the leaves trembled as if afraid of the black night. On a mattress lay the thin figure of a girl, a mere skeleton, faintly moving about amid the last agonies of death. It was Champavati lying on her death bed and gasping for breath. By her sat Rana Pratap and Rani Gunwati in an attitude of helpless awe. Sunder Singh was now wide awake.

Rana Pratap—(heaving a sigh) "O God, if thou hast given me such worthy progeny why dost thou snatch them away from me so soon?"

Sunder Singh—"Mother why is sister lying so?"

Rani Gunwati—(wiping a tear) "she is sleeping, my son."

There was a pause.

After a while the Rana broke the silence and spoke to the Rani :

Rana Pratap—"Well, what reply shall we send to Akbar? He says he will befriend me if I acknowledge his supremacy. He is very keen on having friendly relations with me. I do not know how he has come to know of our helpless condition, for he writes that he is very much grieved at our plight. He implores me in the name of our children whose sufferings, he says, have greatly moved him, to conclude a treaty with him with a nominal acknowledgment of his supremacy. He concludes that if I am not prepared to listen to his proposal I may go anywhere and he promises never again to molest us.

(Just then a voice was heard outside the hut, the Rana was startled and asked) "who is there?"

No one answered.

Gunwati—"Perhaps it was only the cracking of the fallen leaves."

Rana Pratap—"I think Akbar is a generous-hearted man."

As if galvanised by the words Champavati half rose and reclining on her two bony arms and shaking all over, spoke in historic accents. For

once passion seemed to have given her a victory over death. She said, "Yes, to-day you have discovered Akbar's generosity, tomorrow you will be tempted by one of his official services and the next day you will become his proud servant. But, remember, that day you will ring the death-knell of Rajput independence. Does he say he feels pity at your children's sufferings? Perhaps he is not aware, simple man, that the Rana's children are not so made of such tender fibre. Perhaps he has forgotten Haldighat?"

This was her supreme effort and she fell down exhausted. The Rana and the Rani looked at the girl in dumb amazement. Gunwati pressed the girl's temples to see if high fever had not made her delirious.

Champavati—(In a faint halting voice whose gentleness seemed already to come from another world). "No, mother, I am not delirious. Father, do not listen to Akbar."

The Rana—(Inspired and excited) "Beside thy death-bed I swear that so long as I live I shall fight for chittore. Only for one moment and for one moment only parental love had got the better of my sense of duty. But I am firm again. So long as I have such progeny as thou to inspire me and hearten me I shall not be defeated by Akbar."

Champavati—"That is it."

"Yes, that is it" a voice echoed outside the cottage, and immediately the Emperor Akbar entered, made up as a beggar.

Champavati—"How now, this is the *Atithi*."

Akbar—"Rana, your courage and your children's courage have conquered me. All glory to you. The soil of India should be proud of such children. Here stand I as a witness to this matchless example of patriotism, pledged to respect your independence. Give me your hand."

Tears stood in the eyes of the two monarchs as they stood hand in hand. There was a brief silence. Akbar drew Rana Pratap in a close embrace and asked leave to go.

Just then there was a slight movement on the bed on which Champavati lay. Both Akbar and the Rana turned to her. She lay motionless—dead; Outside the moving of the breeze had stopped and an awful silence, the silence of death reigned.

The Task Before the Medical Profession

I. BY THE HON. DR. SIR NILRATAN SARCAR

At the conclusion of the war, we find the tasks before the medical profession a tremendous one. To guide the destinies of millions of men to an average standard of health after this serious disturbance of normal conditions is the medical man's duty and the privilege. In order to recoup the numerical deficiency, it would be necessary to have resort to improved hygienic conditions, improved food; improved education, particularly of mothers — to improved economic conditions and to improved self-restraint, particularly as regards the consumption of alcohol. Humanity must conserve every bit of its resources and it is her interest now to prolong, every life that has been spared by removing as many causes leading to death as possible.

While the economical, educational and other social questions involved in the object will be solved by others, the medical profession must concern itself with a wider spread of sanitary ideas and measures. And those in power are bound to devote their earnest attention to the healing of a wound that has been inflicted upon the body corporate of humanity by the wanton culpability of some of them. We are happy to notice that in England there is already a proposal for the creation of a Ministry of Health. I am extremely happy to find that the Surgeon-General to the Government of India has also taken up the work of post-war reconstruction in right earnest.

THE EPIDEMICS.

Before the war had finished its mad career, there appeared in the field another enemy of humanity, perhaps of a more formidable nature. Early in summer of this year, the pandemic ordinarily believed to be the Influenza made its appearance in Spain and soon spread throughout the world including India. In India, like many other,

epidemics, it made its first appearance in the capital of the Western Presidency. The epidemic then spread rapidly all over India, first of all along the Great Trunk Railways till practically all parts of the country were affected. A second and a far more severe outbreak of the disease occurred in the autumn of the year and now practically even in the smallest village this dire disease is afflicting the people and exacting its toll. . . .

But we have ample reasons to conclude that this fell disease has collected during the last six months a much heavier toll than Cholera, Malaria or even Plague within a similar period of time. One observer makes it 6 millions in 12 weeks, which works up to as much as 5 times the mortality of the war. For whereas Cholera and Plague are more prevalent in large cities than in villages and Malaria ordinarily affects the villages more than the towns, this disease affects urban and village population without distinction. The combination of several infections which aggravate the mortality in these attacks is practically unknown in other diseases. . . .

HOW THE EPIDEMIC HAS AFFECTED THE PROFESSION.

No doubt the war required and readily obtained the willing and devoted service of a large number of medical men; but the epidemic taxed to the utmost degree the energies, attention and time of every medical man in India and yet thousands of sufferers have died without treatment. It has presented before us a reality which in its appalling magnitude overpowers not only our intellectual capacities but our imaginations as well. The circumstance, however, imposes upon us the immediate necessity of increasing our number. We must have a larger recruiting activity and we must train a larger army of medical men.

Time and again we have been pressing upon the authorities the necessity of a wider extension of

medical education, but so far our voice has been only a cry in the wilderness.

The present epidemic has shown how very hopelessly inadequate is the number of ministers of health in comparison to the practically innumerable sufferers. We are in the regular line in India less than 10,000 persons struggling to minister to the medical needs of a population of 330 millions. In ordinary times, the proportion would appear less insufficient. During this epidemic, the proportion has been proved to be hopelessly inadequate, particularly for the villages where there are no practitioners for miles and miles. But it is expected both by the Government and the people that the medical confession should be equal to cope with situations like the present.

A wider extension of a medical education throughout India has become a necessity. By this I do not mean extension of medical education amongst students lacking general educational qualifications. I believe that the time has come when, with properly directed efforts, we can train a fairly large number of University Matriculates for the profession of medicine. I do not suggest a lowering of the standard from what has been fixed by the examining Boards in various provinces of India. In this connection, I think it my duty to emphasise the fact that though the profession is quite ready to participate in a medical educational movement at considerable sacrifice, the people of the country have been persisting in an attitude of culpable indifference and inactivity. Why should we indeed look to Government for every thing? While Colleges for general education are being multiplied by the score at the instance of the public, very little effort has been manifested as yet to establish private medical schools. Many of the existing hospitals, can be easily converted into centres of clinical training if only schools are started in this connection. The attitude of the Government is helpful. The workers are ready for recruitment, but unfortu-

nately there is no public interest to enlist the services of medical teachers or to utilise the potential gifts of the Government.

I have already said that an extension of sanitary movements will be necessary to bring about recovery from the effects of the war. But, in India, the war has added some new miseries to a long list of pre-existing troubles like Malaria (which carries away annually in Bengal alone about 10 lakhs of our people) Tuberculosis, which is the scourge of the young men and women of the lower middle classes, small-pox, which is the pest of the crowded homes of the indigenous population, and Syphilis which, though not so much fatal, yet strikes at the vitality of generations of men and women, and Hook worm.

The question of the organisation of a great sanitary movement throughout the country, therefore stands in the forefront as the question of the day. In this movement, there are three parties concerned,—the Government, the profession and the people: and its success will depend upon the earnestness and effort with which each of these parties will take up the matter. Great is the responsibility resting upon every one of these parties. But it is heaviest in the case of the noble profession, the one justification of whose existence is to relieve and cure and above all prevent human suffering. * * *

But however efficient this organisations may be, the result achieved is bound to be poor if the general public remain aloof and indifferent. The main question before us is to draw the general public into the movement. And this can only be done by creating interest in the public mind through propaganda and efficient sanitary works. Government, no doubt, initiates large sanitary schemes, but it is the homes of the masses that form the chief field for sanitary work. Such homes we can reach only through a widespread "combined education and sanitation movement." And the medical profession that stands between

the Government and the people must exert its utmost to help this ' movement' on. We must acquire fresh knowledge in the colleges, Research Institutes and laboratories on the one hand, and "diffuse our knowledge," on the other. We must urge upon the Government the necessity of starting sanitary classes in educational institutions of all grades. We must start mixed sanitary associations for the enlightenment of the professional as well as lay members. We must start journals dealing with sanitary questions, both in the vernacular and the English language for the education of the general public. And much depends on the care and attention with which we can push this movement.—[From the Presidential Address to the All India Medical Conference.]

II BY DR. J. K. SEN.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not difficult to realise the magnitude of the task, and the seriousness of the responsibility of the medical man in India. How little our strength really is to cope with the work that civilisation entrusts to our profession! There are millions of men in this country whom no form of medical relief in time of sickness can reach at all! There are thousands of villages in which there is not one medical man! One cannot but wonder at the hopeless inadequacy of the provision for the training of medical men in the country. Even the handful of Medical Colleges and Schools that exist, are limited in size, and there is not enough room for all the youngmen who would choose the profession and want a medical training. I believe, gentlemen, you would like to see half a dozen medical schools and colleges spring up in different parts of the country, and I would, on my part, welcome another college in Delhi, for men!

May I here say a few words on another aspect of the duties and responsibilities of the members of the profession as men of Science? I mean the utilisation of our talents for the advancement and the improvement of the Medical science and

practice. In the field of research, the work already done in this country is by no means negligible, but we cannot say we have done enough. I am fully aware of the difficulties of the independent medical practitioner. Those who have got the capacity for such work have little time and fewer opportunities. It is a pity that their energies are almost entirely absorbed in private practice. But lack of opportunities is a more regrettable handicap. They cannot devote themselves, if they choose, to the pursuit of the science as professors in colleges nor make use of the Government hospitals and laboratories. I hope that in time the present conditions will improve, but meanwhile we cannot afford to wait indefinitely and waste the best talents of our profession. The subject of tropical diseases is not only of very great importance and interest but affords a large scope for the intellectual and practical activities of the scientist. Tuberculosis also is becoming a growing menace to the people of India, especially in congested areas. We must take the warning in time, and be prepared to combat this fell enemy of mankind. It demands the greatest possible vigilance, and we must be armed with all the knowledge and skill that science and experience can provide. We are grateful to Sir Pardey Lukis and his collaborators for the school of tropical diseases in India. It will, I hope, be a nucleus of a great institution for the study of these diseases. I also hope that the medical talents of this country will soon be able with improved methods and better knowledge to prevent to a large extent the destructive maladies to which the masses of the Indian people are now a habitual prey, and save millions of lives from the attacks of plague, malaria and cholera. But it is a work of stupendous magnitude and importance and calls forth the unceasing efforts, individual and collective, of the members of the profession.—(From the Welcome Address to the All India Medical Conference.)

INDIA AND SELF-DETERMINATION

I. BY HON. PANDIT M. M. MALAVIYA.

THE question now is to what extent is India going to benefit by the principles for which she gave her lives and treasure, namely, the principles of justice and liberty, of the right of every nation to live an unmolested life of freedom and to grow according to its own God-given nature, to manage its own affairs, and to mould its own destiny. The principles for which Great Britain and the Allies fought have now been embodied in the Peace Proposals of President Wilson. These principles have been adopted with the hearty concurrence and support of Great Britain. Indeed, the credit for adopting them is in one sense greater in the case of Britain and France than in the case of America. For Britain and France had borne the brunt of the war for four years and by their unconquerable courage and heroic sacrifices made it possible for themselves and the Allies to achieve the final victory. . . .

Now the principle that runs through the Peace Proposals is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another. Each nation is to be given freedom to determine its own affairs and to mould its own destinies. Russia is to have an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her own political development and national policy. Austria-Hungary is to be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. International guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity are to be secured to the Balkan States, and to the independent Polish State which are to be created. Nationalities other than Turkish now under Turkish rule are to be assured security of life and autonomous development. In the adjustment of colonial claims the principle to be followed is that

in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the population concerned are to have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. How far are these principles of autonomy and self-determination to be applied to India? That is the question for consideration. . . . Standing in this ancient capital of India, both of the Hindu and Mahomedan periods, it fills me my countrymen and countrywomen with inexpressible sorrow and shame to think that we the descendants of Hindus who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive empire, and the descendants of Mussalmans who ruled here for several hundred years, should have so far fallen from our ancient state, that we should have to argue our capacity for even a limited measure of autonomy and self-rule. But there is so much ignorance among those who have got a determining voice in the affairs of our country at present that if I but had the time, I would tell them something of the capacity of our peoples—Hindus and Musalmans—till the advent of British rule in India. I may refer these who care to know it, to the papers published at pages 581 to 624 in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's book on 'Poverty and un-British rule in India.' I will content myself with saying that one third of India, comprising a population of nearly 60 millions, is still under Indian rule, and that the administration of many of the Indian States compares very favourably with that of British India. Has the fact of our being under British rule for 150 years rendered us less fit for self-rule than our fellow-subjects in our Indian States are? Are a people who can produce a scientist like Sir J. C. Bose, a poet like Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, lawyers like Sir Bhashyam Iyengar and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, administrators like Sir T. Madhava Row and Sir Salar Jung, judges of the High Court like Syed Mah-

mood and Telang, patriots and public men like Dadabhai Naoroji and Ranade, Pherozsha Mehta and G. K. Gokhale, industrialists like J. N. Tata and his worthy son Sir Dorab Tata and a servant of humanity like Mr. Gandhi, and soldiers who have rendered a good account of themselves in all the theatres of war, unfit for self-government in their domestic affairs? I hope that the insult of such an assumption will no longer be added to the injury that is being done us by being kept out of our birthright to self-government, and that the principle of self-determination will be extended to India.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us make it clear what we mean when we talk of self-determination. There are two aspects of self-determination, as it has been spoken of in the peace proposals. One is that the people of certain colonies and other places should have the right to say whether they will live under the suzerainty of one power or of another. So far as we Indians are concerned we have no need to say that we do not desire to exercise that election. Since India passed directly under the British Crown, we have owned allegiance to the Sovereign of England. We stand unshaken in that allegiance. We gladly renewed our allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor in person when he was pleased to visit India in 1911 after his Coronation in England. We still desire to remain subjects of the British Crown. There is, however, the second and no less important aspect of self-determination, namely, that being under the British Crown, we should be allowed complete, responsible government on the lines of the Dominions, in the administration of all our domestic affairs. We are not yet asking for this either. We are asking for a measure of self-government which we have indicated by our Congress-League Scheme of 1916. We urge that the measure of self-government or responsible government, if you please, to be given to us should be judged and determined in the light of the principle of self-determination which

has emerged triumphant out of this devastating war. In order that this should be done it is not necessary that the proposals of reform which have been elaborated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford should be laid aside and a brand-new scheme be prepared. The Special Congress and the Moslim League have expressed their willingness to accept those proposals with the modifications and improvements which they have advocated. This great Congress representing the people of all classes and creeds—Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians representing all interests, landholders and tenants, merchants and businessmen, educationists, publicists and representatives of all other sections of the people is assembled here to-day to express the mind of the people on this question. One special and particularly happy feature of this Congress is the presence, at it of nearly five hundred delegates of the tenant class who have come at great sacrifice from far and near, to join their voice with the rest of their countrymen in asking for a substantial measure of self-government. This representative Congress of the people of India will declare what in its opinion should be the measure of reform which should be introduced into the country. Let the British Government give effect to the principle of self-determination in India by accepting the proposals put^{*} forward by the representatives of the people of India. Let the preamble to the statute which is under preparation incorporate the principle of self-determination and provide that the representatives of the people of India shall have an effective voice in determining the future steps of progress towards complete responsible government. This will produce deep contentment and gratitude among the people of India and strong then their attachment to the British Empire.*

* For full text of the speech the reader is referred to "Speeches and Writings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya" G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3 To subscribers of the Indian Review. Price Rs. 2.5.

II. MRS. ANNIE BESANT

* * * We asked that something positive in the shape of an Act of Parliament, be passed for establishing Responsible Government in India. We do not ask for the abolition of the sovereignty of the Crown. We do not attack the Throne of the King-Emperor, but we say in our internal affairs, in the business of our own Nation, public and private, we ought to make our own laws, elect our own men, get rid of those men if they fail us after we have elected them. That is the freedom that every Colony enjoys and that freedom we claim for ourselves.

* * * We ask for equal rights with the Self-Governing Dominions, and without the right of direct representation in the central authority of the Empire our Self-Determination would not be complete.—[*Speech at the Delhi Congress.*]

III. BY THE HON. MR. FAZHLUL HUQ

England should so shape her administration in India that when history comes to write of her rule, she may not have reasons to be ashamed of her epitaph. She should begin by revising her economic policy towards India. She should also revise her statute book. The Press Act and Arms Act should be at once repealed and the Defence of India Act should be so completely wiped out as to leave no pernicious traces behind. Englishmen have always taken a pride that in securing for Right a complete victory over Might-England has borne the most honourable and most conspicuous part. Will England, in the hour of her Victory deny to India the application in the administration of affairs of those very principles for which England claims to have spent so much blood and treasure? The success that has crowned the British Arms has brought to the minds of Indians a natural pride and high expectation. Let us hope that expectation will be justified, and these hopes amply fulfilled, by the introduction into India of a real measure of Self-Government.

[*From Presidential address to the Moslem League.*]

IV. BY DR. M. A. ANSARI.

To my mind there is but one single doctrine in which is focussed the entire thought of the whole human race. This doctrine, Gentlemen, is the doctrine of self-determination. If every nation, small or large, weak or strong, free or under subjugation, is given the chance to realise itself and to determine its own destiny, without any outside intervention, it will develop its own form of Government, its own national culture and its own peculiar civilization. It is only on such lines that free nationalities could expand and develop and it is only under such conditions that the world could be made fit to live in. The phrase "subject nationality" would then be obsolete and there would be no such thing as national greed or aggression. The world would then consist of a sisterhood of free and trusting states, each helping the others for the common good of mankind.

It was to facilitate the establishment of this happy order that India contributed so lavishly in men and money and in the final reconstruction of the world she cannot be left out. The blood of her sons has not flowed on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa to win freedom and liberty for other nations and perpetuate her own bondage. The tradition and history of the Hindus and Mussalmans support her claims to recognition.

If England and her Allies can champion the cause of Poland, the Czecho-Slavs and the patched up and degenerate nationalities of the Balkans, if it is proposed to breathe new political life into the dead remains of the Armenian kingdom and if the scattered sons of Israel are to be once more gathered into the folds of India, equity and justice, political honesty and loyalty to the principles accepted and preached by the statesman of Europe and America, demand that India shall not be deprived of her innate right to determine her future and control her destinies.—(*From the Welcome address to the Moslem League.*)

ON HINDU IDEALS

THE HON. RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH.

ROM sometime past a movement towards nationalism has been gaining strength in this country and the best and enlightened minds amongst our community have rightly adopted the so-called non-sectarian attitude of being Indian first and Hindu, Mahomedan or anything else afterwards. No body can cavil at the high standard of patriotism that vibrates through their hearts. But there is still a higher patriotism towards which humanity is now moving and it is nothing more, nothing less, than what the Hindu Rishis of old, of revered memory preached and practised. Nationalism seems to be a spent force and the future of the world lies in internationalism. The ancient Hindu ideal of the oneness of man was a far wiser one in comparison with the narrow exclusive and one-sided nationalism of the west which can never be truly serviceable to humanity. All that the world needs is justice and no undue advantages and gains obtained artificially by force of circumstances to serve some special purpose temporarily can keep the equilibrium even and are sure to prove injurious in the long run. It is un-Hindu to assail the rights and privileges of others and I therefore humbly pray my nationalist Hindu brethren to co-operate and help us in our activities to safeguard our legitimate rights and privileges.* * If that is not so the word 'Hindu' before the Sabha may better be expunged because by its long usage it connotes a community whose very religion is an embodiment of tolerance, catholicity and spiritualism as opposed to fanaticism, bigotry and materialism.* * We have lost sight of the high ideals which used to pulsate and animate the hearts of our forefathers. The chief cause is that we are disorganized and disunited. It is for the Hindu Sabha to organize and unite the scattered atoms of our community and to devise means for the amelioration of the

whole so that we might rise again to the same pinnacle of glory and civilization which our forefathers had attained. The majority of our community reside in villages sunk in the lowest depths of misery and ignorance. There is absolutely no provisions for the ministration of the spiritual and religious requirements of the people and the result is that their religious ideas are fast drifting into something vague and meaningless. The less said about the depressed classes the better. Our system of charity has degenerated and is producing a demoralizing effect on a vast mass of population; our charitable endowments are misused and are neither applied nor serve the purpose for which they were made; the majority of our temples and monasteries are not now the places for the uplift of the spiritual side of our being, but contrary to that, they often debase and produce a pernicious effect on the minds of the people; our Sadhus and so-called Mahatmas have become mere mendicants and instead of invigorating the moral side of human souls, are pests to the country. The study of our sacred and secular languages—I mean Sanskrit and Hindi—is being neglected and Deva Nagri script has not yet been adopted by the country and in this way we are laying an axe at the very root of solidarity and cohesion which we so much aim at in our community. Painful is the story to tell of the unfortunate and unwholesome changes in most of the social, political and religious Hindu institutions that were meant for the uplift of the people but are now serving the reverse purpose. I appeal to the Hindu Sabha, I appeal to my Hindu brethren to take all these matters in hand and bring about such improvements in them as to make them worthy of the Hindu name. I desire to sound a warning. We are demanding self-determination in all that concerns us politically, the same determination should be allowed to the people in social matters and if the Hindu Sabha will act otherwise, it shall fail in its object I am sure—[Presidential Address to the Hindu Conference.]

THE INSULT OF PHILANTHROPY

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

HAVE known some of the finest minds and spirits in Europe to offer the insult of philanthropy which they call social service to suffering humanity. To offer relief to the poor in the spirit of philanthropy is to offer them that insult which is worse than death, for the rich have their riches, the beautiful have their beauty, the poets have their genius but the poor have only their pride. In offering social service do it in a spirit of humility which alone can make that service acceptable to the dying, the suffering and which alone makes the poor accept from your hands the cup of water which generates them to life. Friends, this is one point on which I wish to lay special stress. I, in the course of my life, have often been obliged to work with those who finding that the channel of service was open have worked indeed, have served indeed and I ventured to be their comrade in that scene because I felt that charity was there, though love there had become a mechanical duty instead of being a spontaneous feeling that it should be. Some years ago when in a night the river floods came to my beautiful city of Hyderabad in Deccan, not in Sindh (laughter), thousands upon thousands were swept away, homes were destroyed. Then I recognized with shame within myself that though death was upon them, service was upon them, the poor men stood side by side refusing help from the rich but sharing in one another's poverty. They refused with scorn the help that they gave to them, that kind of social service offered to them by those who felt that the suffering of those men and women was because that they had no clothes upon their backs, no bread, to eat. They offered a loaf of bread, a change of clothes but no man, no woman said to any one "Come and share with me to-day the bread that I eat, the cloth that I wear." They said "Take this money, take this food, give me your name,

where do you live?" No one said "My sister, my daughter what matters this dirt and what matters this filth I am here to help you." No body said that.

GIVE OUT OF YOUR ABUNDANCE.

It was organised philanthropy by men and women who gave out of their abundance. Now that phrase brings me to a beautiful phrase in the letter written by our great national poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore (Cheers). He said in his letter, that was read just now, that we must learn to give out of our abundance. Now this seems as a contradiction to what I said. But what I mean is this: "Give out of your abundance, not of that superfluous abundance of your material wealth, not the superfluous leisure of your idle time; not the superfluous sympathy that you can spare, because you have no need to use it for self gain and self-interest, but of that abundance within yourself which is love itself." That is the abundance of which Sir Rabindranath Tagore has spoken.

SPIRIT OF DEDICATION.

Let me say to you that if you form social organisations over the whole of the country, for working for the relief of the suffering, the destitute, let it be in a spirit of dedication of that abundance, for without that abundance, that vital love within you, your work is not worth anything..... What we need to-day is the recognition that no national life is possible in our midst until every class of suffering has reached some kind of help. Indeed I would say the primary part of our programme should be a dedication to the uplifting of the masses. I do not mean masses in the sense in which the word is used, but liberally it means within our land millions upon millions. Millions of men and women are hungry for work. I would not care so much merely for the hunger of

the body, I would not care so much for the ignorance only of the mind; I would not care so much for their sufferings, where only suffering is measured by material needs, but the tragedy of our national life lies in this that the principle of self-respect has been denied to our people and the most tragic part of the whole thing is that they are not even conscious of that. Friends, the basis of our social service must be this that apart from those that take food to the famine stricken or the missionary that takes books of Algebra, and Arithmetic to the masses, for those are after all secondary needs, I want missionaries that would go from door to door taking the torch and saying to every one "Here from this torch of self-respect light that little hut in which you live, that hut, that dirty, that filthy airless hut that is your prison."

SOCIAL SERVICE—A PART OF LIFE.

In whatever way, in whatever channel in whatever opportunity it gives you to carry the torch to the dark houses, those prisons in which

the poor and the suffering dwell, take that torch with you; do not take charity but love. Do not take your idleness but out of the abundance of the crowded hours in which you cannot spare a single moment create moments, create leisure. It is greater than filling your names on the pages of history. How will a school-master, you ask, serve humanity at 4 o'clock if time has passed ahead? How will a statesman after sitting in the council weary and tired serve his fellow men? How can all these people do social service? I say to you that social service is not a thing separate from your life. It is not like a council where men gather, it is not the mosque where many go on Fridays to pray and not the temple where they gather at the proper time. Social service is that which is always with you, when the opportunities are there, when the will is there, and every moment of your life; for like religion it is that which is within you and not that which is outside you. It is a part of your daily life, it is the enthusiastic dedication of yourself to the service of humanity which alone makes you a man.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN INDIA

BY DEWAN BAHADUR V. P. MADHAVA RAO, C.I.E.

AMONG the principal issues that confront us, the first is the question whether the Urdu speaking Mahomedans who number about a seventh or a sixth of the population will agree to the adoption of Hindi as a common language or at least of Nagari as a common script out of regard for the wishes of the majority. If they do not, the curse of dividedness will continue to rest on our country. And if we recognise and perpetuate two languages and two scripts, we should not have derived the full benefits of the great work of unification, effected so far through the medium of the English tongue. Next, among the non-Mahomedans, under which head we may

include Indian Christians also, would those speaking the Dravidian and non-Sanskritic vernaculars agree to the proposed change? Thirdly, if these communities do agree, in what way could we approach the subject of getting so many as two hundred millions who speak tongues different from Hindi, to learn a new vernacular?

With regard to the first of these questions, you are aware what an amount of opposition there was some time ago to the use of certain Hindi words in the school text-books of the United Provinces. Again the Mahomedan population in such parts of India as Mysore, Malabar and the Tamil country where they are not in touch with

Hindi, has to learn this language in addition to their mother tongue, which in many instances is a Dravidian language, and also learn the local vernacular which may not be their mother tongue. Most of such people being keen business-men cannot think of devoting their precious time to learning a new language merely for the pleasure of exchanging thoughts with the Indians of the North on some rare occasions. This, however, is a point on which none but a Mahomedan gentleman of wide knowledge could speak with authority. It would have been of immense help to this great cause, had our esteemed fellow-countryman Mr. Syed Hassan Imam found it possible to accede to your request and had presided on this occasion. His contribution to the solution of this practical difficulty would have been of the highest value.

Will the groups speaking languages other than Hindi, who when combined, would constitute a majority, numbering about 200 millions submit to the linguistic predominance of the Hindi speaking minority who are about a third of the entire population? The majority will have to undergo the trouble of learning Hindi in addition to their local vernacular while the minority will have no such trouble. The situation when viewed a little more closely will better reveal the magnitude of the difficulties to be overcome. At present there are about 220 mother tongues against fifteen or sixteen provincial vernaculars, and as such most men have to learn

(1) A mother tongue; (2) A local vernacular; (3) Sanskrit or Urdu or Arabic (for religious or cultural purposes); (4) English (for public or official business) and; (5) An All-India vernacular as now proposed.

It is well known that languages are picked up most quickly and with the least effort in childhood and youth. Can our children then manage to study five languages in our schools? As matters stand at present, they learn but two and this

has been thought to involve too great a strain. Could we reasonably propose to add two or three more? At a time when India has to equip herself for the struggle to attain nationhood and when she has to keep in line with the most advanced nations, can her youth afford to waste in picking up half a dozen languages, the time required to get correct ideas regarding the world round them and store their minds with knowledge necessary for success in life or maintaining themselves in the world?

It may be suggested as is sometimes done that people should be compelled to adopt a common language by legislation but this can never succeed. Again the State may in shaping its policy in regard to public instruction discourage the use of some language or languages. But if a language happens to be one's mother tongue and has some cultural value, people will not really abandon it. Even dead languages they would not give up if they are their classical languages.

It should also not be lost sight of, under modern conditions that no people can make any appreciable progress by means of a single language. In every other enlightened country other tongues than the local vernaculars and many foreign tongues also are systematically taught. The idea of adopting a single language for all purposes is too antiquated to deserve serious consideration. It appears to me, therefore, that we ought to approach the subject from a different standpoint. Efforts should be made in the direction of the natural processes and tendencies which determine the survival of languages in their struggle for existence. First let people learn such languages as have a value for them in practical life relinquishing those that are of themselves losing ground. Next let special encouragement be given to the study of those popular languages which would bring men nearer the goal of unification.—[From the Presidential Address to the All-India Common Language Conference.]

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF STUDENTS

BY
THE REV. ALLEN F. GARDINER.

THE example of Germany and her fellow-conspirators stands as a warning to all who claim to be patriotic to examine their patriotism very closely. Corporate selfishness is not patriotism ; the aggressive ambition of a nation is not patriotism : lust of power is not patriotism : True patriotism is defined in the ideas current to-day throughout civilised humanity, of which I am speaking now, and all "patriotism" must be measured by that standard.

The ideas are pure and noble in themselves, and it is at first sight a strange fact that attempts to realise them are so often just the reverse. This is a paradox which demands investigation. Why is it that those who loudly profess to be dominated by such ideas, who blazon their cause with all sorts of high-sounding titles, resort to the vilest practices in their methods ? A noble idea is born ; watch its development in society. The idea is dragged into mire and squalor ; the policy of those who profess to maintain it is stained with malice, spite, and hatred ; with wilful misrepresentation, vituperation, and recrimination ; with detraction, calumny, and lies ; the vilest passions of humanity are exhibited by its professed supporters and evoked in their adherents. Why is it that we who watch the future of a noble ideal do so with the utmost anxiety ? Why is it that so many leaders in a noble movement retire so soon, shouted down, disillusioned, exiled ?

Ideas that are noble in the abstract appeal to the inherent goodness in man, but too often that appeal is forgotten when the realisation of these ideas is attempted. If liberty is advocated, all the lovers of license flock to its standard. If patriotism is the call, all the workers of revolution and disorder rally to it, and in the movement which began so favourably the worst ele-

ments in the community soon take the lead by pandering to the lowest appetites in their followers—to pride, greed, selfishness, and base ambition. And how easy it is to succumb to the fatal fascination of the false ! Meanwhile the best and noblest spirits, who had formed the vanguard of the movement, drop silently out of the ranks since they fearlessly refuse to flatter friends and to vilify their political opponents, to claim a monopoly of wisdom for themselves and to ascribe every kind of injustice and deceit to those who honestly disagree with them. Many a benevolent and patriotic movement which had been full of promise at the start has been swamped in its course by petty jealousy, petty ambition, and petty revenge, and instead of concord and prosperity discord and disaster have been the result. I have asked you as students to consider the noble ideas with which the spirit of the age is inspired. I ask you in conclusion to consider three things which are essential and necessary for their realisation.

The first is a high level of secondary education, and the second a wide diffusion of elementary education throughout the land. This is constructive work which claims the first attention of every patriot. If I make no further allusion to this now, it is not because I under-estimate its importance, but because its supreme importance, as far as at any rate you can appreciate it, must be self-evident to such an audience as this.

The third essential requisite is, however, the most vital of all, though it is the one that is most frequently overlooked and ignored. Such ideas and ideals as we are considering can only be built up into realization on the foundation of personal virtue and individual merits.—(From Presidential address at the Madras Students' Convention).

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA*

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been one of the shining lights of the Constitutional Movement in India. He has attended nearly every one of its sittings since 1886, and has invariably spoken at every one of them on some of the most pressing public questions of the day. But the subject to which he devoted special attention and on which he spoke with his wonted knowledge and enthusiasm at every succeeding session of the Congress was in connection with the expansion of the Legislative Councils. Year after year Pandit Malaviya urged with his colleagues in the Congress for an adequate measure of political power for Indians in the governance of their country. A close student of constitutional questions, he formulated his views on the federal system of Government for India in his evidence before the Decentralisation Commission in 1908:

The unitary form of Government which prevails at present should be converted into the *federal system*. The Provincial Governments should cease to be mere delegates of the Supreme Government, but should be made semi-independent Governments. A similar proposal was, I believe, put forward before the Government about the time when Lord Mayo determined to invest Provincial Governments with a share of financial responsibility in order to minimise the evils of over-centralization. . . . The Government of India should retain in its hands, as at present, all matters relating to foreign relations, the defences of the country, currency, debt, tariffs, post, telegraphs and railways. It should continue to receive all the revenue and receipts derived from heads which are at present called 'Imperial.' To meet the ordinary Imperial expenditure which will not be met by these receipts, it should require the various Provincial Governments to make a ratable contribution based on a definite and reasonable principle. Having secured this, the Government of India should leave the Provincial Governments perfect freedom in levying and spending their revenues as they may consider best in the interests of the people. It should exercise its power of imposing additional general taxation in any Province, only when it has to meet any extraordinary expenditure, and when the Province or Provinces concerned have refused to give the assistance required. This will impose a very much needed and healthy check upon the spending tendencies of the Government of India, and make it possible for the Provincial Governments to retain in their hands and to devote a fair proportion of their revenues to promote the well-being of the people.

* Condensed from a sketch prepared for Messrs. Natesan's "Biographies of Eminent Indians Series."

THE MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS.

Soon after, Lord Morley, of whom great things were expected, outlined a scheme of reforms which was published in the form of a despatch in 1908. It was well known that he was in constant consultation with the Viceroy and a few select and leading Indians, and when the proposals were actually published there were as usual divergent opinions on the adequacy or otherwise of the reforms. Pandit Malaviya along with other moderate leaders welcomed the scheme "as marking the beginnings of a new era." He wrote in the *Indian Review* for December of that year :—

The people and the Government have both to be congratulated on the proposal of reforms which have been put forward by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The reforms have been conceived in a truly liberal and praiseworthy spirit. They will, when carried out, mark the beginning of a new era, full of hope and promise for the future.

I have hopes that the reforms will be made still more liberal and beneficial before they take their final shape. The Government are to be particularly congratulated upon deciding to create a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. I venture to say that they should have adopted the same course in regard to the Supreme Council. It would be quite safe and wise to do so. If, however, that must be postponed for the future, then the proposals of His Excellency the Viceroy to have an equal number of official and non-official members in his Council should at least be accepted.

The proposed reforms mark the second great triumph of the Congress movement—the first having been the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS

While in November 1909, Pandit Madan Mohan was by the decision of the All-India Congress Committee elected president of the Lahore Congress, as Sir P. M. Mehta had declined the office, the Pandit's election was welcomed on all hands.

Though called upon to fulfil the high office of the President of the Congress for the first time and with a very short notice, the Pandit's pronouncement was worthy of the man and the occasion. And the Address naturally dealt at length with the Minto-Morley Reforms, and in particular with the regulations the Bureaucracy had made to put them into operation. Though only a few

months before the Pandit had welcomed the proposals as truly liberal and comprehensive in spirit, yet his enthusiasm for the scheme like that of his fellow-workers in the Congress cause had been greatly damped by the rigour of the regulations by which it had been hedged round. After enumerating the various regulations framed by the Bureaucracy the Pandit made a memorable appeal which is well worth recalling even on the present occasion :

The Regulations framed to give effect to them have unfortunately departed, and widely too, from the spirit of those proposals, and are illiberal and retrogressive to a degree. Educated Indians have been compelled to condemn them. They have done so more in sorrow than in anger. Let the Government modify the Regulations to bring them into harmony with the spirit of Lord Morley's proposals, and in the name of this Congress, and, I venture to say, on behalf of my educated countrymen generally, I beg to assure the Government that they will meet with a cordial and grateful reception. (Cheers.) I do not ignore the fact that there is an assurance contained in the Government's Resolution accompanying the Regulations that they will be modified in the light of the experience that will be gained in their working. That assurance has been strengthened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in this connection both at Bombay and Madras. But I most respectfully submit that many of the defects pointed out in them are such that they can be remedied without waiting for the light of new experience. And I respectfully invite both Lord Morley and Lord Minto to consider whether in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which the Regulations have created, it will be wise to let this feeling live and grow, or whether it is not desirable in the interests of good administration, and to fulfil one of the most important and avowed objects of the Reforms, namely the allaying of discontent and the promotion of goodwill between the Government and the people, to take the earliest opportunity to make an official announcement that the objections urged against the Regulations will be taken early into consideration.

AS A MEMBER OF THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL

Pandit Malaviya was by this time recognised as one of the few leading men of the Congress and alike by his services in the United Provinces Legislative Council and to the country at large deserved his elevation to the Viceregal Council. Since 1910 he has continued to sit in the Imperial Legislative Council without interruption and taken part in every important debate with his accustomed zeal.

THE PRESS ACT

Almost one of the earliest of his speeches was in connection with the passing of the Press Act. He and the Hon. Mr. Basu were the two non-official members who strenuously opposed the bill and voted against it too. "My Lord," said the Pandit on the occasion, "when the Press is left at the mercy of the Local Government, when it is left to the Local Government by merely issuing a notice to demand a security, I submit, the freedom with which newspapers have expressed their criticisms of the acts and omissions of Government is very much likely to suffer." The subsequent procedure adopted by some of the Provincial Governments against some of the spirited newspapers and journals have but lent support to the Pandit's apprehension.

THE SEDITIONOUS MEETINGS ACT

The thorough independence that has always characterised the attitude of the Pandit was evident again when during the discussions on the Seditious Meetings Bill of 1910 he spoke with his accustomed fervour against the measure. The Hon. Mr. Jenkins had introduced the Bill to provide for the continuance of the Seditious Meetings Act, 1907, and made a feeble attempt to justify the measure. Two striking passages from the Pandit's speech are worth quoting :—

Not only has no necessity been shown for the measure before us, but there is also the fear, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out, that a repressive measure may itself, by being abused in its working, lead to promoting the evil which it was intended to cure. The Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act have both already given illustrations of the truth of the old adage that the sight of means to do ill-deeds often makes ill-deeds done. Look for instance at the action of the authorities in Eastern Bengal in suppressing three District Conferences and the meeting which sought to help the depressed classes. I venture to doubt if the said Conferences or the said meeting would have been stopped if the Seditious Meetings Act had not been in existence. Look again at the action taken in several places under the Press Act in contravention of the pledge given by the Government when it was going through the Council, and think of the irritation which the abuse of its provisions must cause in the public mind. So long as the Government will keep these two measures on the Statute-book, I regret to say, but I feel it my duty to say it, so long will all

efforts to conciliate public opinion generally be beset with unnecessary difficulties, will continue to be unnecessarily difficult of accomplishment.

GOKHALE'S EDUCATION BILL

Interested as ever in all educational problems the Pandit warmly supported the late Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. His support was quite emphatic. "Every civilized country" said he, "has found that compulsion is the only means by which universal education can be secured. No country has succeeded without it, and we cannot expect to succeed without it."

INDENTURED LABOUR

Another subject on which his voice was more than once raised was in connection with the question of Indentured Emigration. In 1910 Mr. Gokhale had pleaded in vain for the abolition of this "monstrous and iniquitous system." During the regime of H. E. Lord Hardinge, Pandit Madan Mohan raised his protest against the iniquities of the system and urged its immediate abolition. He rightly characterised it as "an unmitigated curse." His European colleagues in the Council must have greatly felt the force of his arguments when he said :

European labour is employed all over the world, but nowhere are such degrading restrictions attached to it as those that attach to Indian labour. And although the European labourer is far more capable of judging of his own interests than the Indian labourer, the greatest care is taken to ensure that he has understood the exact terms of his contract. And then the contract which is always for a very short period, is a purely civil contract, and can be cancelled if the labourer can prove in a Court of Justice before a magistrate of his own race that unfair advantage was taken of his ignorance.

He wound up his great speech on that occasion with the following telling appeal:

The system has worked enough moral havoc during 75 years. We cannot think, my Lord, without intense pain and humiliation of the blasted lives of its victims, of the anguish of soul to which our numerous brothers and sisters have been subjected by this system. It is high time that this should be abolished.

The appeal this time did not fall on deaf ears. H. E. Lord Hardinge announced that he and the Secretary of State for India had decided that the system should be doomed for ever.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the many topics which formed the subject matter of his speeches in the Imperial Council during the last eight years. Suffice it to say that in all subjects he gave expression to the people's will. Nor need we refer to his speeches in connection with the passing of the Hindu University Bill which in a way may be said to constitute his life-work. On the termination of H. E. Lord Hardinge's regime he spoke in just appreciation of His Excellency's administration, his great services to the people of this country and his jealous regard for the honour and self-respect of India and her millions. Again during the discussions on India and the War he warmly supported the rally of India to the Empire and though unable to see eye to eye with some of his colleagues on the capacity of this country to bear the increasing financial obligations entailed by constant contributions towards the war, he urged with Mr. Gandhi for increasing participation in the actual fighting at the front.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

It is now necessary to go back to the Pandit's work in connection with the Congress demand for Self-Government. From the days of the Lahore Congress the demand for Self-Government on Colonial lines became more and more pronounced. The outbreak of the European war and India's unbounded enthusiasm for participating in the burden and glory of the Empire quickened her consciousness of strength, while the generous utterances of British statesmen not merely on India's substantial help but also of the great ideals of freedom and self-determination fired her imagination to the possibilities of a quicker transition. The Congress accordingly passed resolutions demanding Self-Government and the Muslim League soon followed suit. It was the Pandit's privilege to expound the scheme to numerous audiences. In October 1916 Pandit Malaviya signed along with other non-official members of the Imperial Council what is now known as the famous Memorandum of the Nineteen. The Lucknow and the Calcutta Congresses

confirmed the Self-Government Resolutions of the previous Sessions. But any scheme devised by the wit of man is liable to be misunderstood, and the Congress-League scheme was no exception. Some went too far and demanded in the name of the Congress and the Moslem League what to others appeared altogether without warrant in the terms of the scheme. The Hon. Pandit now went on a tour round the country expounding the demands of the Congress, and the propaganda work was in full swing on either side when at the top of it all came the sudden internment of Mrs. Besant.

Though the Pandit had been differing from Mrs. Besant, from her views and some of her methods, yet he felt it his duty in common with his countrymen throughout India to help in the agitation for the release of the internees.

Unmindful of the Government's deliberately adopted repressive policy Pandit Malaviya continued to urge the need for reforms on the lines chalked out by the Congress and the League, and both at the special Provincial Conference at Lucknow in August 1917 and at the Calcutta Congress in December he spoke in the same strain. He said at the latter in supporting the Congress League scheme of Self-Government :—

The Congress-League scheme is a natural and rational advance upon the lines under which political institutions have been working so far in this country. It is therefore no good telling us that our scheme does not fit in with the schemes formulated in other countries. The Congress-League scheme is suitable to the conditions in India. Some of our critics tell us that responsible government means a government which is responsible to the representatives of the people and removable at the pleasure of the representatives. I wish these critics showed a little more consideration, a little more generosity, in dealing with us and credited us with a little more common-sense. Self-Government means that the Executive is responsible to the people. When we spoke of Self-Government we spoke of Self-Government on colonial lines. In the Colonies the Executive is responsible to the Legislature. That being so it is entirely wrong to say that in asking for Self-Government we are asking for something less than responsible Government. It is said that we might have put into our scheme a little more generosity and a little more enthusiasm but you must remember that when they put it forward they had not only to think of you and me, but of the bureaucracy and all those who are represented by Lord Sydenham, and the framers were probably wiser in couching it in a language which may not satisfy us,

but which has in it all the promise of the realization of responsible Government in the near future. The resolution says that Self-Government should be introduced by stages. The Congress did not ask that Self-Government on colonial lines should be introduced at once.

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

When in July 1918 the joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms by the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu and H. E. Lord Chelmsford was published there were as on all such occasions differences of opinion among the Indian politicians. At first some were for rejection while others demanded modifications. Pandit Malaviya urged his views in a lengthy memorandum which was widely circulated throughout the country. He declared it as his opinion :—

There is much in the proposals that is liberal, and that will mean a real and beneficial change in the right direction, which we must welcome and be grateful for; but there are also grave deficiencies which must be made up before the reforms can become adequate to the requirements of the country.

He urged that the Indian public should take steps to see that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals should be expanded and modified.

Unfortunately for the country, a great and serious difference of opinion arose over the method and manner in which the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was to be received by the country. In accordance with a resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, a special session of the Congress was convened in Bombay in September 1918, to discuss the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. Despite the assurances of Mrs. Besant and her endeavours to make peace, moderate leaders throughout the country felt that the followers of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak would assemble in large numbers at the special session, condemn the scheme and reject it altogether. In the view of the moderates such a step was most injurious to the best interests of India and the situation demanded that at least all the old and veteran workers of the Congress who believed that with all its imperfections, the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was a definite step in advance, should welcome it and criticise it in a constructive spirit. They therefore as a body abstained from the Special Congress and resolved

to have a conference of their own. Among the ex-Presidents of the Congress, Pandit Madan Mohan was the solitary individual who attended the session, and tried his best to tone down the resolutions of the Special Congress on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The presence of him and a handful of moderates was not of much avail; for the Special Congress did pronounce the scheme as disappointing and unsatisfactory, while the Moderate Conference which was subsequently held in Bombay welcomed the scheme as a definite step in advance but made several constructive suggestions not altogether dissimilar to those passed at the Congress. A definite split had taken place and Pandit Madan Mohan did his best to induce the moderate leaders to reconsider their decision to abstain from the Congress. About this time Mr. Tilak had been declared the President-Elect of the Delhi Congress, and friends of the Congress who anxiously expected that the split would be made up felt that the election of Mr. Tilak blasted all hopes in that direction. On Mr. Tilak's voluntary resignation of his office in view of his departure to England, the majority of members of the All-India Congress Committee who were anxious that the two parties should once again unite at Delhi by an overwhelming majority, fixed their choice on Pandit Madan Mohan, as the most suitable president of the Delhi Congress.

A few days after his election, the Pandit made through the columns of the *Leader* an eloquent appeal to the public for united action.

His appeal was no doubt responsible for the presence of a few of the moderates at the Delhi Congress; and despite the absence of several of the veterans of the Congress the Delhi session was very largely attended, and for the first time at the special call of the President there were also present a large number of tenant delegates. Pandit Madan Mohan delivered a long and interesting address in which he laboured to point out that there was not much difference between the views of the Special Congress and those of the Moderate Conference, for on many vital

points of constructive criticism on the scheme there was a consensus of opinion. He then made an eloquent plea for India's right to self-determination. The following passage from his address is bound to touch the heart of every patriotic Indian :—

Now the principle that runs through the peace proposals is the principle of justice to all peoples and Nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another. Each nation is to be given freedom to determine its own affairs and to mould its own destinies. Russia is to have an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for her own political development and National policy. Austria-Hungary is to be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. International guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity are to be secured to the Balkan States and to the independent Polish States which are to be created. Nationalities are to be assured security of life and autonomous development. In the adjustment of Colonial claims the principle to be followed is that, in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the population concerned are to have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. How far are these principles of autonomy and self-determination to be applied to India? That is the question for consideration. We are happy to find that the Governments of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to these proposals in the case of Syria and Mesopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also. We standing in this ancient capital of India, both of Hindu and Muhammadan period—it fills me, my countrymen and countrywomen, with inexpressible sorrow and shame to think that we the descendants of Hindus who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive Empire and the descendants of Musalmans who ruled here for several hundred years should have so far fallen from our ancient state that we should have to argue our capacity for even a limited measure of autonomy and self-rule.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

We now pass on to his labours in another important direction. The Indian Industrial Commission was appointed by the Government of India on the 19th May 1916, with Sir Thomas Holland as President and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was appointed as a member of the Commission, obviously to represent the Indian non-official public, and his appointment was hailed with satisfaction by the public at large. It concluded its labours at the end of the year 1918 and presented a report to which the Pandit contributed a long and interesting note pointing out his differences with his colleagues and suggesting many important measures to ema-

ble India to develop her industries in her own interests and in her interests only. His note is in itself an important contribution to the study of the industrial and economic history of India, and his criticisms coupled with his suggestions embody many constructive proposals which Indians have long been urging for the industrial advancement of their country.

The Pandit concluded his note by endorsing the following generous and wise words of Sir Frederick Nicholson :—

' I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian Industries we are bound to consider Indian interest firstly, secondly and thirdly.—I mean by 'firstly' that the local raw products should be utilized by secondly, that industries should be introduced and by 'thirdly' that profits of such industries should remain in the country.'

If measures for the industrial development of India are taken in this spirit, India will become prosperous and strong, and England more prosperous and stronger.

HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's services to the Congress and to the Political life of India have been great indeed; but greater and more enduring still of his selfless labours for the cause of his motherland has been his idea and the successful launching of the Hindu University for India at Benares. It is now over quarter of a century since he dreamt his dream of a Hindu University.

The story of the Pandit's many tours and wanderings throughout the country in aid of funds for the University must be known to all who have watched the progress of this movement. How he toiled night and day, how he gave up his large and lucrative practice at the Bar in his labours for the establishment of the Hindu University are too well known to be recounted here. The enthusiasm of the country at large and the sincerity and the earnestness with which Pandit Madan Mohan toiled hard to bring the institution into existence, obtained for it the necessary funds and the Government of India took up the matter seriously to give it the charter

which it so well deserved. In Lord Hardinge Pandit Madan Mohan found a sincere friend of India and no time was lost in introducing the Benares Hindu University Bill. On the 22nd March 1915, the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler moved for leave to introduce the Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan whose labours in the cause of the movement have been quiet and unobtrusive made a speech in welcoming the Bill and he took the occasion to proclaim once more that though the University would be a denominational institution, it would not be a sectarian one:

It will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and a religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man.

Since the establishment of the University the Pandit has been working unceasingly for placing it on a proper basis. When last year the unexpected demise of Pandit Sundar Lal created a vacancy in the office of Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Madan Mohan's name was uppermost in the lips of the electors, but he who had been working for years subordinating his name and fame would not accept the office but insisted he should be allowed to work for it in his own quiet and unostentatious manner.

CONCLUSION.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is now nearly growing grey in the service of his motherland. He has achieved a great reputation as a politician of high calibre and character. But in view of the swift change in the attitude and temper of the people towards politics and politicians, he too might share the fate of his life-long fellow workers; but whether this happens or not and whatever judgment may be passed on his political work, men of all shades of opinion will agree that the Hindu University of Benares is a fitting monument to his noble and selfless endeavours for the cause of his country.

Madan Mohan Malaviya's Speeches.—An up-to-date collection including the Delhi Congress Presidential Address and the full text of his lengthy minute on the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE COLONIES

BY SIR S. P. SINHA

THE position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Joseph Chamberlain, in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Indians who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time India was not represented at the Conference, and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911 the Marquess of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a memorandum to the Conference, which says:—

'It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each dominion owes a responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

'It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag, and who have been treated by their British officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies,' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are, of

course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

'The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeed in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

'But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the question were not so grave, it would be seen to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect ruling princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty, and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides-de-Camp. It is, of course true that no person of such distinguished position would, in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial services in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the dominions.

'The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the

general attitude of the dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the dominions lies in this, that on the colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinion.'

THE PRESENT POSITION.

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the war; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the Memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends, Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able, on their return to their own country, in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some of the grievances to which I refer. I recognize that it is a matter of time. I recognize their desire to remove those grievances, in so far as there are grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliament for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters

which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000—I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000 Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think—in fact, all in British Columbia; and the great difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and children with them. Now the resolution, in paragraph 3, removes this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during this war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity, which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion, is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

I have read from Lord Crewe's Memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the resolution which I propose—namely, that 'British citizens domiciled in any British country including India, should be admitted into any other British country for visits,' and that the system of passports now in existence be continued, which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.—*Speech at the Imperial War Conference in support of the Resolution on Reciprocity.*

The End of the War

The *Round Table* for December 1918, explains how the complete military destruction of Prussia was brought about. First in describing Germany's failure in the East, we are told that the Treaty of Brest—Litovsk and the group of treaties which centred round it were designed to fashion from the Eastern border-lands, *viz.*, Finland, Estonia, Livonia, Courland etc., Ukrainia and Roumania, partly a strategic barrier and partly a political or social barrier against the westward flow of Russian revolution. This border country was to open the way for Germany and a new channel for the *Drang Nach Osten* was to be opened up across the Ukraine to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, Armenia etc. Neither Finland, nor even the Baltic districts would be settled under Prussian rule direct or indirect. In the Ukraine the Germans fostered a spurious nationalism and set up a puppet government under the control of their own military chiefs, but they found themselves in inexorable conflict with the mass of the population. In Roumania, the southern terminal of the barrier-line, force alone maintained the typically Prussian settlement. The rapid decline of German prestige, the stiffening of the Bolshevik military organisation, the occupation of the Siberian railway by the Czecho-Slovak army, the landing of the Allies at Vladivostock and Archangel and the rallying of the forces of order in Russia—these left the Germans dependent on a victory in the west as the only means of consolidating their position in the east.

The debacle in the South East, in the Balkans and nearer Asia, was the next step in Prussia's destruction. So far from conquering Egypt, the Turks were hard pressed on their defensive in Palestine and Mesopotamia, while the Allies at Salonika and the Greek democracy, inspired and led by M. Venezelos, prevented a complete subjugation of the Balkans. The latent conflict of

ambitions between Bulgaria and Turkey broke out into an open quarrel; and Turkey went so far as to lay claim to spoils like the districts of Kars, Ardahan and Batoum in Transcaucasia, which Germany had marked for her own. The Turks, losing Bagdad and Jerusalem, confronted with Bulgarian claims in Thrace and with the arbitrary German seizure of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, determined to strengthen their hold upon the Caucasus—which was the strategic key to the doors of the Middle East and the bridge between the Turks of Anatolia and the Turks of Central Asia. The basis of German power in the South East was cut away by the defeats in the West, and the defection of Bulgaria. The destruction of the Turkish army in Palestine and the advance of General Allenby upon Aleppo were quickly followed by the capitulation of the Turks.

The dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire was the next step. The Empire could not save itself by satisfying the national claims of its peoples, because except the Magyars and the Czecho-Slovaks, all the other nations like the Jugo-Slavs, Roumanians, Poles, Ukrainians and Italians would clamor to be united to their brethren outside the frontiers of the Empire. In all cases, national unity and self-government meant a social resolution—the transference of power from the landed nobility and gentry to the peasantry and artisans. It is this which finally bound up the fate of the Hapsburg crown with the cause of German-Magyar ascendancy and made futile all intentions of the Emperor of reconstituting the Empire.

Thus all the external instruments of Prussianism had failed; because Germany no longer possessed the force to protect them from their enemies, or keep their subjects to herself. The end came, though with startling suddenness, when the German armies were driven back upon the frontier and the invasion of Germany itself became imminent.

Aristotle and Indian Logic.

Dr. Mahamahopadhyaya S. C. Vidyabushana writing in the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, traces the development of Indian Syllogism from the time of Gotama, the traditional author of the *Nyaya Sutra* and the migration of the logical treatises of Aristotle from Alexandria into India in the course of the years *circa* 175 B.C. to 600 A.D. Syllogistic reasoning was introduced by Akshapada who might have lived about 150 A.D., though he was by no means the first promulgator of the doctrine and not even its first disseminator. Syllogism had been perfected by Aristotle in Greece in the 4th century B.C. and was known even in India prior to Akshapada's time; and it is difficult to determine whether there is any genital connection between the Syllogism as propounded in the Indian Logic and that propounded in the Greek Logic. Of the four divisions of the *Nyaya Sutra*, viz., debate, the means of valid knowledge, the doctrine of Syllogism, and the examination of contemporaneous philosophical doctrines, the 1st, 2nd and 4th are undoubtedly of Indian origin. As to Syllogism some scholars are of the opinion that it is also indigenous, as it forms a part of inference, a kind of *Pramana*, which originated in India. But on investigation, it is found that Syllogism and inference are distinct in origin, though ultimately there was an amalgamation between them. The inference as illustrated from the *Nyaya Sutra* was in essence a guess or conjecture which was neither a source of absolutely valid knowledge, nor in any way connected with Syllogism.

It may be considered that the Syllogism promulgated in the Hindu Logic was greatly influenced by, if not based on Aristotle. The works of Aristotle were studied by the Greeks of North-West India (175 B.C.-50 A.D.) and the first trace in India of Aristotle's Syllogism is met with in the work of Charaka who was court physician to

Kanishka and who lived in the region of the Indo-Greeks. Akshapada and Dignaga were inhabitants of Kathiawar and Conjeevaram respectively, which were centres of brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era, frequented by merchants and travellers from Alexandria. The Indian logicians, Dharmakirti and Uddyotakara seem to have been influenced by the Syro-Persian school of Gundeshapur established in Persia in 350 A.D., on the dispersion there of some of the best works of the school of Alexandria. The works of Aristotle were very well known in India during the first six centuries of the Christian era and on the fall of Alexandria before the Mahomedans, they found their way into Syria and Persia whence they reached the Arabic school of Baghdad about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. The presumption is that from the 3rd century B.C. to 1200 A.D. Aristotle's works were more extensively read and better appreciated in the East than in the West.

The Labour Party in England

Mr. Henry Tompkins writes in the *Positivist Review*, (December 1918) about the Labour Party and the change effected in its outlook by the War. The necessity for the State to guarantee financial stability and assume large powers of control over great sections of industry is susceptible of being used as effective object lesson in Socialist theory. But at the same time the wielders of financial and industrial power have been largely able to control this State activity; and this should open the eyes of labour to the fact that the industrial and financial magnates have granted the shadow of State control to the workers, and held the substance in their own grip. The constant employment and high wages of large sections of workers have given them a new standard of living which they will seek to maintain. The apparent ease with which large sums of money have been raised for war purposes has

made the workers suspicious of any plea that a desired social reform is not possible because of the cost. It may be objected that the Labour Party has no definite outlook on national and international policy ; but labour is merely a term for crystallising a large quantity of political thought among workers, mental and manual, that aims instinctively at a policy for proletarian objects.

Faced by the war crisis and its results, the leaders of the National Labour Party have deemed it necessary to recast the constitution of the Party and to place a bold social programme before the public to which they appeal. Of this programme I shall only deal with the main proposals. The constitution has been remodelled so as to facilitate the formation of local Labour Parties which shall be definitely the local political group. This involves the relegation of local Trades Councils, who have mostly hitherto been both industrial and political, to the industrial sphere only, though the connection between the two bodies may be very close. It opens the way to admission of many persons to membership who may not be members of trade unions affiliated to the Trades Councils, such as women and professional men. More important is the fact of true individual membership as distinct from affiliated membership through a trade group. This direct membership will undoubtedly form the motive force of local Labour Parties. Its power will be considerable, for apart from its representation on the Committees of the Party, it will often be able strongly to control the election of the representatives from affiliated organisations through active membership of such bodies. On the other hand, the mass power of affiliated unions and other societies will do much to prevent the exploitation of the Party by outside personalities.

The new Labour Party will be compelled to justify itself not only by the opposition of a probable coalition of the financial and landed interests in a new Capitalist Party (of course, it will hide that name under a convenient pseudonym), but also by a constant criticism from Industrial Unionists, Syndicalists, Guild Socialists, and the Ultra Marxians. Syndicalism and ultra-Marxianism are, however, weak in British politics and this will leave the other two as the main critics. The influence of Industrial Unionism is shown in the Labour Party's programme which not only demands a Minimum Standard of Life and the "Right to Work" under the phrase Security of Employment, but also has as a main plank the Democratic Control of Industry. The new school of financial economists are given the item, "Revolution of National Finance," whilst Mr. J. A. Hobson reaps an anonymous victory for his theory of "Social Increment" in the fourth main item, "Surplus Wealth for the Common Good."

The criticism of the Guild Socialists will certainly be that the Labour Party and its programme are Reformist in character instead of Revolutionary. This may be granted. There is no definite recognition of the demand that what is wanted more than the abolition of Poverty is the abolition of the Wage Slave status.

Towards the New Europe

Mr. Austin Harrison, the Editor of the *English Review*, writing in the December number of his journal, says that in the Allies' triumph, Europe has a new foundation of belief. The old balance of power disappeared with the collapse of Russia and has since passed to America, so that its revival for any protracted periods is conditioned by the democratic will of Britain and secondly by the sanction of America. And the dislocation of the old balance unquestionably militates against the old power theory. With the elimination of the pyramid monarchical state, the power-idea with its territorial or map policy became an anachronism and could hardly be restored. With it there must necessarily go secret diplomacy which is the handmaid of dynastic despotism. The whole Europe starts internationally with a common equation ; it will build upwards instead of downwards, and the map becomes a national sanctuary instead of an international potentiality.

What we have overthrown is the pyramid or Monarchical State—henceforth Europe will move on horizontal, not on vertical, lines. And that politically, socially, and economically. The vertical State implied slavery, concentrated all power in the hands of the few, moved above the heads of the peoples egocentrically, in applied and antagonistic isolation. As a creed of isolation, for the purpose of appropriation. But with the demolition of the vertical order, power isolation, as formerly understood, will be no longer tolerated. In its causal action, the horizontal position is co-operative or utilitarian, the reverse of the system of competition, which again in the modern conditions of war and economics must assume some form of the vertical State, or authority, which conditions because by itself it is the condition. Dynastically, this is no longer the case ; our rulers will be wise to learn the lesson economically. A Peace Conference that sought to reimpose the vertical system of society, whether in the form of group or capitalist interest, would find itself at clash with the longitudinal forces of its parts, in a word, with its own dynamics. Europe, in short, cannot be constricted or reconstructed on vertical lines of competitive power system, because the spirit of the whole has become horizontally evened, at least in its corporate stratification of government, and this is a condition diametrically opposed to isolated antagonisms, whether of creed or country or advantage, because democracies move on principle, whereas kings move on system. We have then already the clay of the new order in the equation of popular government, which necessarily implies decentralisation, individualism, freedom, as we have the spirit of the, new order out of the accepted failure of the old spirit.

Famines in Buddhist India.

Prof Kishori Mohun Gupta, analysing in a recent number of the *Modern Review*, the causes and nature of famines in Buddhist India, the preventive and protective measures taken against them, comes to the conclusion that famines in the Buddhist period were many, that they were occasional however in the Mauryan epoch, and that elaborate measures were adopted to check them. There were two main causes that brought about famines : (1) the occasional flooding of regions along rivers and (2) the failure of the monsoon, giving rise to drought in comparatively high regions. Sometimes terrible famines brought in a fearful state of cannibalism. In Kashmir we hear of a famine owing to the destruction of a rice-crop in consequence of a heavy snowfall. The pressure of population since the Vedic Age was also another factor that caused famines in the Buddhist age.

Of the preventive measures against drought we notice, in the first place, various methods adopted for the purpose of irrigating the land. Dams were constructed with a view to check the flow of water from rivers or lakes. Says the *Kunala Jataka* "The Sakiya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohini which flows between the cities of Kapilavastha and Koliya confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. In the month, Jetthamula when crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from both the cities assembled together. Then the Koliyans said, 'Should this water be drawn off on both sides it will not prove sufficient for both us and you. But our crops will thrive with a single watering : give us then the water.' The Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudrada man (c. 150 A. D.) speaks of the two famous Maurya emperors as bestowing immense care on the lake Sudarsana in maintaining its dam for irrigation purposes. In the second place canals were constructed to ward off difficulties arising from a failure of the monsoon. Referring to the public administration of Chandra-

gupta Maurya, Megasthenes says (4th century B. C.) : " Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it."

At one time, probably before the establishment of the Maurya autocracy, the tribal chief or the village headman was undoubtedly responsible for the protection of his people. In the *Gahapati Jataka* we are told that during a famine caused by a flood " all the villagers came together and besought the help of their headman, saying 'Two months from now when we have harvested the grain we will pay you in kind ; ' so they got an old ox from him and ate it." Kautilya enumerates the various duties rendered by the king during a famine. In the first place he had to remit taxes and had no doubt to advance loans of grains, cattle, and money.

The Home as a factor in Education.

In the latest number of the *Indian Education*, the ways in which parents can co-operate with schools in moulding the character of the boys are shown.

In the first place every person must regard his home with sufficient respect and affection. It is neither a hotel nor a factory. It must be full of love and sympathy. If the members of a family feel relieved when the head of the family is out, surely such a home is not the right kind of home. Often we find that children are anxious to escape from home. This does not mean absence of discipline. The reason is that there is no freedom at home. Sometimes parents, in their over-zeal for discipline, forget that their children are human beings. There is a good deal of truth in the statement that we enjoy our life better when we are among our equals. We should not therefore prevent our children from mixing with boys of their own age, though of course we must see that they are in good company.

In the second place a father must not forget that example is more efficacious than precept. In India we have a saying, "Words are the daughters of earth and deeds are the sons of heaven." It is amusing to find a father insisting on his son observing certain religious functions, when he himself is quite indifferent to them. This is morally dangerous.

Then thirdly, we must remember that the position of the mother is very important. She must occupy a responsible position at home. As a matter of fact, she is not sufficiently respected. The influence of a mother on the formation of character is profound, especially on the development of the qualities of the heart. The educated father sometimes wrongly feels that, in virtue of his education, he knows everything. Such a father is likely to show disrespect to his wife. Yet if the wife is ignorant, it is surely the husband's duty to enlighten her or at any rate to try to educate her according to his ideas. Nothing can justify him if he, in any way, try to diminish her importance in the eyes of her children.

In the fourth place if a father has many children, he should do his best to bring them up together. If they are brought up separately, brotherly feeling fails to grow. The children must feel that they are one. Home should be the place where our children should learn the first lessons in self-sacrifice. Indeed the roots of home-rule lie deep at home.

In the fifth and the last place parents must try to be loving and sympathetic friends to their children. An attitude of reserve is improper. The children must feel free to communicate to their parents 'whatever lieth upon the heart.' There should be a free exchange of ideas. Indeed as our old philosophers tell us, we should fondle our children when they are infants, should punish them (if necessary) till they reach the 16th year and should treat them as friends when they are majors.

The Imperial Population after the War

The *United Empire* (for November 1918) urges that the British Empire must be made to produce more foodstuffs and to become self-supporting and properly defended in all its parts against enemy attack from without and economic disaster from within. This could only be done by a better distribution of the imperial population within the Empire, man-power being distributed to where it is most needed. Government must help to emigrate not the unemployed criminal and pauper classes alone, but the young and the vigorous also. The following is a summary of the principles to be adopted if the Empire is to be made really strong and self-sufficient.

As the wealth of a nation must be always derived from Labour and the land, and the land can yield nothing without Labour, "Migration is Essential to the Future of the Empire."

(1) To make the land of the Empire yield her increase.

(2) To maintain the present improved standards of wages and of living at home among the workers, which are due to a temporary emigration of proportion of our former workers, and to adjust the superabundance of population at home due to the War.

(3) To assist the Government at home in abolishing the workhouses and increasing the Old Age Pensions, and yet saving millions of pounds annually now spent on the maintenance of those who ought never to have succumbed to the competition of younger people on the labour market.

(4) To increase our manufactured exports by multiplying oversea customers.

(5) To increase our food supply within the Empire, as the *total* exports of the Dominions do not equal our home imports.

(6) To facilitate the investment of British capital in the British Empire, as money always follows men.

(7) To defend the at present unpeopled lands of the Empire by settling them with men trained and ready to resist attack.

(8) To improve the vital statistics of the Empire, both overseas and at home, by reduction of the pressure of competition.

(9) To leave the same number of jobs at home for the fewer workers.

(10) To reduce the number to be fed at home, whilst increasing the Empire's food production.

(11) To ensure the wounded and partially disabled soldiers and sailors being able to get situations within their capacity.

(12) To reduce the Labour unrest which is inevitable after demobilisation, and thus to advance contentment and religion.

Afghanistan and the British Power.

It is well-known that the present Amir of Afghanistan resisted the attempts which were made in 1914 to involve him in the War, though the pro-Turkish party had won to their side some of his own near relatives. The Amir's notable declaration that he shall be the friend of the British, in the early stages of the war, gave ample evidence of two things : (1) the supreme control exercised by him over his people and (2) the friendly attitude he consistently maintains towards the British power. The political situation in Afghanistan is well summed up by Mr. Iqbal Ali Shah in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The Amir's strong personality maintains the balance between the conflicting interests of the various parties. Two chief parties are powerful in Kabul ; the one led by Sirdar Nasrullah Khan who is Nationalist and anti-foreign ; and the other led by the Amir's step-mother Bibi Halima who is pronouncedly pro-British in sympathies. In addition to the confusion caused on the northern frontier of Afghanistan by the collapse of Russia and by the still scarcely subsided threats of German intervention, Afghanistan has troubles, in the North-East from Bokhara, in the West from Herat and in the South-West from Seistan. In all of them there are smouldering antipathies and rivalries resembling those which have created the Balkan problem in Europe. The Heratics, Shia in faith and intriguers by temperament, are a thorn ever prone to cause friction between Persia and Afghanistan. Seistan in the South-West is an extensive and low-lying area, sandwiched between Persia and Afghanistan and divided between those powers as is the Basque country between France and Spain and is likewise a hot-bed of intrigue. The population of the tract includes Armenians, Russian Jewes and Persian traders, many of the latter having been consistently thwarting the Indo-British commercial interests.

The district of Penjeh, in the fertile valley of the Heri Rud, which was lost to the Afghans in 1885 has given to Russia an immense trading advantage. Merv, with its railway to Penjeh and to Krasnovodsk, the great trading centre on the East Caspian, has in Central Asia, almost inestimable natural advantages for military and trading purposes. Any Bolshevik force could easily march from Baku to the frontier of Afghanistan. Bokhara is another area of trouble and threat for the Amir ; the Khan of that province might easily be induced to produce confusion in the hope of aggrandising himself ; he could either threaten Balkh or could work round his eastern border into Chitral and set it in flame.

There is a party in Afghanistan, which, taking into consideration the present situation of Turkestan, favours the expansion of their country to the eastern coast of the Caspian ; and this expansion is one of the suggested solutions of the Russian Turkestan problem which is already becoming acute. Another suggested solution is the creation of an independent Turkestan which would effectively form a buffer state. The existing bonds of friendship between India and Afghanistan should be greatly strengthened and firmly consolidated. Afghan army officers may be trained in the British Military College at Quetta and they would become the missionaries of British friendship in high and influential circles. Trade between India and Afghanistan should be nursed and systematically cultivated. And the natural resources of Afghanistan, its extensive forests, untapped mineral veins, areas useful for cotton and cereal growing, should be made use of ; and British engineers and others should help the Afghans in constructing roads and bridges and introducing modern sanitary appliances and principles. The British public should know more about Afghanistan, which, attached by strong commercial and sentimental bonds to British India, will do much to secure permanent peace in Central Asia.

How Germany Treated the Natives.

An article in a recent issue of the *Quarterly Review* describes the frightfulness adopted by the Germans often in their treatment of their colonies and protectorates, especially in Africa. The Social Democratic Party had always been outspoken in the Reichstag, regarding the methods of colonial policy and the conduct of German officials and officers in the colonies; but criticisms were by no means limited to them. The case of the notorious Dr. Karl Peters, Imperial Commissioner in East Africa, whose own writings reveal him as unscrupulous, and inhuman and who was ultimately tried and dismissed from the service, not for his atrocities, but for having lied to his superiors is one typical illustration of the more than venial methods of German colonial government. The worst thing is that an ex-Governor of German East Africa put the crown on the official disregard of righteousness by declaring that "in Africa it is impossible to get on without cruelty" and by calling Peters, condemnation a judicial murder. From the first to the last, the attitude of government was to turn a deaf ear to abuses, to make light of bad cases. Von Puttkamer, a nephew of Bismarck and the son of a minister of state, a rake and a gambler, who had acquired a bad reputation in the Cameroons was an illustration of the way in which the colonies served as the dumping ground for damaged reputations and unsuitable elements. He took no attempt to check the immorality of the officials under him, spent public money on his own account, and did not keep his hands clean in regard to the promotion of colonial companies. The missionaries in the colonies were in the main honest men, who, if they ventured to point out to the handwriting on the wall, were promptly suppressed and not infrequently driven out of the colony. The ever-recurring and indiscriminate flogging of natives, besides being inhuman, displayed a signal proof of the inability of the

Germans to understand native psychology. Flogging their leaders caused out-breaks of anger among the natives; or where the chiefs were not loved, it lowered them still further in the respect of their tribes. Forced labour was another of the evils, with the result that the native crops suffered and their lands remained often uncultivated; and yet climatic conditions made the extension of native culture a matter of prime importance. Prussian un-wisdom set systematically to work to ruin the physique of the natives and take the heart out of them. Villages came to be denuded of the younger men; they took to the bush; the birth-rate sank and land once productive was left untilled. The wages on the European plantations were often of the smallest and the death-rate in these was abnormally high. "Where the whip was not included, the brandy bottle was brought into play." Taught to drink, the natives pledged their farms and sold their freedom for it.

The Herero Rising of 1904 was caused really by the desire of the natives to throw off the intolerable German yoke, the spoliation of their lands for concession companies and plantations, the seizure of their cattle, the heavy and unjust sentences passed upon them etc. The credit system of German traders cunningly forced on the natives, useless articles at fabulous prices. The retribution dealt out to the Hereros made their country one vast graveyard; and only a quarter of the population survived after the atrocities of the Herero War.

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Australia's National Ideals.

Mr. F. H. Martyn, in the *Theosophist* for the current month explains how Australia has evolved during the last quarter of a century the following ideals definitely.

1. The Material Well-being of All (not of a class but of All).

(a) Self-Government by Democratic Methods.

(b) The strict maintenance of a White Australia.

(c) Universal, Free and Secular Education.

2. Utmost Personal Freedom in Spiritual matters.

The first of these—Self-Government by democratic methods—was adopted as a means to an end. The attempt to decide big issues by means of the Referendum has proved somewhat of a failure, as well as the current method of taking votes and of finding out what really are the wishes of the majority. But the democratic ideal will not at all be abandoned though drastic changes must sooner or latter be adopted, if the popular will is really to be arrived at. The second—the preservation of a White Australia is the result of the Australians' perception of the evils of Chinese immigration. It is easy to indicate what this position was and still is, as it affects the admission of the Chinese. The best of the Australians maintain that this policy is the least evil in a choice of evils, that its motive was entirely economic and not the outcome of racial dislike or prejudice. As to the ethics of the question there are different opinions. The third ideal, universal free and secular education, met with much opposition from the various religious organisations; but now the state is to concern itself solely with the secular education of the child and leave the parent and the priest to look after its spiritual well-being. That is where Australia stands to-day, except that it is always

aiming at more efficient and higher standards of free education.

There remains to add that this ideal of material well-being for all has led to the institution of old age pensions to the poor; to the payment of maternity expenses to all mothers who like to claim them; to the enforcement of hygienic conditions in all factories and workshops; to strict regulations relating to new buildings; and to the development of a sense of responsibility on the part of Australian Governments to find employment for all who need it. Little more need be said, I think, to show that this National Ideal is demonstrated not merely by the pretty rhetoric of platform speakers, but by the laws on the Statute Book. The policies may or may not be sound, but they are prompted by humanitarianism, which proves the existence of the great ideal.

The most common as well as the strongest expression of the spiritual ideal is to be found in the Australian's tolerant attitude towards all religious views. He is however not a materialist and does not deny the spirit and among all classes may be discovered a broad-minded search for truth.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE. By Bernard Houghton, I.C.S. Rtd. ["The Positivist Review," Dec., 1918.]

BRITISH RULE IN CEYLON. By Timothy de Silva. ["The Young Lanka," Nov. & Dec., 1918].

HINDU PRINCIPLES OF SELF CULTURE. By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D. ["The Theosophist," January 1919.]

THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM: A CRITICISM. By William Jesse. ["Indian Education," December 1918.]

SANSKRIT AND WESTERN DRAMA. By Prof. Ramchandra, B.A., LL.B. ["The C. H. C. Magazine," Jan. 1919.]

INDIA AND BRITISH CAPITAL. ["The Wealth of India," December 1918.]

THE MADURA MISSION AND TAMIL SCHOLARSHIP. By Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. ["Educational Review," Dec. 1918.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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Delhi Congress Resolutions

The following were among the Resolutions passed at the last Session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi :—

THE REFORM SCHEME

'That this Congress also reaffirms the resolutions relating to self-government passed at the Special Session of the Congress held in Bombay subject to this, that in view of the expression of opinion in the country since the sitting of the said Special Session this Congress is of opinion that so far as the provinces are concerned full responsible government should be granted at once and that no part of British India should be excluded from the benefit of the proposed Constitutional Reforms.

'That non-official Europeans should not be allowed to form separate electorates on the ground that they represent the mining or the tea industries, and if they are allowed such representation they should be limited to their proportion compared to the population of the provinces concerned.

PUNJAB AND THE REFORMS]

'That this Congress views with grave apprehension the attempt made in certain quarters to assign an inferior position to the Punjab in the Reform Scheme and urges that having regard to its political, military and historical importance, its wealth, education, social advancement and its magnificent services during the last war, the Punjab should be placed on a basis of equality with Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces.

SELF-DETERMINATION

EQUAL STATUS WITH DOMINIONS

'In view of the pronouncements of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive nations be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied.

'That in the practical application of the principle in India the first step should be the removal of all hindrances to free discussion, and therefore, the immediate repeal of all laws, regulations and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions whether in the press, private or public meeting or otherwise so that the legitimate aspirations and opinions of all residents in India may be fearlessly expressed; further the abolition of the laws, regulations and ordinances which confer on the executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, extern, or imprison any British subject in India outside the processes of ordinary civil or criminal law and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England; the passing of an Act of Parliament which will establish at an early date complete responsible government in India.

9

'When complete responsible government shall be thus established the final authority in all internal affairs shall be the supreme legislative assembly as voicing the will of the Indian nation.

'Resolved further that in the reconstruction of imperial policy, whether in matters affecting the inter-relations of the nations constituting it, in questions of foreign policy, or in the League of Nations India shall be accorded the same position as the self-governing dominions.

INDIANS IN I. C. S.

'That this Congress reaffirms the Special Congress resolution demanding that fifty per cent. of the Indian Civil Service should be recruited in India.

ROWLATT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

'That this Congress views with alarm the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which, if given effect to, will interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people, impede the healthy growth of public opinion, and would also prejudicially affect the successful working of the Constitutional Reforms.

REPEAL OF REGULATIONS

'This Congress urges the Government to remove from the statute-book immediately the Defence of India Act, Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Bombay and Madras Regulations of 1819 and 1827 respectively, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other similar repressive measures curtailing the liberty of the subject.

'This Congress further urges upon the Government that all detainees, interned or extorted, under the Defence of India Act or the aforementioned Regulations and all political prisoners should at once be set at liberty as an Act of amnesty in view of the victorious termination of the war, as also to ensure the success of the new regime under the new scheme.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

'That this Congress urges that women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the Scheme shall not be disqualified on account of their sex.

REPRESENTATIVE AT PEACE CONFERENCE

'That this Congress, while fully appreciating the wisdom of the recognition of India's right to be represented directly by an Indian at the Peace Conference, protests against the principle of nomination by Government and demands elective delegation on this occasion.

'That this Congress nominates Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak to represent the people of India at the Peace Conference and urges the Government to so arrange that Lokamanya Tilak may attend the Peace Conference as the representative of the people of India, and the telegrams to that effect be sent to Lokamanya Tilak, the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, the Prime-Minister of England, and the Peace Conference.'

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

King George on England and America

H. M. the King Emperor speaking at the State Banquet at the Buckingham Palace in honour of President Wilson said :

This is an historic moment. Your visit marks an historic epoch. Nearly 150 years have passed since your Republic began its independent life and now for the first time the President of the United States is our guest in England. We welcome you to the country whence came your ancestors and where stands the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln. We welcome you for yourself as one whose insight, calmness, and dignity in the discharge of his high duties we have watched with admiration. We see in you a happy union of the gifts of the scholar with those of the statesmen. You came from a studious academic quiet, into the full stream of arduous public life. Your deliverances have combined the breadth of view and a grasp of the world problems with a mastery of lofty diction, recalling that of your great orators of the past and of our own. You come as official head and spokesman of a mighty Commonwealth, bound to us by the closest ties. Its peoples speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. Our literature is yours, as yours is also ours, and the men of letters in both countries have joined in maintaining its incomparable glories. To you, not less than to us, belong the memories of our national heroes from King Alfred down to the days of Sir Philip Sydney, Drake, Raleigh, Blake and Hampden, the days when the political life of the English stock in North America was just beginning. You share with us the traditions of a free Self-Government as old as the Magna Charta. We recognise the bond of a still deeper significance in the common ideals which our people cherish. First among those ideals you value and we value Freedom and Peace, privileged as we have been to be the exponents and examples in the national life of the principles of popular Self-Government based upon equal laws. It now falls to both of us alike to see how these principles can be applied beyond our own borders for the good of the world. It was the love of Liberty and respect for law, good faith and the sacred rights of humanity that brought you to the Old World to join in saving it from dangers, which were thickening around and that arrayed those citizen soldiers of yours, whose gallantry we have admired side by side with ours in the War. You have now come to help in building up new States amid the ruins of those which the War has shattered, and in laying the solid foundation of a settlement that may stand firm, because it will rest upon the consent of the emancipated Nationalities. You have eloquently expressed the hope of the American people, as it is our hope, that some plan may be devised to attain the end you have done so much to promote, by which the risk of future wars may be, if possible, averted, relieving the Nations of the intolerable burden which the fear of war has laid upon them. The British Nation wishes all success to the deliberations on which you and we and the great free Nations, allied with us, are now to enter, moved by disinterested good will and sense of duty commensurate with the power which we hold as a solemn trust. The

American and the British people have been brothers in arms and their arms have been crowned with victory. We thank with all our hearts your valiant soldiers and sailors for their splendid part in that victory, as we thank the American people for the noble response to the call of civilisation and humanity. May the same brotherly spirit inspire and guide our united efforts to secure for the world the blessings of ordered freedom and enduring peace and in asking you to join with me in drinking the health of the President, I wish to say with what pleasure we welcome Madame Wilson to this country. I drink to the health of the President of the United States and Madame Wilson and to the happiness and prosperity of the great American Nation.

The University of Spirit.

The Sorbonne for the first time in history conferred a degree of Doctor *honoris causa* on a foreigner, when the diploma was handed to President Wilson on Dec. 22. The President replying said :—

The terrible war through which we have just passed has been not only a war between nations but between the systems of culture—one system aggressive, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system, reminiscent of high traditions of men of indomitable spirit everywhere, struggling towards right and seeking above all else to be free. The triumph of freedom in this war means that the spirits of that sort now dominate the world. The task of those presently to be gathered here to make settlements of this peace is greatly simplified by the fact that they are masters of none but the servants of mankind, and if we don't heed the mandates of mankind, we shall make ourselves most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world. My conception of the League of Nations is just this, that it shall operate as the organised moral force of men throughout the world and that, whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them and men everywhere will ask "what are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortune of the world?" Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the central Powers had dared to discuss the purpose of this war for a single fortnight it never would have happened, and if, as should be they were forced to discuss it for a year the war would have been inconceivable. So I feel that this war is intimately related to "the University of Spirit," which is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of truth and purification of life, and every University man can ally himself with the forces of the present time, with a feeling that now at last, the spirit of truth, the spirit to which the Universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

Native States and Reforms

Interviewed by a representative of the London *Times* H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir who has since been appointed to represent India at the Peace Conference along with the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha, said :

India's rejoicing over the armistice was enhanced if possible by the steps taken in accordance with the Premier's assurances that India would have a worthy place in the peace deliberations. Her direct representation in the counsel respecting the momentous issues now to be decided was fully appreciated by all classes. It was held to be another strong link in the chain of partnership on terms of absolute equality with the other parts of the Empire, to the completion of which in fullness of time every thinking man in India eagerly looked forward.

The Maharaja declared that few features in the history of War had more impressed Indian imagination or more stimulated Indian loyalty and effort, than the personal example and untiring zeal and devotion to duty of the King Emperor and his gracious Consort. Their two visits to India and the historic messages of hope and sympathy given by His Majesty were enshrined on the hearts of the Indian people. The Indians clearly realised that it was the Crown that welded these many elements together and that, without such a personal binding force, the Empire would be disintegrated.

H. H. the Maharaja emphasised that India had played no unworthy part in the War and declared that the Indian States had reason to be gratified that the authors of the Report had shown not only scrupulous but generous regard for the treaty rights, privileges and prerogatives of the Ruling Princes. They welcomed the recommendations made for bringing the Princes into closer relations with the Government of India and for overhauling the machinery whereby those relations were regulated. The recommenda-

tions were in line with the proposals discussed at the gatherings of the Princes. The announcement of August 20th, Mr. Montagu's visit and the Viceroy's earnest interest in shaping a progressive course had had a most beneficial effect.

The Premier's assurance through Sir S. P. Sinha that the declaration of August 20th would be carried into practical effect had gone very far in allaying the apprehensions and anxieties of the sober-minded Indians. It had been noted with satisfaction in India that all important parties appealing to the British Electorate were pledged to far-reaching Indian reforms. The Indians were confident that the great British Nation with its unerring political instinct would give ungrudging sympathy and active support to the proposals on the lines of the Report and would not be led away by the wrecking view of extreme elements.

Silk Industry in Mysore.

An industry which gives to the ryots and merchants from the produce of about only one-fourth of the total number of taluks in the State or from an estimated extent of about 35,000 acres, in a year so much money as a little more than half a crore of rupees certainly deserves to be classed as a very important one. It should be remembered, writes the *Mysore Economic Journal*, that Mysore occupies a unique position of vantage as it is the only tract in South India capable of producing silk on such a scale.

At present almost the entire out-put of local silk may well be termed the result of cottage industry. The 35,000 acres of mulberry and the ryots and reelers engaged in the industry are spread over a number of villages. The methods followed are the customary traditional ones, more or less wholly devoid of the powerful impetus which organized concerted action and the use of modern scientific appliances and commodious and well-designed buildings could impart to such an established industry.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians in the Colonies

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes the following letter to the *Indian Social Reformer* :—

I have only just seen Mr. H. S. L. Polak's letter on the above subject, which raises certain points of very much interest indeed. I agree that the statement "Australians are absolutely without race or colour-prejudice" is far too sweeping. If I ever implied anything so strong as that in my article, I would retract it. But it is unquestionably true that race sentiment in Australia is poles apart from the sentiment I found in Durban and Johannesburg. At the same time, I cannot ignore the fact, that there is a race and colour-prejudice growing up in Australia, which, if not checked, may become a menace to the peace of the world. Nevertheless taking all this into account, I am certain that the present is a golden opportunity for the best Indians and Australians to come into close and friendly relations. I do not think that there could be any better way to effect this than through the Universities. If the higher branches of our Indian Universities offered facilities for Australian graduate students such students would be forthcoming; and 'pari passu' the door is freely open for advanced students to go from India to Australia. I confess that I am surprised that the Indian Government is so slow in recognising the advantages of such an opening.

Mr. Polak has put two test examples by which to try the genuineness of the Australian freedom from colour prejudice. It is interesting to me that, in one of his test cases, the trial has already been made. He relates how Johannesburg European workmen would not admit coloured workmen into their Union, even on the condition that they would not on any account lower the standard wage. This same question came up in Australia. The Chinese carpenters used to underset the European carpenters, and at first great friction occurred. But since the Chinese have formed a

Union of their own, as a branch of the Australian Labour Union, accepting all the labour conditions, there has been no friction at all. In New Zealand, if my memory serves me rightly, I found some Indians admitted into an European Labour Union. I am glad that Mr. Polak has pointed out, how free from racial prejudice Cape Colony was, compared with Natal and the Transvaal. I would say, from personal experience, that both Australia and New Zealand are freer still than Cape Colony.

Mr. Polak's other test case, namely, whether Australians would allow immigration into the Northern territory, is a more difficult one. Economic questions are mixed up with questions of racial intermixture, on a large scale. It must be remembered, that there are not yet five million Europeans in Australia altogether. A very large immigration of Indians—numbering possibly millions—into the Northern territory might easily swamp the present population, and the Australians as a whole do not wish this to happen. But far more than this, they are in very serious alarm lest some form of indentured plantation labour should be introduced by the insistant forces of capital. They have fought out this question of servile labour in North Queensland and have defeated the capitalist group there; but the object lesson of such a huge monopoly as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Fiji is always before their eyes, and they are not going to open up the Northern territory to dangers of that kind without a struggle.

To speak out what is in my mind, my great fear to-day is that the strong South African racial sentiment may affect Australia and New Zealand by direct contact, that the present opportunity of an "*entente cordiale*" between India and the young freedom loving nations in the South Pacific may be lost. The door is wide open now but will it remain open long? Much will depend on the Peace Conference and the ensuing League of Nations.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

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Resolutions of the Industrial Conference.

The following Resolutions were passed at the last Indian Industrial Conference :—

REPORT OF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

(a) The Conference places on record its grateful acknowledgements to the Government for having accepted the resolution of the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla to appoint a commission to consider the report upon the measures that should be adopted for the growth and development of industries in India; and thanks Sir Thomas Holland and his colleagues for having submitted a report which accepts many of the suggestions and recommendations which the Indian Industrial Conference has been urging from year to year upon the attention of the Government and people.

(b) The Conference welcomes as a step in the right direction, the principle laid down in the report for the definite adoption of a policy of State participation in industrial development, the principal constructive proposals made and the administrative machinery devised to put this recommendation into effect.

(c) The Conference further welcomes the recommendation for the immediate creation (1) of Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industries (2) of two new services *viz.* the Imperial Industrial and the Imperial Chemical; and (3) of various Imperial and Provincial institutes, subject to the modification that instead of the proposed Imperial Executive Board of Industries, there should be an advisory Board similar to that proposed for the Provinces, composed mainly of elected members; and further, that the two services should be reserved mainly for Indians. The Conference also welcomes the numerous valuable minor recommendations made by the Commission in various directions and earnestly urges upon the Government, the urgent necessity of putting into effect at an early date all the recommendations of the Commission, in order to put the country on the path of rapid industrial and economic progress.

(d) The Conference regrets that the Commission has failed to devote any attention to and made definite recommendations for the formulation of an adequate organization for propelling industrial enterprises in the country on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the educative and advisory machinery suggested in the report, and earnestly urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of the formation of a comprehensive system of financing the industries, through the instrumentality of such organisations as Industrial Banks, at as early a date as possible.

EXCESS PROFIT TAX.

This Conference strongly protests against the contemplated imposition of the Excess Profit Tax, as it would, in its opinion, act almost as a levy on capital and is antagonistic to the promise of an active industrial police outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Proposals and in the report of the Indian Industrial Commission; and earnestly urges upon the Government the necessity of abandoning the proposed measure.

IMPERIAL AND ALLIED PREFERENCE.

The Conference is emphatically of opinion that the compulsory inclusion of India in any scheme of "Imperial and Allied Preference" is opposed to the best interests of the country and unequivocally declares her deliberate desire to remain outside any such arrangement and to work out her industrial policy in accordance with her own needs and requirements.

RAILWAYS.

The Conference notices with regret and surprise the total absence in the Report of the Industrial Commission of a careful and comprehensive consideration of the important question of Railway Administration and railway rates, with special reference to the trade and industries of the country; and with a view to its rapid economic and industrial growth on sound and healthy lines, recommends that all the railways that are not at present under State management, be taken over by the Government immediately on the termination of their present contracts, and that meanwhile immediate steps be taken by the Government.

(a) to introduce a substantial Indian element in the Railway Board to represent Indian interests and views:

(b) to readjust completely the whole system of railway rates, which, at present in many cases, encourage foreign industries and trade at the expense and to the detriment of Indian commerce and industries; and to so re-arrange them as to encourage rather than discourage the latter:

(c) to encourage more liberally than hitherto the construction of feeder and branch lines by introducing less rigorous conditions than are obtainable now: and by granting loans to local boards and guaranteeing a fixed rate of interest on capital invested by private individuals:

and (d) to introduce a much larger element of Indians in the higher grades of the railway service than now.

ALCOHOL FOR INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES.

That this Conference draws the attention of Government to the great hardships experienced by distillers of medicinal industrial spirits due to some regulations being applied to them as are in force for distillation of liquor and urges Government to exempt them from Excise regulations.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

The Cow Conference

The second All-India Cow Conference met at the pandal opposite the Jumma Musjid, Delhi, on the 30th December last. The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, made an interesting speech in the course of which he said that the object of the Conference was to devise ways and means for the improvement of agriculture and the protection and improvement of cattle, specially cows, as the true material and economic advancement of the country was entirely dependent upon these two factors. India was pre-eminently an agricultural country. More than seventy per cent of the population lived directly or indirectly by agricultural pursuits, and our agricultural system is entirely dependent upon cattle. Machine ploughing was not yet quite suitable to the requirements of the country. Hence the preservation and improvement of our cattle were of the primary importance for the agriculture of the land.

He then made some suggestions for the care of cattle and the management of pinjrapoles and appealed to Government to stop the dry meat trade with Burma. The next thing he mentioned was the providing of grazing lands for cattle. He said cultivation of fodder crops should be encouraged. Legislation for the protection of Brahmini bulls was required and village bulls should periodically be inspected by veterinary assistants. The Government should take steps to arrest the ruinous slaughter of prime cows without any further delay. In the annual fairs and horse shows in several districts prizes should be more adequately given to the owners of best cattle.

After the welcome address was over, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem was elected President. The President delivered his address on the following day and the Conference closed after passing some resolutions similar to those adopted at the previous session.

Faridpur Agricultural Exhibition

The Faridpur Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was opened on January 4 by the President, Mr. J. G. Dunlop, I. C. S., at a public meeting held under a decorated shamiana. Mr. J. G. H. Macnair, I. C. S., Sessions Judge, and almost all the leading official and non-official gentlemen of the town, as also several Zamindars of the district, attended the meeting. Babu Jnanendra Nath Lahiry, pleader, Hon. Secretary, read a report welcoming all at the opening ceremony and describing the usefulness of such an institution. The various industries of the District were represented in the exhibition: The Agricultural Department arranged a stall where the best seeds of the different crops were shown and the best varieties of paddy were exhibited.

Milk Supply.

The success of co-operation in India will be increasingly judged in future years by the progress made by agricultural non-credit societies and by non-agricultural societies. Bombay at present need fear no invidious comparisons with other Provinces as far as such societies are concerned. It has numerous societies of both kinds and is constantly branching out into new lines of work. The supply of pure milk to large cities is a question well worth the attention of the Co-operative Department especially in view of its close relation to infant mortality. * * It is very evident that much educative work in matters of public health is still necessary and that local bodies have still to master the rudiments of what should be the most important part of their functions. Their apathy hushed the result of forcing the Co-operative Department to take a different line. The attempt to improve city milk supplies from within will not be pressed, writes the *Mysore Economic Journal*, but efforts will be made to increase the supply by bringing the milk from outside and by organizing its distribution.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

A League of Nations.* By H. N. Brailsford, Headley Bros. Ltd., London.

The creation of a permanent organization to ensure the peace of the world forms the main subject of the deliberations of the Peace Conference in Paris. Mr. Brailsford examines the problems of nationality, alliances, sea-power and the economic war of the future with sustained interest, and his book is perhaps the most considerable effort at a comprehensive study of the greatest and the most complex problem of the day.

Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3.

This second edition contains some additional papers specially translated from Hindi and Gujarati. It has also an introduction from the pen of Mr. C. F. Andrews, a biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi together with a clear and succinct account of the great South African struggle by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, a graphic description of the historic march of the indentured Indians under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, "A word of tribute" by Mr. G. A. Natesan, and numerous portraits and cartoons illustrative of different phases of the struggle.

The Hon. Pandit M. M. Malaviya's Speeches and Writings. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras, Price Rs. 3.

This is a comprehensive and up-to-date collection comprising among others his famous Memorandum on the Hindu University Scheme, full text of his two Congress Presidential Addresses, his lengthy Memorandum on the Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals, his Minute on the Report of the Industrial Commission, and a careful selection of speeches on other subjects delivered on various occasions. The Pandit's select speeches in the Imperial Council will be read with interest. There is, besides, a lengthy biographical account of the Pandit's life and career accompanied by a photo.

The Sacred Books of the Jainas : Vol I - Dravya Sangraha, Edited by Sarat Chandra Ghoshal, Published by Kumara Devendra Prasad, Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

We are having in recent years a number of scholarly works being original treatises, as well as editions of classical works on Jaina religion and philosophy, from the pen of C. R. Jain Esq. Barrister-at-law, Justice R. L. Jaini Esq. M. A., and other Jain scholars. The present work by Mr. Sarat Chandra Ghoshal will take a high rank in the series on account of its able introduction and valuable notes, apart from the fact that a fundamental elementary work on Jaina philosophy, the *Dravya Sangraha*, is published herein, with a voluminous commentary by a scholar named Brahma Deva. The work which is copiously annotated by Mr. Ghoshal in English, and for which the published commentary is also able and elaborate, will furnish to Hindu readers a reliable text book of Jaina philosophy in an intelligible form, full and not too elaborate.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A WRITER'S RECOLLECTIONS. By Mrs. Humphry Ward, W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., London.

THE WOMEN NOVELISTS. By R. Brimley Johnson. W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., London.

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, B.A., Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

INDIAN NATIONALISM: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PERSONALITIES. By B. C. Pal, S. R. Murthy & Co. Triplicane, Madras.

SUGGESTIONS ON FRANCHISE FOR THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY. By Srinath Dutt. Published by P. C. Dass, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

MANUAL TRAINING FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS. By J. Y. Buchanan, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE CALL OF THE KING. By Annie Burdallane James Clarke & Co., London.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By Walter Libby, M.A., Ph.D., George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 1. Death in Calcutta, of the Metropolitan of India.
- The all-India Ladies' Conference met at the Congress pandal, Delhi, Mrs. Annie Besant presiding.
- Jan. 2. His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Sakchi to-day.
- Arrival in Bombay of a batch of repatriated Kut prisoners.
- Jan. 3. President Wilson was made a *Civis Romanus* in the City of Rome.
- Jan. 4. President Wilson visits His Holiness the Pope of Rome.
- Jan. 5. The British delegates to the Peace Conference arrived at Paris.
Four Polish delegates also arrived in Paris.
- Jan. 6. Ex-President Roosevelt died this morning at his residence in New York.
- Jan. 7. Anarchy in Germany.
The Spartacists seized the newspaper offices and burnt the printing presses.
- Jan. 8. Over 75 thousand mill hands struck work in the cotton factories in Bombay.
- Jan. 9. A meeting was held at the Calcutta University Institute to express condolence at the death of Sir Gurudas Banerjea, the Maharaja of Dharbanga presiding.
- Jan. 10. The strikers' gathering of about 50 thousand was addressed by some prominent citizens advising them to rejoin duty.
- Jan. 11. The mill hands' trouble with the Police. The mill owners decide to deal sympathetically with the labourers.
- Jan. 12. The strike infection spreads to the cloth market to-day.
- Jan. 13. All the heads of Provinces with the exception of Lord Pentland and the Governor of Bombay assembled at Delhi in connection with the Reform Scheme Conference.
- Jan. 14. Sir S. P. Sinha has been appointed Under-Secretary of State for India.
- Jan. 15. The G. I. P. Railway men struck work to-day.
- Sir M. B. Chaubal opened the Navin Vidyalaya.
- Jan. 16. It is announced that India and the Dominions will be represented at the ensuing Peace Conference.
- Jan. 17. The First Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held to-day presided over by the Chancellor, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.
- Jan. 18. The first meeting of the Peace Conference was held at Paris to-day with Mr. Clemenceau in the chair.
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- His Royal Highness Prince John Charles Francis, the youngest child of their Majesties, the King and Queen died suddenly this night after a brief illness. Great grief is felt throughout the Empire on this bereavement in the Royal household.
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- Jan. 19. H. E. the Governor of Bombay interceded on behalf of the Mill-hands and secured from the Millowners special concessions in the shape of an increase of wages and war bonus.
- Jan. 20. The Conference of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India met at Delhi. H. E. the Viceroy opened the Session with an address.
The elevation to the Peerage of the Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir S. P. Sinha, is officially announced.
- Jan. 21. It is announced that 150,000 men are now on strike in Bombay. The main demands of the mill-hand strikers have been conceded by their employers. The terms of the settlement arrived at were announced to the men by the Commissioner of Police and were received with the liveliest satisfaction by them.
- Jan. 22. An Imperial air fleet Banquet was held in London to celebrate the British Empire's war victory.

Literary

The Press Association of India

A Conference of the Press Association of India met at Delhi in the Subjects Committee tent of the Congress on Wednesday the 25th December, Mr. B. G. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle* presiding.

Mr. Horniman explained the aims and objects of the Association. He deplored that very little interest had been taken in the past year by those connected with the press in the Association. He suggested that a Central Executive Committee should be formed in one particular place for the coming year and it should be entrusted with the work of the Association. Mr. Horniman requested those present to give their serious thought and support to the Association. He pointed out that the press in India required co-operation among those who were connected with it.

The Secretary of the Association, Mr. Mody suggested the starting of a Press Fund in every province. Mr. Kholsa of Lahore spoke of the Black List in the Punjab.

The Conference also appointed a committee to consider in what respects it was desirable to revise the constitution of the Press Association in order to bring about more effectively the objects for which it was founded.

Common Language Conference

The third session of the All-India Common Language Conference assembled at Delhi in the pandal opposite the Jumma Musjid on December 30. Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E. who presided over the session delivered an instructive address, the main portions of which appear in another page under the heading, "The Language Problem in India." (Page 46.) Mr. Madhava Rao began by discussing the need for a common language and a common script.

"At a time," he asked, "when India had to equip herself for the struggle to attain Nationhood and when they had to keep in line with the most advanced Nations, can her youth afford to waste in picking up half a dozen languages the time required to get correct ideas regarding the world round them and store their mind with the knowledge necessary for success in life."

In conclusion, he suggested that one's knowledge of the vernaculars would be strengthened by the knowledge of classical languages, like Sanskrit or Persian. Those who seek the culture of classical languages will have no reason to think that any additional burden is imposed. No new language need be studied immediately. Without much effort, the script problem also will slowly solve itself finally for all Indians, except that the Urdu speaking men will have known Nagari and the Urdu speakers their own alphabet.

The Conference passed about a dozen resolutions, the most important of them being the one urging the adoption of Hindi as a common language and devising methods for its propagation.

The All-India Urdu Conference

The All-India Urdu Conference was held at the Town Hall Delhi, on December 27. Lala Sri Ram, M. A., was the chairman of the reception committee and Nawab Zulkaderjang, president. Haziq-ul-Mulk Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, the Hon. Alay Nabi, Lala Jawahar Lal, Messrs. Sajjad Haidar and Hasrat Mohani, and others were present. Resolutions thanking his exalted Highness the Nizam for establishing the Usmania Urdu University and forming a committee for framing rules to put the Urdu Conference on a sound permanent basis, proposed by Mr. Abdul Gaffar, editor of the *Jamhoor* and seconded by Mr. Hasan Nizami, were unanimously carried.

Educational

Mahomedan Educational Conference

The Mahomedan Educational Conference, an account of which appears in another page, passed several important Resolutions touching the Education of Indian Mussalmans.

When the Conference met on the second-day, resolutions were moved offering congratulations to H. M. the King Emperor and appreciating H. E. H. the Nizam's services for the cause of Muslim Education. Another resolution thanked the Bombay Government for the satisfactory solution of the Urdu language difficulty : while a fourth referred to the granting of a holiday on Fridays for Mahomedans.

The next resolution passed was about establishing hostels for Mussalman students in Surat and every other place.

Donations from one rupee to one thousand were paid on the spot. Twenty-five thousand rupees were given by Mr. Mahomedbhoy Jariwala and Mr. Edroos. Several Hindu gentlemen present also contributed.

An All-India Committee was appointed to consider the medium of instruction for Mahomedans in different Provinces.

Ismail Haji Musa, a merchant in South Africa, then made a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Aligarh College, for founding ten monthly forty-rupees scholarship for Gujarathi students. Mr. Shaik Abdulla proposed and Kazi Kalruddin seconded the following resolution:

"That having regard to the delay in securing the establishment of the Muslim University, early steps be taken to secure the necessary legislation in the matter."

Another resolution expressed the feeling that the Government of Bengal failed to carry out

their promise to the Mussalmans at the time of annulling the Bengal Partition that a separate University would be established at Dacca, so that the Musalmans might not be injuriously affected by the annulling of the partition.

The next resolution requested the Government to appoint an Urdu Educational Inspector in Burma while yet another urged the Government of Bombay to utilise the donation of Sir Muhammad Usuf and immediately to establish a Muslim College.

The Conference also adopted three resolutions passed by the Muslim Students Conference which met recently at Bombay. They were (1) asking the University to have compartmental and six monthly examinations, (2) to have Arabic taught at least in one Government College and High School, and (3) urging the extension of the Anjuman hostel at Bombay.

The Students' Convention

The third Madras Students' Convention was held at Salem under the presidentship of the Rev. Allan Gardiner, Principal of the S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly. A large number of student delegates and visitors from several Districts attended the Convention. The Zemindar of Minampalli welcomed, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, the delegates in an interesting speech in which he said that the Convention could do most useful work by organising branches for social service work, etc. He traced the history of the existing system of education and said that the cure lay in a national system of education. He hoped that education would be one of the transferred subjects entirely under popular control. The speaker also impressed on all the need for commercial and industrial education.

The Rev. Mr. Gardiner after being formally voted to the chair delivered an address extracts from which are printed in page 48 under the title, "The Responsibilities of Students."

Legal

Criminal Law Amendment

A bill to make provision in the special circumstances to supplement the ordinary criminal law and for the exercise of emergency powers by the Government is published. It gives effect to the recommendations contained in Chapter 17 of the Rowlatt Committee's Report in so far as they relate to emergency measures (punitive), emergency measures (preventive) and for provision for the existing danger. It is divided into five parts. Under the first three parts, (1) the punitive measures, (2) preventive measures of a mild character (3) preventive measures of a more stringent type each can in turn be called into operation as recommended in the Report. Part (4) makes provision for the existing danger on the lines suggested in paragraph 196 of the Report, and part (5) deals with certain miscellaneous matters.

Another bill to provide for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 is also published. It gives effect to the recommendations contained in Chapter 17 of the Rowlatt Committee Report in so far as they relate to punitive measures (permanent). Further, Clause 3 adds to the Criminal Procedure Code a new Section 196-8 as drafted by the Committee appointed to consider and revise the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill.

The Ajudhia Estate Case

News has been received by cable that the litigation about the Ajudhia estate has at last come to an end, says the *Pioneer*. It will be remembered that early in 1915 a claimant arose to the Ajudhia estate and the title of Rajah which goes with it. He attacked the will which was left by the late Maharajah of Ajudhia as well as the adoption which the junior Maharani of Ajudhia had made under it. A special Judge was appointed to try the case in Fyzabad. After a trial

extending over 10 months the suit was dismissed the Judge passing very scathing remarks on the amount of evidence which the plaintiff had produced to support his case. An appeal to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh was dismissed and an application to that Court for leave to appeal to the Privy Council was also rejected. The plaintiff then applied directly to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal to that tribunal. The Judicial Commissioner's Court had also granted sanction to prosecute the plaintiff on charges of perjury arising out of the evidence he had given in support of his suit. Against this order also the plaintiff applied to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal. Both his applications for special leave to appeal have been dismissed with costs by the Privy Council.

Mr. Kelkar and the Bombay Council

The following order in the Legal Department dated 23rd December has been issued "Under the provision to regulation IV of the regulations for the nomination and election of Additional Members of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay published in the Notification of the Government of India in the Legislative Department, No. 16, dated the 15th November 1909, as subsequently amended, the Governor-in-Council is pleased to declare that the disqualification to which Mr. Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar is subject under clause (k) of the said regulation, is hereby removed."

Sir S. P. Sinha and the Peerage

The *Calcutta Weekly Notes* in congratulating Sir S. P. Sinha on his recent elevation discusses the legal and constitutional aspect of the peerage. It writes:—

It has been said that being a non-Christian he cannot be raised to a British peerage. But there cannot surely be any legal bar to a Hindu, Mahomedan or a Buddhist being elevated to a British peerage when such peerages have been freely conferred on followers of the Jewish faith,

Medical

All-India Medical Conference

The All-India Medical Conference assembled at St. Stephen's College Hall, Delhi, on December 26, the Hon. Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar presiding. Dr. J. K. Sen, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address (See page 40) said that the conference would be a permanent institution, and as such invited the delegates' attention to need for devising a constitution.

Speaking about the Ayurvedic system of medicine he said it was difficult to co-operate with those who practised them simply because they could not have a common basis, but their attitude towards them might not necessarily be hostile. Students and teachers of western medicine had, generally speaking, ignored them but this, he said, he could not think was the right attitude. He thought that facilities should be given by Government for the study of indigenous medicines by providing pharmacological chairs and laboratories in some of the medical colleges of India.

The President, Sir Nilratan Sircar then addressed the assembly on "The task before the Medical Profession" (See page 38) At the conclusion of the war, he said, the task before the medical profession was simply appalling. Then referring to the influenza epidemic he appealed for a large army of medical men and for increased facilities for medical training.

Continuing the President expressed his opinion that the Reform Scheme as it affected their profession was satisfactory.

In conclusion the President pointed out that the time had come when greater attention should be paid to the important question of women's medical education and said that apart from women's classes in medical colleges, medical schools should be opened in important centres,

The Conference re-assembled on the following day and passed the following among other Resolutions.

This Conference approves of the recommendations of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy regarding the holding of simultaneous I.M.S. examinations in England and India, and tenders its respectful thanks to them for the recommendations;

This Conference strongly urges His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on the advisability of conferring permanent commissions upon Indian Members of the medical profession who offered themselves for war service, fifty per cent. of the total number of vacancies being filled for the next three years from those who held temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service;

This Conference urges the immediate necessity of restricting the Indian Medical Service to military work alone and of creating a new Civil Indian Medical Service for civil work. Members of both services should be recruited both in England and India by simultaneous competitive examinations;

This Conference resolves that at medico-legal examinations a medical representative of the party or parties concerned should be present during the examination and sign the report jointly with police surgeons.

That a medical corps consisting of medical men with honorary commissions of medical students with Warrant Officer's rank should be formed in each province as a reserve from which officers and men could be drawn for military duty in an emergency;

That facilities for the formation of a standing Volunteer Ambulance Corps in each province should be afforded by Government with a view to their being utilized in emergencies like great festivals, fairs and similar occasions;

That it is urgently necessary that a number of Medical Colleges and Schools be increased at once;

Considering the bad sanitary condition of Indian villages and towns and want of knowledge on the part of the people, which brings about loss of thousands of lives, the Conference is of opinion that an independent section of the medical profession in each District should form themselves into committees and disseminate sanitary ideas amongst the people;

A pharmaceutical society be established in India to investigate and study Indian drugs on scientific principles and compile and preserve an Indian pharmacopoeia on the lines of the British Pharmacopoeia and also give an impetus to the knowledge and practice of pharmaceutical chemistry in the country;

In the opinion of the Conference it is highly necessary that post-graduate courses of training should be instituted in important medical educational institutions;

That the suggestion of the British Medical Association that the appointment of Indian Medical Service graduates to higher posts should be made conditional upon their attending a course in Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Great Britain is not only unnecessary but retrograde and mischievous and that it should at once make proper arrangements for the proper teaching of the subjects up to the necessary standard in Indian Universities.

Science

The All-India Musical Conference

The Second All-India Musical Conference was held recently at Delhi at the Congress Pandal. H.H. the Nawab of Rampur presided. Amongst those present were Sir James Meston and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. In the course of his speech, the President gave a brief historical survey of Indian music and pointed out that Hindu music was said to be of divine origin and Brahma revealed four Vedas, the last Sham Veda dealing with music. Mahomedan music was in a flourishing condition in 12th and 13th centuries. Sultan Allauddin Touglak was very fond of it and gave great encouragement. He appealed for raising the standard of musical education and emphasised the scanty opportunity for its studies.

A resolution to establish a National Academy of Music for the systematic study of Indian music at Delhi was adopted, and a Provincial Committee consisting of Sahabzada Saddat Ali, Joshi, Mr. Jagannath and Rai Sahibs Chouduri, Raghbir Narain Singh, with power to add to the number, was appointed for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of buildings and for endowments. A practical demonstration was also given that night.

X-Rays for Detective Purposes

The Calcutta Police have by the use of X-Rays, succeeded in recovering a stolen piece of jewellery at Calcutta race course. A young Muhammadan was arrested for the theft of a thin gold chain about twelve inches in length. He was seen, it is said, to wrench the property off the neck of an infant who was in the arms of its father. On being arrested, the stolen chain was not found in his possession, and it was presumed that he had thrown it away. He was, however, made over to Inspector, Mr. Shillong, of Hastings Police, for enquiry. The Inspector who has had previous

medical experience came to the conclusion that the accused had swallowed the chain and had him examined under X-Rays, when, true to his expectations, the missing article was detected. A petty surgical operation followed and the stolen article was brought to light. The accused is being sent up for trial.

Sir J. C. Bose's New Invention

A magnetic crescograph has been recently invented by Sir J. C. Bose. The magnification gained by a thus supersensitive apparatus far surpasses all the existing appliances. It is yet difficult to predict all the varied uses that will be made of this apparatus and its principles in many fields of physical and physiological investigation. Apart from its remarkable utility, the perfection of this apparatus in itself is a great scientific achievement. It has aroused much interest among the leaders of science. By this apparatus the phenomena hitherto beyond the reach of investigation can now be studied with great certainty and precision. It shows ultra-microscopic changes induced in a growing organism, even by a puff of smoke or a gentle breeze, by a passing cloud or fleeting brightness. This apparatus was for the first time exhibited with Sir J. C. Bose's discourse at the Bose Institute on the 10th January.

Height at Which Sounds can be Heard

In one of his Journals, Camile Flammarion gives the heights at which sounds from the earth are heard from balloons. The shout of a man was heard distinctly at the height of 1,600 feet, the sharp note of a mole-cricket at 2,500 feet, and the croaking of frogs in a morass at 3,000 feet. At 3,255 feet a man's voice and the rolling of a cart were distinguished; at 4,550 feet the roll of a drum and the music of an orchestra; at 5,000 feet the crowing of a cock, the sound of a church bell, and sometimes the shouting of men and women,

Personal

Mrs. Besant on the Delhi Congress

Mrs. Besant writes in the *Commonweal* :—

I am compelled to differ from the policy of the majority, and cannot therefore be an agent in carrying it out. The rejection of a compromise arrived at after full discussion, without the consent of both parties to it, on the very first occasion on which rejection was possible, seems to me to render future compromises unlikely, since they could never be depended on, and this condemns each school of political opinion to play a lone hand—a very disadvantageous position for India. "Divide and be conquered" is not a good motto for a Nation struggling for liberty against a compact and well-organised army of the defenders of autocracy and privileges. I see letters suggesting that "Mrs. Besant should try to bring about unity." Mrs. Besant has been working for unity all through, but after the rejection of the compromise arrived at, after long discussion at Bombay, between the progressive Moderates and the union-desiring Nationalists, will not the former naturally say: "What is the use of entering into a compromise which will be thrown overboard by your Nationalist friends on the first opportunity?" The keeping of faith is an essential of clean politics, and without it no mutual trust can exist.

Ex-President Roosevelt

Ex-President Roosevelt died in New York on January 6. He was born in New York on the 27th October, 1858, and was the associate editor of the *New York Outlook* till his death. He was educated at Harvard; was a member of the New York Legislature, 1882-84; Leader of the Minority in 1883; Leader of the House in 1884; and United States' Civil Service Commissioner, 1889-95. He held the office of the President of the New York Police Board from 1895-97,

and in April of the same year was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Navy. He organised the First United States Cavalry Volunteers (Roosevelt's Rough Riders) and commanded it in Cuba in 1898. He was the Governor of New York State, 1898-1900; Vice-President of the United States, March 4 to September 14, 1901; President, 1901-8. He was the author, among other well-known works, of "The Winning of the West," 1889-95; "The Rough Riders," 1899; "Life of Cromwell"; "Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography," 1913; and "Life Histories of African Big Game," 1914. He was pro-British and wanted to organise a regiment of his own to join the war with the Allies long before the United States' Government actually declared against Germany. Col. Roosevelt was an ardent admirer of the British Rule in India of which he spoke in high terms on various occasions.

Sir George Lloyd

The appointment of Captain George Lloyd, M.P., at the age of 32 to be Governor of Bombay may have surprised some members of the Old Gangs, but it came as no surprise to those who have known him and watched his work for years, writes a friend in the *Daily Mail*.

"I have a long acquaintance with Bombay and with its Governors and believe that Lloyd is the right man for Western India in this critical time. He is fearless in decision, but does not act hastily, and has a dash of that good Quaker blood which implies both prudence and sympathy. He knows the Empire from end to end but the East best of all. Essentially a just man, he has learned by long experience how to acquire and retain the confidence of Eastern races. He came back from India not long ago imbued with the conviction that reforms were imperatively needed there, and his appointment is a certain proof that in Bombay they will be handled in a liberal spirit."

Political

The Home-Rule League

The annual meeting of the All-India Home-Rule League was held in Delhi on December 31 at the residence of Rai Bahadur Lala Sultan Singh with Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the League in the chair. The Report of the League for the past year having been circulated was taken as read. The Rules of the League were then amended. It was also decided to transfer the headquarters of the League from Madras to Bombay. The office bearers were then duly elected after which the following among other Resolutions were adopted :—

That the Home Rule League welcomes the announcement of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to this country believing that his presence will strengthen the connection between India and Great Britain.

That a deputation representing the All-India Home Rule League be sent to Britain to advocate the objects of the League, the members to be chosen by the executive of the League, and that the British auxiliary of the League be requested to make the necessary arrangements there for its reception and work.

That this Conference approves of the submission to H. M. the King-Emperor of the petition hereinafter following and requests its British auxiliary to arrange for its presentation by the deputation while in England:

To the King-Emperor's most excellent Majesty-in-Council.—The humble petition of His Majesty's loyal and loving subjects in India by the deputation of the Home Rule for India League sheweth that your petitioners lay at the feet of your Imperial Majesty their loyal congratulations in that the Giver of victory has crowned with success the arms of your Majesty and of your Majesty's Allies in the world-war

now happily approaching its termination and has thus, in the sacred person of your Majesty in common with the nations allied together for the vindication of the sacredness of treaties and of the liberty of oppressed nationalities, rendered secure the liberties of nations and the establishment of justice and righteousness in international relations.

' That your petitioners appeal to your Majesty to extend to your Empire of India through such means as to your Majesty's wisdom may seem fitting, the liberty which is now being established in Europe, in Arabia and in Africa and to lift this great dependency to the position of a free nation under your Majesty's imperial crown on an equality with the self-governing dominions of the Empire.

' That your petitioners believe that this prayer for freedom cannot justly be denied to the one-fifth of the human race in India over which your Imperial Majesty rules through your Majesty's Governor-General with the help in his own words, "of the machinery of autocracy," a vast population who do not share through your Majesty's sceptre the elementary rights of security of life, liberty of person and possession of property which should be theirs unless deprived of them by a sentence duly passed in one of your Majesty's Courts of Justice after open trial as assured by the Magna Charta and other laws on which depends the allegiance of the subjects of your Majesty.

' Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant through such constitutional ways as are available this our humble petition and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.'

That the British auxiliary in consultation with the deputation arrange for Home Rule for India Conference in London at such date as the British auxiliary shall decide on.

General

Indian Ladies' Conference

The All-India Ladies' Conference was held on January 1, at the Congress pandal, Delhi. Mrs. Ansari, heading the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings with a welcome address. Mrs. Besant who was elected president of the Conference remarked that the programme before her was divided into three parts—social, educational and political. Under the first came the loosening of the purdah system and the evils of early marriages. She showed how men suffered through loss of association with women and the women suffered through numerous limitations. Owing to early marriage many women being physically unfit to bear the strain died before the age of 25. The statistics showed that many more boys died before 15 than girls, but after 15 there was a sudden increase in the death rate of women. If they lived over 25 they generally passed on into maturity. This was a point which indeed, women must consider for themselves, for the health of the women affects the child.

In referring to the political subjects on the programme, Mrs. Besant traced the growth of the women's movement in Great Britain. She pointed out the hard conditions under which women and children laboured and how it was seen that these conditions could only be altered by women being represented in Parliament.

Mrs. Besant then reminded the audience that a resolution giving the vote to women was passed at the National Congress in Bombay and again in the Congress just over at Delhi showing that India was likely to gain quickly what England had taken 40 years to get. It was through the help of women that the South African difficulty was settled and as the women took up the cause of the women of Fiji, the system of indentured labour was stopped.

Mrs. Chand Lal and Mrs. Sir Ram spoke on the loosening of Purdah, Dr. Vedi and Mrs. Sultan

Singh Jaini on the evils of early marriage and Shrimati Ram Dulari Shukla, Mrs. Sargari Per shad and Shrimati Satyabala Devi and Shrimati Ram Bai Kamadar on education,

A resolution on the enfranchisement of women was proposed by Shrimati Sarala Devi Choudh rani and seconded by Shrimati Chand Bai Jaini and was unanimously passed.

The following resolution was then unanimously passed :—‘That the All India Ladies Conference urges that women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the Reform Scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex.’

Social Service Conference

The second session of the All-India Social Service Conference which was organized by the Indraprastha Sewak Mandaly met at the Congress pandal, Delhi, on the evening of the 28th Dec., Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding. Delegates from the Social Service Institutions in different parts of the country attended. The Conference opened with songs from the girls of Kanya Maha Vidya laya, Jullundhur, and prayers from Principal Rudra, and Mahamahopadhyaya Harnarain.

Rai Sahab Kidarnath, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and visitors in an Urdu address.

Messages of sympathy were then read out from Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir K. G. Gupta and Dr. D. N. Maitra of the Bengal Social Service League.]

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the President, then delivered an impressive address, a part of which appears on page 45 under the heading “The Insult of Philanthropy.”

Several important resolutions were adopted. Among the principal speakers at the Conference being the Hon. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar, Pandit Lajjawati, Mr. Arundale, Mr. Fernando, of the Ceylon Social Service League, and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

BY

MR. D. S. GORDON, M.A., (EDIN.)

WITHIN the last few months various places in India, notably the great cities, have been the scenes of industrial war. Time was when it used to be thought that strikes and lock-outs were the peculiar legacies of Western civilisation and industrial system, with which people in this land had nothing to do. The situation has since changed ; India has adopted Western methods of production, and it seems from recent occurrences that she has also imported the Western industrial unrest. Given a capitalist-owned factory and a working-class, the "labour problem" naturally arises. It arose in England in the last century, it has arisen in India to-day. In the former country, the Industrial Revolution transformed, within the space of eighty years, its whole industrial organisation and ushered in the factory system with its thousands of wage-earning "hands". The suddenness of the metamorphosis paralysed labour ; and it took some time before the working classes came fully to realise what the recent changes meant for them.

In India we are more fortunate, for here we have not had, and shall not have, an Industrial Revolution as there was in England, or France, or Germany. It is true that some writers on Indian economics have spoken about an imaginary revolution which might bring about sweeping changes in our industrial system. This can only be explained by saying either that they were mis-

taken or that they used a stronger word where a milder one would have described the impending change more accurately. A revolution in industry can only be brought about by the sudden or quick introduction of machinery and mechanical power, and by the rapid adoption of these agents in production. The first power-driven machinery came into India more than half a century ago, but still the greater portion of our industries is in the domestic stage. India, therefore, will not have an industrial revolution but will have an Industrial transition.

The slowness with which the industrial transition of this country is being accomplished is, from the point of view of labour, a blessing ; for then labour will not be precipitated into a sudden and unequal struggle with capital, but will have time to deliberate and gradually adjust its relationship to capital. In spite of the recent disturbance in the mills at Bombay, Madras and elsewhere, which seems to have brought on the conflict between labour and capital sooner than one might have expected, the truth is that we have not yet been familiarised with the real combat as it prevails in industrially more advanced countries. The causes for strikes in those countries are fundamentally different from those which at present actuate Indian labour. There a strike is not so much due to specific grievances as to an intelligent comprehension by the labourer, of the incompatibility of capitalistic

interests with his own interests. It is even born of that hatred of capitalism fostered by trades-unions and by propagandist socialist associations such, for instance, as the Fabian Society in England. The working class in the West knows what it is about. It has been taught that of the three primary factors of production, land, labour, and capital, the second alone is an active agent and that therefore to it alone is due the fruits of production. Its final goal is thus the elimination of capital, either gradually and peaceably as the moderate section of labour advocates, or immediately and violently as the Syndicalists desire.

The education of labour in political economy has not advanced in this country to this dangerous pitch. The recent strikes are not due to a reasoned understanding by Indian workmen, of their own rights and of capitalistic usurpation, but must be attributed to a more or less temporary cause. The suggestion that the present industrial unrest has been fomented by certain interested political malcontents may be at once dismissed with scant courtesy as both malicious and without foundation. As the Bombay workmen stated in their petitions to their employers, the real cause for their striking work was the increased cost of necessaries, which made it impossible for them to make both ends meet with the old wages. The plea was certainly true, but what gave additional force to their argument was the knowledge that their employers had made enormous profits during the war, and the feeling that it was but just that they should part with a little of it to the needy workmen who had helped them to gain the profits.

Everyone knows that the price of food-stuffs has more than doubled, and even at these enhanced rates it is difficult to obtain them in several places. The food-riots will always be an interesting episode in Indian economic history. In ordinary years, when the monsoon did not

grievously disappoint, the 200 million acres devoted to food production in India not only easily supplied her own wants but made it possible for her to export considerable quantities of food-stuffs, especially wheat, to Europe. The acuteness of the present situation, however, cannot be attributed to failure of the monsoon rains but rather to the impolicy of the Government of India in allowing export of enormous quantities outside the country, without considering the requirements of the population in the country. It is now patent to all that there is a world-shortage of food-stuffs, and unless the harvests in the present year make up for their past remissness, we shall be plunged into deeper misery and starvation.

As regards cloth, the hand-loom industry of India together with her power-driven mills, had, in the pre-war days, not only supplied the coarser kinds for home consumption but had also exported further East. Lancashire supplied us only the finer kinds of cloth, chiefly used by the comparatively well-to-do classes. But looking at the present cloth situation, it is the poorer classes, who went in for coarser stuff, that suffer most. The Indian workman, or for the matter of that, all people near the tropics are satisfied with a minimum amount of covering for the body, consistent with decency. In such a country for the prices to rise to the present abnormal level, the scarcity must be phenomenal indeed. In view of the lack of tonnage and the slump in the export of raw cotton to England owing to the labour situation there, we should have expected an unprecedented expansion in the native cloth production. So there was; but the increased output was more than counterbalanced by the new and insistent demand created by the war. Never before, as statistics prove, has there been such huge production of piecegoods, and never before was there such enormous export. The quantity (of piece goods) exported was more than double that in

the preceding years and nearly three times the average export during the pre-war quinquennium. There was thus more reason for the prices to rise than to fall. The high prices, however, not being confined to one or two articles, but being general, there is reason to believe that there has been an inflation of the currency.

To whatever causes the high level of prevailing prices may be due, it certainly gave the strikers ample cause for their action. Should, then, the prices return to normal level, which by the way is improbable, will the strike cease? There may be a cessation of strikes for a period, but not for long, for contentment is not a virtue of humanity. The Indian workman is intelligent, and intelligence is the mother of ambition. It makes him understand his surroundings better; it plants in him the desire for emulation; it opens to him the vision of a more commodious house, better clothing, and an improved standard of life. This desire for the good things of the world, however, means higher wages and slender profits to the capitalist. When the Indian working-class has fully realised what it wants and how to set about to gain its objects, we would have a real labour problem. The world of industry will not then be marked by a strike here and a strike there, in order to gain a paltry four annas a week, but by a more intelligent and universal demand for a "living wage" which would be amply sufficient for the workman and his family to provide the necessities of life. To bring about this situation labour must be strong, and only organised labour can be strong; hence our workmen in mills and factories must form themselves into associations.

But the question may well be asked: Is it desirable to have a strong, well-organised labour population in the country? This is a difficult question to answer, for it determines whether the struggle with capital shall be prolonged or cut short. The stronger the combatants the longer the fight. Solidarity among labourers will so

strengthen their hands that they will collectively stand on an equal footing with the capitalist. We desire industrial peace, but if conflict between labour and capital is an inherent evil of the present industrial system, which cannot be avoided, then our sense of fairness requires that one party shall take advantage of the weakness of another, that capital shall not always crush labour. Hence, unless a solution is found which would give the quietus to this fundamental antagonism, it is the duty of labour to protect itself by organising. And India has now to learn the first lessons in organisation; but the task is less difficult, for the excellences and defects of the Western trades-unions are at once an encouragement and a warning.

The history of these trades-unions furnishes us with one or two very important points, essential to the success of any association of workmen. A labour-union is not a mere combination. This, the earliest, the easiest, and the weakest form of organisation to oppose capital, has long ago been abandoned for better methods of securing the interest of labour. The permanence and unanimity of the members are not assured in a mere association. The men have to be held together by the golden thread; common financial interest must be the binding force and strength of the organisation. The vitality of a labour-union depends upon its common fund to which all the members have contributed. This has been again and again demonstrated in the early history of English and French trades-unions. Strikes are wars of attrition, the greater the financial efficiency of the strikers, the longer they can maintain, and the nearer the victory. Belgium and Germany, which before the War possessed the best organised trades-unions in the world, have set the pattern in regard to sound financing, centralisation, and leadership. Haphazard co-ordinations, and overlapping federations have been a source of inefficiency in England and in the

United States, though in respect of leadership and finance they are second to none. In India, however, we are not concerned with problems of co-ordination and concentration, but with the creation of local unions with strong funds and sagacious leadership.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon leadership, for whether the union shall be a force for good or for evil, whether it shall make or mar the progress of the working man, depends upon the choice of a successful leader—one who is distinguished for his character, integrity, sense of justice and zeal for the uplift of labour. Organising labour is like training an army; and as an army without a leader or with a bad one, is capable of inflicting enormous injuries, so is organised labour liable to inflict

serious damage to trade and industry under similar circumstances. Capable leaders, however, are not common, especially in the ranks of labour; and they must therefore be secured from among the well-to-do classes until labour itself produces suitable men. Even in England, which is a pioneer trade-unionist, some of the labour leaders have always belonged to other classes.

It is a disappointment to think that labour and capital should always be in a state of war, that preparedness should be the test of the efficiency of labour. But human ingenuity has not been idle; voluntary conciliation was tried, and compulsory arbitration too, but with little success. We now await with interest the result of the proposal for international regulation of labour over which the Peace Conference is sitting.

A LONDON LETTER BY "A FRIEND OF INDIA."

IN February 4, members of the new Parliament will commence to meet in order to take the oath, with a view to the forthcoming opening of Parliament by the king. It will be a very different House of Commons from the last one, and most of the well-known friends of India will no longer find a place there. The Government will have such a huge majority that they will not know what to do with it. The House could not contain all the members even before their number was enlarged; but no one supposed that such a stage of affairs would be reached that one party alone would have an absolute majority over all other parties in the House, assuming that they all attended. As it is, the Government majority will be obliged to spread themselves over to the opposition side of the House. I say "the Opposition side" advisedly, for no one knows exactly who will be the Opposition. Ordinarily, the honour, if it be one, would fall to the largest of the minority parties. But

this happens to be Sinn Fein, and Sinn Fein has sworn a vendetta against all kinds of English institutions, including Parliament, which it has decided to boycott. It has meanwhile set up its own "Parliament" in Dublin, appointed a secret Cabinet (evidently thinking that the elect might otherwise see the inside of one of His Majesty's Jails), and proclaimed the Irish Republic and its independence. What will come of this political freak remains to be seen. Whilst I am on the subject, it is as well to record two other phenomena in Irish politics. The first is the disruption of the Unionist party, owing to the secession of the Southern Unionists who are opposed to the Ulstermen's panacea of separation of Ulster from Ireland and its attachment to England for purposes of political administration. The other is the formation of a centre party by Captain Stephen Gwynne, one of the few survivors of the Nationalist wreck. Reverting to the House of Commons, the next largest party is the

Labour party, which wishes to occupy the front opposition benches. But the Asquithian Liberal rump does not like this idea at all. It is not anxious to be dispossessed of its ancient dignities and prerogatives, even in favour of Labour, and claim that its members of the Privy Council should be entitled to sit on the coveted bench, side by side, at any rate, with the Labour leaders. It is not to be expected that there will be any attempt on the part of either to eject physically the others.

When Parliament meets, it will have to face a very difficult and dangerous industrial situation. Labour unrest is everywhere. The workers are kicking over the traces rather viciously, and strikes are breaking out all over the country, with or without obvious provocation. Some of them are sympathetic strikes, but all are symptomatic of the chaotic conditions with which the country is faced at the commencement of the period of reconstruction, which finds the Government so far apparently unprepared with a definite industrial programme. The worst strike centres at the moment are in Belfast and on the Clyde. The Labour element in Ulster is becoming much stronger, and is spreading its influence to Dublin, where it will contest the control of the situation with Sinn Fein, on the one hand, and with the Roman Catholic Church, on the other. On the Clyde, however, the position is somewhat different. Here Labour extremists have been preaching their doctrines for a very long time, and the Government were unable to deal effectively with a situation of peculiar difficulty during the war owing to the great need of ship-building specialists. It was in Glasgow, it will be remembered, that the only avowed British Bolshevik candidate for Parliament stood, and it is believed that the hostility aroused against his candidature spread to the neighbouring constituency which Dr. G. B. Clark was contesting, and at least partially accounting for the latter's defeat. There is no doubt that a

considerable section of labour has become restive, and is unwilling to listen to the warnings of the older Labour leaders. Men like Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. Clynes, and others of like calibre are beginning to realise that, unless they and the country take heed, the control of labour politics will have passed from their hands. It is not easy to say what will be the immediate results of this unrest; but meanwhile the process of reorganising the National life is impeded by reason of uncertainty. It is very natural that the workers should demand far better conditions than obtained when the war broke out. They are entitled to take their proper place in the life of the country and this position they certainly did not enjoy before. Many of the employers are still, however, living in the dark ages, and do not recognise that a new light has dawned, and that the old conditions will not be tolerated nor can they be revived. On the other hand, a large portion of the industrial population is in the hands of younger leaders, who have never really had to work their way up like their predecessors. They have found things much easier for them, and have been nurtured on a pabulum consisting chiefly of incitements to a class-war. As eloquence is cheap among them—like other strata of society in other countries—their stock-in-trade is not expensive to acquire. The mass of the workers are dangerously ignorant still and only too docile, and they thus provide good material for the energetic extremists to work upon.

It is because of this spread of industrial unrest, for bad reasons as well as good, that American Industrial heads have encouraged the campaign against the sale, purchase, manufacture or distribution of liquor throughout the United States. Almost at the same time that the announcement was made here that the campaign had succeeded with wholly unexpected rapidity, another announcement was made here that, in response to a growing demand on the part of the British

worker, the Government was making arrangements to increase the quantity and quality (which means the strength) of beer. It is a very sad commentary upon the fact that we are in many ways a generation behind the States, in this country, in matters of social reconstruction.

One cannot write a letter for public perusal to-day and ignore the Peace Congress that is now sitting in Paris, with its Inter-Allied Conferences, its War Cabinet meetings, its Supreme Councils of War and of Food, and all the other subordinate or connected bodies conferring among themselves on one subject or another intimately related to the matter on which all are anxious to see a settlement. Not only is a definite peace urgently needed, in order to put an end to the present uncomfortable intermediate period, in which no one seems to be able to determine whether he is at war or peace with his neighbour, but the peoples of the world demand insistently that they should, so far as is humanly possible, for ever be free from a repetition of the menace from which, it is hoped, the world has escaped. Permanent peace may be a mirage, a beautiful fiction of imaginative minds. But it must be attempted, everyone feels, for otherwise the burden of armaments will be unbearable, and the nations will be crushed, unless they are driven into the arms of Bolshevism, which implies the same result by another and scarcely more acceptable means. It has so far been decided that a League of Nations must at any cost be founded. What will be built upon the foundations, even if they are well and truly laid, we are all waiting to see. It is not anticipated that a perfect building will at once arise; but it is earnestly hoped that, with good-will and inspired by right desires and ideals, a good, sound, storm-proof structure will result. President Wilson is working hard to that end, and it would be unfair to other statesmen to suppose that they are not animated by like principles, though they may

differ among themselves as to the method of their expression. But under the observation of the democracies of the world, whom, and not the Governments, the Peace delegates represent, it may be accepted that they will not rise from their labours until they have devised some working plan that will diminish the possibilities of international ill-will and friction, and so create a favourable atmosphere for the spread of ideas of mutuality, concord, co-operation, and brotherliness.

Mrs. Besant's appeal to the Privy Council for the reversal of the decisions of the Madras High Court in regard to "New India" will come on early next week, and it will be known, probably before this reaches you, what the result will be, unless, as frequently happens, the Judicial Committee reserves judgment. Another case of very great interest in India is the libel suit of Mr. B. G. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol and Messrs. Macmillan and Co., which commenced in the King's Bench Division yesterday, before Mr. Justice Darling and a special jury. Six separate libels are complained of in the book "Indian unrest," and the jury will have a very difficult task before it, and at the conclusion of the trial, some dozen Englishmen, at least, will know a good deal more about Indian affairs than the majority of their countrymen do to-day. Sir John Simon is leading for Mr. Tilak, who is now under cross-examination, and Sir Edward Carson, for Sir Valentine Chirol. The case promises to take several days yet, and the decision should be known immediately, for the jury is bound to give a verdict. The Court is thronged with interested Indian visitors. There is one Indian counsel in the case, young Mr. Padshah, nephew and stepson of Mr. B. J. Padshah, so well-known in connection with the Tata enterprises.

LONDON,
January 30th }

A WRITER'S RECOLLECTIONS

BY J. C. MOLONY.

MRS. HUMPHREY WARD begins her "Recollections" * with a half-playful apology for the inevitable garrulity of old age. Such apology is needless in this particular case; for if some might in malice suggest the sub title "Great People I have known" for Mrs. Ward's literary autobiography, the great people presented to the reader, at any rate in the earlier part of the book, are well worth reading about. Towards the close, the aristocratic atmosphere becomes somewhat oppressive; one would welcome the appearance of a pawnbroker named Miggs as a relief to the glittering procession of ambassadors, cardinals, and statesmen.

Mrs. Ward is a grand-daughter of Thomas Arnold, whom "Tom Brown's Schooldays" immortalised as "The Doctor." It is interesting to learn how the great "Doctor's" bent of mind was reproduced in his descendants. The young Arnolds essayed sundry callings, but what was bred in the bone was sure to come out in the flesh, and the Doctor's sons soon busied themselves about education. Mathew, the eldest, and best known to the outside world, became a school inspector, and there, Mrs. Ward seems to think, did his most worthy and enduring work. William Arnold reached India as a subaltern in the army; in a few years he was Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. Thomas Arnold, Mrs. Ward's father, like the hero of Clough's "Bothie"—probably "Philip" of the "Bothie" is Thomas Arnold—"rounded the sphere to New Zealand," intending there to "dig and hew, subdue the earth and his spirit; in a short time he was called to Tasmania, there to organise primary education. Mrs. Ward admits that without the constant promptings to action of J. R. Green she herself would in all probability have ended a mere bookworm, a student lost in blissful enjoyment of old and out-of-the way

chronicles in the Bodleian Library. From Tasmania to the Bodleian is certainly a far cry, and the story of how and why Mrs. Ward as a small child accomplished the journey is not the least interesting part of her book. "The Doctor" had been a doughty champion of English Protestantism, and in "The Oxford Malignants" he lustily smote Newman and Newman's followers. His son at Oxford "had only once crossed the high street to hear Newman preach, and felt no interest in the sermon"; in his early days at the antipodes so aloof did he stand from dogma and ritual that he would scarce agree to the baptism of his children. But "under the surface an extraordinary transformation was going on." At Hobart, in 1854, young Thomas Arnold was received into the Church of Rome: two years later on reaching England he announces the fact to Father Newman, and receives the following letter: "How strange it seems! I knew your father a little, and I really think I never had any unkind feeling towards him. In seeing you I have a sort of pledge that he at the moment of his death made it all up with me..."

Religious feeling ran high in those days. Conversion to Catholicism meant for Mr. Arnold the loss of his Tasmanian appointment: he re-crossed the seas, and spent the best of his life in teaching at Birmingham, Oxford, and Dublin, in laborious study, and in the editing of ancient records. A temporary reaction against Catholicism brought him to Oxford, and incidentally, shaped Mrs. Ward's career. Mrs. Ward's first vision of Oxford can scarcely have decreased her sympathy with her father's temporary lapse from faith. "There," said Mr. Arnold pointing to a window, "lives the arch-heretic." It was Jowett's window; and Jowett's salary as Professor of Greek had been withheld from him for years "on theological grounds" by a governing body which contained Canon Liddon and Dr. Pusey. There are

* *A Writer's Recollections*.—Mrs. Humphrey Ward.
(London, W. Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.)

doubtless many methods of upholding the orthodox faith, but repudiation of a lawful debt is surely one of the strangest.

Into the learned life of Oxford Mrs. Ward plunged with the delight of a young retriever fetching his first stick from a pond. So modestly does she write of her own achievements that one scarcely visualises her as anything more than a young lady with a taste for serious reading. But there must have been something vastly more than a mere blue-stocking tinge in a girl of 18 who became the intimate friend of Jowett and Mark Pattison, whose writings on early Spanish kings and bishops were solemnly weighed and not found wanting by Bishop Stubbs, and to whom Creighton paid such a compliment as "tell her to go on. There is nobody but Stubbs doing such work in Oxford now." One story of this historical period is worth repeating; it illustrates amusingly Freeman and his eternal bugbear James Anthony Froude. In a letter to Mrs. Ward dealing with Spanish Historical Geography, *& propos* more or less of nothing, Freeman suddenly observes, "I have always held that the nursery account of Henry VIII

And Henry the Eighth was as fat as a pig
is to be preferred to Froude's version. For though inadequate, it is true as far as it goes." Not without reason did Froude on returning to Oxford as Professor of history express the pious hope that the ghost of Freeman might not haunt him.

Miss Arnold married Mr. Humphrey Ward, Fellow and Tutor of Bonsonose: after a few years her husband became a leader writer in the "Times," and she left Oxford for good. Thereafter the book tells of the success of Mrs. Ward as a novelist, of a full and busy life, of solid and well rewarded work. But interest wanes; for one hardly thinks that Mrs. Ward the novelist will live in literature. "Robert Elsmere," "David Grieve," "Helbeck of Bannisdale," dealt with

topics which then interested the thinking public; "Robert Elsmere" had the good fortune to interest Mr. Gladstone, whose notice probably did much more for Mrs. Ward than the intrinsic merits of the novel. For though Mrs. Ward's books, unlike those of modern lady-novelists, are built on a solid foundation of learning and reflection, there is in them little artistry. They are "serious" and "thoughtful," but they are painfully lacking in charm and in the magic of style. The fact is illustrated by the occasion which Mrs. Ward finds to quote certain passages from "Marius the Epicurean"; these catch the eye as gleaming threads of silk in the homely worsted of Mrs. Ward's prose.

Most interesting are the writer's criticisms of her contemporary workers in fiction. She has known them all; she is unfailingly generous, and as a rule shrewd and instructive. Henry James, one suspects, she over-rates somewhat; in later years did not his genius rather lose itself in a waste of words? Mrs. Ward considers the *Portrait of a Lady* the masterpiece of James' earlier manner; of the same book R. L. Stevenson said in a letter to the author, "I can't stand your having written it; and I beg you will write no more of the like." Meredith, Mrs. Ward admires with a somewhat qualified admiration: "the man is great enough, and rewards the reader's effort to understand him with a sense of heightened power, just as a muscle is strengthened by exercise;" a strange testimonial. To Kipling she is more kind than was Stevenson in this judgment; "he is all smart journalism and cleverness, it is all bright and shallow and limpid, like a business paper." On H. G. Wells this is surely an excellent pronouncement; "Mr. Wells seems to me a journalist of very great powers, of unequal education, and much crudity of mind, who has inadvertently strayed into the literature of imagination."

But quotation cannot do justice to these "Recollections." Mrs. Ward has met most people worth meeting, read most things worth reading, written honestly and well, if a trifle heavily and uninspiredly. Her present book is the interesting record of a well-filled, well-spent life.

Protection, Free Trade and Imperial Preference

BY PROF. BRIJ NARAIN

THE Report of the Industrial Commission is not altogether disappointing. But having said that, one may still doubt whether the recommendations made by the Commission for assisting Indian Industries, if accepted in their entirety by the Government, would tend to make India self-contained to any substantial extent. This is because foreign competition is a more formidable obstacle in our way than the lack of banking facilities, the shyness of our capital or the inefficiency of our labour, and it was not within the scope of the Commission to deal with this aspect of the question. It can, in fact, be shown that to some extent foreign competition is responsible for the shyness of our capital, if not also for the fact that our labour is still untrained. Our money, says the Commission, has been invested in commerce rather than industries and only those industries have been taken up which appeared to offer safe and easy profits. This is only natural. If, on account of foreign competition, profits in certain industries are small and unsafe, those industries will attract little capital. Our capital is shy because profits in Indian Industries which have to compete with imported manufacturers are uncertain. If this element of uncertainty could be somehow removed, capital would be less shy than it is. The point is simple. Suppose I have ten lakhs of rupees which I am willing to invest for the sake of profit. But how shall I invest the money? If I set up a match factory, I must be able to manufacture matches at about the same cost as the Japanese, Swedish, Austrian or British manufacturer in order to earn substantial profits. I should earn good profits even if my cost of production were slightly higher than that of the foreign manufacturers, for he has to pay the cost of transportation of his product to the Indian market, which I save; but if the difference between my cost of production and

his is much greater than this, it is obvious that I cannot afford to sell at the price that he charges. Also remember that the foreign manufacturer can lower his prices, for a time, just to destroy his rivals. In these circumstances, I should think twice before I invested my money in the match industry. That is also how other investors would argue, and it will be said that the lack of capital hampers the development of the match industry. But there would be no lack of capital for this and other industries if the price of the product was not fixed for the Indian manufacturer by his foreign rival, that is, if prices were higher and if profits were large and not uncertain.

That our capital is not inherently shy is shown by the fact that during the war several new industries have been started with Indian capital. To take an example. No lammetta was manufactured at Delhi before the war. The imports of lammetta before the war came chiefly from France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and the United Kingdom. When the war broke out, imports from enemy countries ceased altogether, and imports from France and the United Kingdom fell off. The price of imported lammetta in the markets of Delhi rose rapidly and continuously; and within a few months after the outbreak of the war, lammetta was selling in Delhi at about three times the pre-war price. The process of manufacturing lammetta is not very complicated and more than one factory was set up at Delhi for its manufacture. The price was much higher than cost of production and profits realised after the payment of wages, etc., were good. One of the manufacturers showed the writer over his factory. When asked about the prospects of the new industry after the war, the manufacturer explained how he was utterly unable to compete with foreign manufacturers. He could go on so long as prices did not fall and imports continued to be small. As

soon as foreign competition began and prices fell, he would simply be unable to produce. Well, he had no difficulty in finding capital for his factory when the price of lammetta was rising. Whether he would be willing to invest any of his capital in the industry after the war or whether he would be able to induce others to place their capital at his disposal, is a matter of the greatest doubt.

Our capital in this respect is not peculiar. Capital all over the world seeks those industries in which it can earn the greatest profit. Expectation of profit breaks the shyness of capital; otherwise, capital remains shy. This may be shown by an American example—the growth of the iron and steel industry of the United States of America under protection. In 1870, Great Britain was the greatest producer of iron and steel; the United States "held but a distant second place." In that year, a duty of \$7.00 per ton was imposed on pig iron imported into the United States, and the production of pig iron in the United States began to increase by leaps and bounds. In 1890, the American output exceeded the English production and in 1910 the production of the United States was double that of England. The British out-put increased from 5,963,000 tons in 1870 to 10,012,000 tons in 1910, but during the same period, the American output increased from 1,665,000 tons to 27,304,000 tons. "If as the extreme protectionists contend," says Taussig in his "Some Aspects of the Tariff Question," "the growth of domestic industry is in itself proof of the success of their policy, a degree of success was attained in this case that could admit of no cavil."

The production of steel rails was insignificant in 1870; it increased to 1,000,000 tons by 1880 and 2,000,000 tons by 1890. "So far as the increase of domestic production is concerned, the protectionist may well point with pride."

A free trader might urge that the growth of the American iron trade was due not so much to

protection as to other causes—cheap transportation, large scale production, the boundless extent of the American market, the enterprising nature of the American people and their inventive spirit, and lastly the natural resources of the country. Protection or no protection, it might be said, the American industry was bound to grow. Taussig admits that the free trader's argument "is not without show of reason." But it is difficult to say what would have been, and he thinks it to be improbable that the productive forces of the United States would "have turned in this direction so strongly and unerringly" without protection against foreign competition. "Beyond question the protective system caused high profits to be reaped in the iron and steel establishments of the central districts; and the stimulus from great gains promoted the unhesitating investment of capital on a large scale." If prices had been lower, profits would have been smaller and the American capitalists would have been less eager to invest capital in this industry and the American manufacturers, to exploit the natural resources of the country.

The intensity of foreign competition explains why Indian capital does not readily flow into manufacturing industries.

This is, in a way, admitted by the Commission. "Of the readiness to invest money in industries which can already claim a number of successes, we have had abundant evidence; indeed, this tendency has had the unfortunate effect, in some instances, of creating more individual undertakings, than the industry can support. This seems, at any rate, to indicate that there is capital seeking industrial outlets, and that the directions in which it can be employed are at present, from the point of view of the Indian investor, insufficient." Again, the labourer is trained in the factory by doing the work. The greater the intensity of foreign competition the more limited

will be the scope for the scientific training of labour in the methods of industrial work.

It seems to me that, unless the intensity of foreign competition can in some way be lessened, the industrialisation of India is an impossible task. Foreign competition has destroyed many of our indigenous industries, and it has seriously retarded the growth of factory industries. As regards the Punjab, the indigenous paper industry is gone, the wire drawing industry is gone and it is with the greatest difficulty that the weaver makes a living. There is the Sialkot Sports goods industry which has grown up in spite of foreign competition. The measure of success which has been achieved in this case is due to the enterprise of certain Panjabee manufacturers whose names are well known throughout India, but even in this case, but for foreign competition, the industry would develop much more rapidly than at present. One finds the Lahore market flooded with British sports goods of all kinds. Sialkot has shown what it can do and what it is capable of; it has become the home of the Indian Sports goods industry. If it could be protected for some time against foreign competition, it might be able to supply, in time, most kinds of sports goods of the same quality as imported goods, at even cheaper prices. Take another example. Very good gold and silver thread is made at Delhi. But the work is done by hand, and lately, the Delhi manufacturers have been finding it increasingly difficult to compete with the imported gold and silver thread. In 1913-14, gold and silver thread of the value of £262,000 was imported from France, £25,000 from Germany, £5,000 from Austria-Hungary and £3,000 from the United Kingdom; the value of the home production is not known. During the war the imports have decreased, but after the war foreign competition will begin again. It is too much to hope that the Delhi manufacturers who employ hand labour, will not

be undersold by their foreign rivals who employ power-driven machinery. It would be different if our manufacturers could substitute machinery for hand labour, but machinery has to be imported for that purpose from foreign countries and the substitution cannot be easily effected. Unless they were protected during the period of transition, they would be ruined by foreign competition long before they were ready to compete with the foreigner on equal terms.

The effect of foreign competition upon the wire and tinsel industry of the Punjab is described in a Monograph by Mr. E. Burden, I. C. S. (published by authority).

"While it cannot be said" Mr. Burden says, "that the demand for tinsel made from drawn wire has in any way decreased, there is no doubt that the indigenous wire drawing industry is and has for some years been declining and indications are not wanting that it may in time disappear altogether."

The importance of this industry to the Delhi people may be judged from the fact that not long ago about 300,000 miles of gold and silver wire were turned out annually in Delhi, and that about one hundred thousand men, women and children in Delhi and the surrounding villages were dependent upon this industry.

The cessation of imports from Germany during the war revived the industry. Its fate after the war when German competition begins again, can be easily imagined.

I have described the effect of foreign competition upon some of our industries. The case of other industries is similar. The lack of technical education, the shyness of capital, the lack of banking facilities, the inefficiency of labour, the aversion from industrial pursuits of the educated Indian are undoubtedly great evils, but the greatest of all evils is foreign competition.

Foreign competition cannot altogether be abolished. In the first place, it is impossible; in the second place, it is not desirable in the interests of the Indian consumer. But foreign competition should be brought under con-

trol, in the interests of the Indian producer, the Indian working man and in the ultimate interests of the Indian consumer. It is useless to pretend that protection does not raise prices to the consumer in the beginning, but, in the long run, as the case of the American industries shows, it lowers prices, provided combinations are not formed behind the tariff wall.

Protection is the only means by which foreign competition can be effectively controlled. The economic history of France, Germany, the United States of America and Japan shows what protection, judicially applied, can do for native manufactures. Great Britain herself at one time, before the days of power-driven machinery, made use of protection to develop her industries. She abandoned protection when she had no longer any use for it. And recently the growth of German, Japanese and American competition, which has seriously affected some British industries, has revived the agitation in favour of protection. In view of this fact does it not seem desirable that the question of a protective tariff for India should be reconsidered ?

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Some time ago the British Cabinet declared itself in favour of Imperial Preference as the fiscal policy of the Empire. What is the meaning of Imperial Preference ? There is an idea that Imperial Preference means Imperial free trade, that it means the formation of a Zollverein within which trade will be entirely free, while imports from foreign countries into any country which belongs to the Imperial Fiscal Union will pay protective duties. That is not the meaning of Imperial Preference. Imperial Preference, we are told, does not mean Imperial free trade.

"The idea of the 'Preference' is" says Mr. Chiozza Money "that each part of the Empire should remain an independent fiscal unit and levy such duties for revenue or protection as may seem good to it, but should relax them in part in favour of other parts of the Empire, thus taxing foreign goods on a higher scale than British goods."

The British self-governing Colonies object to a

Zollverein. They cannot give up protection. All that they can do is to give British imports a preference by taxing foreign imports at a higher rate. This is recognised by British statesmen. In a speech delivered in June 1905 before the members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association when they visited Birmingham and were entertained at the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said :

I know there are difficulties. We all know there are difficulties. You have your difficulties. I recognise the limitations which your conditions impose upon your statesmen. I can see how impossible it would be for a great country with unlimited resources and opportunities and policies like Canada to mortgage its future to make a treaty which would hamper the progress of its natural industries; which would either injure them in the present or prevent their development in the future. I recognise that that with you is a cardinal condition of a treaty.

In another speech delivered in February 1905 on "Preference, the true Imperial Policy," Mr. Chamberlain had said :

I quite agree that at the present moment you cannot get free trade from the Colonies. Rightly or wrongly they believe in a certain amount of Protection. They are not going to hand over their growing industries entirely to competition, even from the mother country. Very well, you cannot get that. But are you like a child that has set his heart on the moon? Will you not be satisfied with, say, a bun instead ? You can get the bun.

The bun means a share in the home industries of the colonies and a large part of the trade of the colonies with foreign countries.

Mr. Bonar Law gave expression to a similar sentiment in a speech delivered at Newcastle in October 1907 :

No one either at home or in the colonies who advocates Preference has ever suggested that the result of it will be to induce the colonies to cease to develop their own manufactures, to confine themselves simply to the production of raw material, and to buy their manufactured goods from us. Such an aim, even if it were desirable, is obviously impossible. The Colonies would never make such a bargain, and more than that, I do not believe that there is any one who looks upon the Empire as a whole, who considers that the increasing strength of any part is an increase in the strength of the whole, who would desire that such an arrangement should be made even if the Colonies were willing to accept it. The development of a country which depends solely on raw material must be extraordinarily slow, and it is therefore in the interest of the whole Empire, not only from the point of view of

natural strength, but from the point of view even of our trade, that the Colonies should develop in the most rapid way possible. Imperial Preference does not mean free trade within the Empire. If there were free trade, there could be no Preference. The case for Colonial Preference is, and always has been, that even after the Colonies have developed their own industry to the greatest extent that they find desirable or possible, there will still be an enormous surplus of manufactured goods which they must import from somewhere and that it is greatly to our advantage that they import this surplus from us.

Unless the British colonists now think differently, and likewise, the British statesmen, Imperial Preference means for the self-governing Colonies protection not only against the foreigner but also against the United Kingdom. For the United Kingdom Imperial Preference means protection against the foreigner in her own markets and a limited amount of protection in the colonial markets. What amount of protection will the United Kingdom get in India against the foreigner? To answer this question we must consider the position of India under Imperial Preference.

British statesmen have repeatedly declared that they do not want to force free trade upon the colonists if the colonists do not want free trade. The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as we have seen, would have been well satisfied with a 'bun' from the Colonies; and he asked his countrymen to accept the 'bun' because they could not get the "moon."

Now India wants protection quite as much as the Colonies. She, in fact, wants it more. "No remedy for present evils can be complete," wrote the Famine Commissioners of 1880, "which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures, or in some such employments." For other countries, the question of industrial development and protection is a question of higher profits and higher wages; for us it is a question of life and death. The improvement of our industries would insure

us against famine. For this, if for no other reason, India should be allowed to adopt a protective tariff with the object of lessening the intensity of foreign competition.

The question of protection for India is outside the sphere of practical politics, we are constantly told. But how can England refuse our demand for protection when she wants to adopt it herself? If Imperial Preference does not mean Imperial free trade, then India has as good a right to protect her industries from British competition as the Colonies. Mr. Chiozza Money says:

"As I have pointed out in the case of our self-governing colonies, if we decide that our old established industries which do as much export trade as that of America and Germany put together, need Protection, it is illogical to deny import duties to newly established colonial industries, which with reason regard the British manufacturer as their chief competitor. And if our self-governing colonies are protected, and we also are protected, who shall deny Protection to the industries of India?"

Even if Imperial Preference meant Imperial free trade, England, in fairness to us, cannot deny protection to our industries. Imperial Preference is simply another name for protection for the British manufacturer against foreign competition in the Colonial and Indian markets. The chief object of Imperial Preference is to enable the United Kingdom to recover her old supremacy in our markets. To gain that end she is willing to sacrifice her *laissez faire* traditions in matters of trade. That being so, how can she deny Protection to us?

India was forced to adopt free trade because England thought that free trade was for India's good, and because she herself was a free trade country. It was not denied that the abolition of protective duties would benefit English manufacturers, but it was not this fact which determined the decision of the fiscal question in 1878,

Free trade, it was said, was essential to India herself. It was not desirable that the Indian cotton industry should grow up under unhealthy conditions.

"Whether the question be regarded as it affects the consumer, the producer or the revenue," wrote Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India in 1878, "I am of opinion that the interests of Indian imperatively require the removal of a tax which is at once wrong in principle, injurious in its practical effect and self destructive in its operation."

Sir John Strachey who was then the Finance Member thus comments upon the opposition to free trade in India in his "India, its Administration and Progress":

"Popular opinion in India had always in regard to questions of fiscal reform been obstructive and ignorant and the fact that the abolition of customs duties would be favourable to English manufacturers was enough in the belief of many to prove that the party purpose of obtaining political support in Lancashire and not any care for the interests of India, was the real motive of the Government. This foolish calumny deserved no notice or reply. The opposition to the reform of cotton duties satisfied Lord Lytton that he must carry out the measure himself or acquiesce in nothing being done. He believed that the interests of India required it and he was not to be deterred by the imputation of base motives."

India was never quite convinced that the cotton duties were abolished in her interests, and it would be still more difficult to convince her that the proposed change in the fiscal policy of the Empire is in her interests. This is recognised by English economists. If it is decided to adopt preferential tariffs, then so far as India is concerned, there would be two alternatives before British statesmen, says Lees-Smith.

"It is possible for them to assert unashamedly that India is merely a 'plantation' whose good must be sacrificed to the interests of British Capital. They can acknowledge that their arguments and pledges in the past were mere hypocrisy, which having served their purpose, can now be abandoned. This alternative is, of course, inconceivable. The only other is to grant India her fiscal freedom and to allow her to erect a protective tariff."

India, let it be clearly understood, wants Protection, and not Imperial Preference. Some English writers are fond of talking about the "Indian offer of Imperial Preference" as if India could not get along without a preferential tariff and begged England's permission to adopt one.

"The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference," the title of Sir Roper Leithbridge's book published in 1913, was probably suggested by a resolution *re* preferential tariffs moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis on March 17th 1913. But the Hon'ble mover himself regarded protection as a necessity to India. In the course of his speech, he said:—

"Sir, I have said more than once that protection is a necessity to us. We have infant industries to protect. Granted even that as free traders we lose wealth thereby, yet wealth is not the only thing that nations desire.....We want protection because we have to find employment for our people and to foster our growing industries. The question is not whether free trade or protection is the most profitable policy, but whether the benefit that we expect to get from protection is worth the price that we shall pay for it. I contend that it is."

As every one knows, public opinion in India is sincerely protectionist; and most of us understand the difference between protection and Imperial Preference. The late Mr. Gokhale once drew a valuable distinction between two kinds of protection, the right kind and the wrong kind. The right kind of protection gives the necessary encouragement to nascent industries. The wrong kind of protection is that under which powerful combinations and interests receive assistance to the prejudice of the general tax payer. "And I believe," said Mr. Gokhale, "that the right kind of protection, if available, will do good to India." But if the right kind of protection was not available, and the choice lay between Imperial Preference on the one hand and the existing system on the other, India will know what to choose.

Imperial Preference is protection of the wrong kind for two reasons. In the first place in the actual framing of the tariff, British interests may receive more consideration than Indian. The kind and amount of protection required for British industries may not in all cases be exactly that which Indian industries require. And if a conflict arises between Indian and British interests, while the final decision in settling the

details of the tariff, directly or indirectly, rests with the British people or their representatives, it would be too much to expect, human nature being what it is, that British or 'Imperial' interests will not be regarded as of greater importance than Indian. In the second place, a preferential tariff would most certainly injure the Indian consumer; whether it would be of any great assistance to the Indian producer is doubtful. The Indian consumer will have to pay the full price of protection; the benefit of it will be largely reaped by British manufacturers, unless the Indian industries are protected to some extent against British competition also. British manufacturers need protection against the competition of Japan, the Central Powers and the United States of America; Indian competition, they can, in most cases, disregard. But he would be a bold man who would say that Indian producers can ignore British competition. In spite of the growth of foreign imports into India during the last twenty or thirty years, about 60 per cent

of the imports in 1913-14 came from the United Kingdom. Imperial Preference is no solution of the difficulties of the Indian producer, unless he is protected against British competition also. The effect of British competition upon our industries is the same as that of German or Japanese competition—in both cases the growth of our industries is retarded. The imports of certain classes of British goods into India have decreased in recent years, the proportion of most other imports is smaller now than what it was about forty years ago, and the chief object of a preferential tariff is to enable the United Kingdom to regain what is called her 'natural' share of Indian trade. The adoption of a preferential tariff by India will certainly help in the attainment of that end, but how will that assist the development of Indian industries? From the point of view of the Indian consumer Imperial Preference is worse than free trade; from the point of view of the Indian producer there is not much to choose between the two.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

I. BY HIS HONOUR SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.

LOOKING back over 28½ years, I see vast strides in the education of this province. One great change is the extension of the hostel system which has done much already and assuredly will do more as an agency for forming character. If we compare India of to-day with European countries at a corresponding stage of development, we need not be ashamed of our achievements. England did not get facilities for compulsory education until 1870 and it took six years, until 1876, before education was made generally compulsory. For several years after that, the teachers in elementary schools in England were largely illiterate. Secondary education

in England is still unsatisfactory, although there has been great improvement in the last few years. True, our own educational ideals in India are still far from clear. Our educational machinery is in part worn out and rusty. But still it has accomplished much. Faulty and makeshift as it necessarily has been our education has made modern India. It has purified the public services; it has increased the number of men who think; it has prepared the way for new ideas and larger conceptions of civic duty; it has opened new avenues of employment; it will end, I trust, in the growth and the spread of imperial ideas. There are still great walls of ignorance to be

battered down. There are many and great temples of education to be built up. There is a call for the highest service from the best of India's sons. But the embers have been stirred. The beginnings of a desire for free and compulsory education are manifest. Great hopes thrive and grow. In a short time we have fulfilled a long time. Sir Alfred Lyall said truly in his inaugural address: "Whatever else may be said of the English administration of India, no one can assert that in the matter of education the English have not been open-handed and unreservedly, almost audaciously, liberal." We have tried to give education to India on the basis of trust and common aspiration.

HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES.

No country is satisfied with its educational system. All are trying to improve it. We in this province, the Government and the people, are striving shoulder to shoulder to better things. It is mainly a question of finance, in other words, of material progress. For education and material progress go hand in hand. As education improves, so material prosperity advances; and with the advance of material prosperity funds become available to make education more efficient. The United States of America with a population one-third of that of India spend 160 million pounds sterling annually upon education. In India, we cannot yet anticipate such an expenditure; but every sacrifice made for the cause of education will bear fruit a hundredfold in the years to come. Never forget that education breeds prosperity and prosperity breeds education.

None appreciates more than I do the value of a liberal education for its own sake. But we have to face things as they are. Every educational system rests on certain social order. The social order has changed and with this there must be a change of educational system. Even before the war, new ideals of educational policy were in the air; and the war has changed the aspect of

policy much as a stream of lava changes this country at the base of some great volcano, or a tidal wave changes some island in the Pacific ocean. The war has broken up the despotism of the humanities and has installed a federation of the sciences and humanities. This is the great, the master change. For centuries education has, to use Macaulay's phrase, disdained to be useful. It must be useful now. And yet one may hope that the humanising of science, the scientific use of the humanities will go on side by side. No mere materialistic education will ever satisfy India. Over and above us all towers the peak of sheer educational power, over us all is still cast the spell of the ideal.

Some of you will remember how Sir Auckland Colvin preached the importance of science to this University, and how his arguments were then regarded as an insidious undermining of political aspiration. I have seen one of our public men attacking Government in those days for its designs on humanistic studies and of late attacking Government for its neglect of science in education. I welcome the change of view. I will do my best to help you to meet the new demand, to promote "research and discovery and the application of knowledge for the improvement of mankind."

In England the epoch-making report of Sir J. J. Thomson's committee has pealed the bells of a new era. On every side one hears the cry for more and more applied science. The day of the specialist has dawned at last. Chemistry, as Sir Thomas Holland aptly said, is the foundation of all modern civilised activities. India's great need to-day is the application of chemistry to agriculture and industry.

REFORM OF UNIVERSITIES.

The question of university reform will soon come upon us. The policy of the Government of India has been to restrict the area under which the affiliating universities have control by securing, in the first instance, a separate university for

each of the leading provinces of India, and secondly, to create new local teaching and residential universities in each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinions as to the right road to educational efficiency. We have already a new university in the province, the Benares Hindu University. It is not a provincial institution, but it serves a larger number of our people. Considerable funds have been collected for a Muslim University at Aligrah. May I, as an old friend of Aligrah, who had the honour of knowing Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan and was an intimate friend of Mr. Justice Mahmud, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and others, appeal to my Muslim friends, who have done so well under trying conditions during the war, to close up ranks and work together for their sons and companions' sake in order that they may play their proper part in the educational development of the province. I contemplate the creation of new universities at Lucknow and later on at Agra. I shall appoint a committee to consider the establishment of these new universities as soon as the report of Dr. Sadler's committee is published. Great distinction must be drawn between the conditions that prevail in Calcutta and the conditions that prevail here, but I hope that we shall learn much from the report of that committee. We must also try to develop a teaching university in Allahabad. This will involve the separation of what may be called the internal and external branches of the university. There are rumours that Dr. Sadler's committee will make important proposals in this connection.

II. THE HON. JUSTICE SIR JOHN WOODROFFE

E cannot separate the question of University Education from that of Education in general. The under-graduate has already been made or spoiled in the family school, or college. Nor if we pursue the subject to the end can we avoid an enquiry into political, reli-

It has long been my own view that all work above the standard of Bachelorship in arts and science should be university work concentrated at the university centre and directed entirely by the university. It was an objection to this view that it would lower the standard of collegiate study and so lead eventually to a lowering of the college professional staff. This argument will be met in the future by increasing the number of local teaching universities. The province lends itself extraordinarily well geographically to a rearrangement of this kind. In any case, the view advocated resembles the line of advance in the West. Sir J. J. Thomson's committee is clear on the point. In America, distinction is already drawn between the disciplinary education of the college and free-ranging education of the university. This, according to one American authority, is "the most characteristic fact in the history of higher education during the past quarter of a century." "The college," he continued, "has for its object the important work of training students for the duties of citizenship, not primarily the duties of scholarship." Another eminent American authority has outlined his idea of a university. The success of the higher work, he says, depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the professors, their freedom from all pecuniary anxiety, the widest publicity for their work and that of their assistants and students, and the steady improvement of libraries and laboratories.—*From the Convocation Address to the Allahabad University.*

ous, and cultural questions in general. The fundamental fact is that a Government alien in race, habits, thoughts, feelings, religion and general culture controls the Education (more and more strictly in recent years) and essays to teach the people of this country. It has been well

said that probably in the whole world there are not two more dissimilar persons than an Englishman and a Hindu. The position is unnatural, and injurious to the true interests of this country. This control may be, and I think has been, directed by self-regarding political motives. But even if the point of view be one which primarily regards the interests of the Indian people, there is still place for conflicting theories and practice. There are some (the foremost of whom may be called Missionaries of Race) who, sincerely believing in the superiority of Western Civilisation, think that it will be for the benefit of India to impose it on the East. The product of this system is Macaulay's "Coloured Englishman." The drift of Education has been in this direction. As my friend, Mr. Havell (formerly Principal of the Calcutta School of Art) has rightly said, the fault of the Anglo Indian Educational System is that instead of harmonising with, and supplementing, national culture it is antagonistic to, and destructive, of it. Sir George Birdwood says of the system that it "has destroyed in Indians the love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts, and worst of all their repose in their own traditional and national religion, has disgusted them with their own homes, their parents, and their sisters, their very wives and brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached."

Since writing the above, I have read a speech recently addressed by Sir Subramania Aiyar to the law students at Madras, in which he, pointing out that it seems to be thought that the aim and end of British tutelage in India is to westernise its children, says that the fulfilment of that aim must in the very nature of things tend to sap all true life and initiative natural to the people as a distinctly Eastern race destined to evolve on lines of its own. He also refers to a recent issue of the Journal, "The Statist," to the effect that the object of the present rule seems intended to

metamorphose the Indian into "a quasi-English breed." Such a breed, I may add, is likely to lead to half thinking, inefficient action and worse.

As nothing is wholly evil, I personally believe that some benefits have been gained through the Education given, but looking upon the matter as a whole, I concur in thinking that this Education has had baneful effects. What else can be expected from a position so unnatural? Wrong Education is the cause of physical and mental strain and sapping of moral strength. It is productive of instability leading in the case of some to violence, in the case of others to a paralysing inner conflict or a sense of intolerable oppression, and in a large number of ordinary and inferior natures to imitation, automatisms, and sub-serviceable. The influences working on the student have been deracialising (if I may use the word to denote destruction of racial characteristics) devitalising, and deforming.

If they have not worked their full evil, it is due to the resistance of the racial spirit defending itself against the assaults, increasing in number and strength, made upon it in recent years.

Personally I should like to see the education of the Indian people in the hands of Indians themselves without any interference from Government as at present constituted. But if Government must control education, the principle on which it now proceeds should be changed.

Let us recognise the strength, persistence and value of the racial characteristics of the Indian people, who have survived in a way, and to a degree, which is not seen in the case of any other country in the world. It is not necessary to enquire into the question of the respective superiority of the civilisation of East and West. It is sufficient to hold that Indian civilisation is the best for the people whose forefathers have evolved it. Let us stop all attempts, direct or indirect, whether political or religious, to impose our beliefs and practices on a people to whom they are foreign. Let us admit and give effect

to the claim of the true Indian patriot that his language, history, literature, art, philosophy, religion, general culture and ideals should be given the primary place in the prescribed courses of study.

If education be to educate, what can be educated from the Indian mind and character but inherited racial impressions? Is it education to neglect or suppress these and to cram it with foreign stuff? This observation does not exclude any form of knowledge Western or otherwise. Knowledge is knowledge whether it comes from East or West. An Indian student is none the less true to his type because his own cultural inheritance has been enriched by what of worth the West can give. It is directed to the positive cultivation of Indian culture, and in other matters the adoption of an attitude favourable to it. The 17th question asks whether the conditions under which students live undermine traditional morality. "Conditions" (if I understand the question rightly) indicate that the question has in view only some superficial features of the student's life. Where morality (I use the term in its general sense) has been undermined, it is due in primary degree to the alleged "neutrality" of the State as regards religion, its teaching, which ignores religion, the past attacks on the Indian religions, Hindu and Mussalman, westernising influences and the general atmosphere produced by these and other causes.

How can traditional morality be preserved when the whole course of education is to ignore it and thus leave it the easier prey of sectarian attack and secular scepticism? How can the Indian student present an effective attitude to life if the source of his vitality is neglected or suppressed and his movements are cramped by foreign vestures? It is true that an increasing national consciousness has been to some extent remedying the evils of an English education on English principles by English teachers; but the

necessity to remove the causes of these evils still remains.

It follows from the above views that in my opinion education should be such as a true and not a denationalised Indian would desire to see given and would himself, if an educator, give. Such an education can only be properly given by an Indian, able in his subject and inspired by great ideals, who has not been denationalised under the English system of education which has hitherto prevailed. The class here excepted may be less competent to teach than the English original of which they are a copy. All intriguers for posts of teachers and professors should be rigorously suppressed. As a result of this, it follows that distinctions in the educational service should be abolished and Indians should be employed in every case except those in which the expert knowledge of an European (and not necessarily an Englishman) justifies his appointment. The educational curriculum should give Indian culture and the Indian standpoint the primary place. Art should be recognised and not as it is now ignored by the University. India being an agricultural country, there should be courses of agriculture, professorships and travelling agricultural lectureships (Q. 13.). Law is at present too much encouraged. All the public opinion with which I am acquainted made from a study of the archaeological is against the further multiplication of lawyers. Teaching should be in the vernacular as much as possible. Students are greatly strained by having to learn in a foreign tongue. The University should be as free of Government interference and have as much independence of action as is possible. There should certainly be a large degree of freedom of teaching and study. In short, I would claim for the University every freedom to follow those ideals which the past history of India, and its past and present Indian culture, present to it.—*Note in reply to questions issued by the Calcutta University Commission.*

PATEL'S MARRIAGE BILL

BY

MR. K. G. KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR, B.A.

I

THE ordinances laid down in the various Smrithis have to be considered in the first instance before coming to a conclusion as to the desirability or otherwise of the Marriage Bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Patel.

According to the 23rd Verse of Chapter I of Parasara Smriti, the authoritative Smriti for Kaliyuga is the said Smriti, as against the Code of Manu which was the authorised Code in the Satya Yuga, the Code of Gautama which was the authority in the Tretata Yuga and the Codes of Sanka and Likhita in the Dwapara. In Verses Nos. 20-26 of Chapter IV of Parasara Smriti, various ordinances are laid down permitting and forbidding marriages under various circumstances, but there is nothing said either for or against mixed marriages. Rules regarding parentage of children conceived under various circumstances are laid down in verses 17 and 18 of the same Chapter, but there is nothing in them for or against mixed marriages. The Parasara Smriti, therefore, does not throw much light on this question. In Chapter X of the said Smriti which deals with penances in cases of prohibited intercourse with women, incestuous intercourse, and intercourse with Chandala or Svapaka woman is referred to and there is nothing about intercourse with women of the four castes except in cases where the intercourse is an illicit one. In the case of female offenders, the Chapter deals with adulterous intercourse and intercourse with a Chandala. In the seventh chapter of the said Smriti which lays down rules regarding the time at which a girl ought to be married, the following verses occur:—

A Brahmana marrying such a girl (a girl who menstruates before her marriage) through temptations of flesh, should be looked down upon as the husband of a Sudra wife (Vri Shalipati). He should neither be spoken to, nor allowed to sit at the same row with other Brahmanas at a dinner (Verse 9).

A Brahmana visiting a Sudra woman even for a single night should live by begging for three years from the date, in order to be absolved from the sin thereby committed. These two verses give rise to the inference that Parasara disapproved of the marriage of a Brahmana with a Sudra.

There is nothing in the Parasara Smriti forbidding marriages between members of the various castes other than Brahmanas; and even in the case of the Brahmanas, there is nothing against their marriage with women belonging to the other twice-born castes (Kshatriya and Vaisya) and marriage with Sudra woman is looked down upon with disfavour without being actually prohibited.

In Verse 19 of Chapter I of Parasara Smriti, Vyasa is addressed by Parasara as his son and Verse 8 makes it clear that the Vyasa referred to is the son of Parasara. Parasara's son is Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa or Veda Vyasa as he is popularly known, and from Chapter 1 of Vyasa Smriti, it will appear that the ordinances laid down in the said Smriti have emanated from Veda Vyasa. Ordinances promulgated under the authority of Veda Vyasa have to be considered to be supplementary to those promulgated under the authority of his father Parasara; and in all matters where Parasara Smriti is silent or is not

explicit, the rules in Vyasa Smriti ought to be considered valid and binding. In Vyasa Samhita, the following injunctions are laid down :—

(1) At the close of Vedic studies and having performed the rite of Avabhuta ablution, a twice-born one, wishing to be a house holder, should seek the hands of a girl of unimpeachable birth and family (Chapter II Verse I).

[*N.B.* It will be interesting to know how far the above is done except merely in name].

(2) The daughter of an erudite father of good conduct and having sons of his own loins and born of a family free from all blemishes or any contagious or hereditary disease and not plighted for money to any other bridegroom before, and not of the same pravara or gotra, nor related to him as sapinda in his father's or mother's side, and belonging to his own varna and social order, slender of auspicious signs, clad in silken garments and not above eight years of age and whose paternal ancestors to the 10th degree in the ascending line were all men of renown, should be solemnly wedded, if preferred, in marriage.

(3) A daughter should be given in marriage to one, befitting her family in respect of learning, birth, etc., and suited to her in years according to the rites of a Brahmana marriage or according to any other regulation where the former would not avail.

[*N.B.* It cannot be pretended that the above two rules are followed in their entirety. A reading of the rules will show that the rules are merely recommendatory instead of being mandatory. Thus even if there were no express provisions in the Smriti authorising intercaste marriages, these two Verses could not be regarded as a conclusive authority against intercaste marriages].

Verses 7 and 8 of Chapter I of Vyasa Smriti lay down rules for the religious rites to be done for the children born to a Brahmana by his

Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra wives, to a Kshatriya by his Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra wives and to a Vaisya by his Vaisya and Sudra wives. The Brahmana wife of a Brahmana is called a Vipravinna, and the Kshatriya wife, Kshatrvinna. Verses 8 and 9 will show that the marriage of a man of an inferior caste with a woman of a superior caste is reprobated.

In Verse 11 of Chapter II, it is said that a Brahmana may marry a Kshatriya or Vaisya girl; a Kshatriya can take a Vaisya wife and a Vaisya can wed a Sudra's daughter, but the member of an inferior caste cannot wed a girl of superior caste.

In Vishnu Samhita, there are rules similar to those found in Vyasa Smriti allowing intercaste marriages. In Chapter XXIV, it is laid down that a Brahmana may have four wives in the direct order of castes, a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya two and a Sudra one. Wives marrying husbands of their own caste shall join their hands. In marrying a husband of a different caste, a Kshatriya girl shall take hold of an arrow in her hand; a Vaisya girl a goading stick, and a Sudra girl the skirt of her cloth. Chapter XVI lays down rules regarding the castes to which the offsprings of intercaste marriages are to be assigned, the rule being that in all cases of Anuloma marriages (marriages of women of inferior caste with men of superior caste) the caste of the issue is that of the mother and in cases of Pratiloma marriages (marriages of women of superior caste with men of inferior caste) the offsprings ought to be assigned castes inferior to that of Sudras ranging from the Ayoguva (musicians) to which the offspring of a Sudra upon a Vaisya woman is assigned, to the Chandala caste to which the issue of a Sudra upon a Brahmana woman is assigned.

Chapter XXVI deals with the status of the co-wives of different castes and Chapter XVIII

with the rules regarding division of property between sons of twice-born fathers by wives of different castes, the general trend of which is to give the largest percentage to the son of a Brahmin woman, a little less to the son of a Kshatriya woman, still less to the son of a Vaisya woman and the least to the son of a Sudra woman. In cases of only sons, those born of wives belonging to the twice-born classes inherit the whole property, while the son by a Sudra wife gets only half the property. From the above, it will appear that the marriage of a higher caste woman with a man of a lower caste is discouraged in all possible ways if not actually prohibited. The Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill, so far as it relates to marriages between men of lower castes with women of higher castes, is in conflict with the ordinances laid down in the Smrithis. But Anuloma marriages (marriages of women of inferior caste with men of superior caste) is not against the ordinances, though owing to various causes they have fallen into disuse during several centuries. If Mr. Patel's Bill is to be confined to Anuloma marriages, it is a question for consideration whether the non-Brahmanas may not think it inconsistent with their self-respect to consent to legalisation of Anuloma marriages alone. Are the non-Brahmanas likely to be satisfied with the provisions in the Smrithis regarding the distributions of property?

If the Bill is passed into Law, the legitimacy of intercaste marriages may be assured. But the question of shares to properties will have to be regulated by the rules laid down in the Smrithis. If the rules in the Smrithis are not abrogated, no Pratiloma marriage may take place and the issue of such marriages as may take place may be as helpless as the issues of intercaste marriages are supposed to be at present. Thus without introducing a provision of equal status as regards property, the bill is not likely to prove an effectual measure in practice.

The question arises, whether the legislature will not be making inroads into the personal Law of the Hindus by attempting to over-ride the provisions in the Smrithis about division and devolution of property. No doubt, there is the precedent of the Convert's Disabilities Act. It may be said by the opponents of the bill that the Convert's Act stops merely with removing the bar which conversion placed in the way of inheriting property and did not pretend to place the convert within the society of Hindus, whereas the present bill aims at giving a status in society to persons born of unions which have fallen into disuse for a very long time. To justify a legislation which aims at not merely reviving ancient usages but also to validate unions which are reprobated in the Smrithis, and which requires to make it effective that alterations should be made in the law of inheritance as laid down in the very Smrithis that allowed such marriages, the promoters of the bill ought to satisfy the public that the Hindu ideal of marriage will be kept up by the proposed Legislation.

The World

BY

MR. C. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.Sc.

The child thro' time doth grow to man,
God lends him grace; he lives a span;
The smiles of childhood's years to scan
The sighs of old age only can,

He finds his wishes far and near,
And oft betrays his joys in tear;
He lives like wronged but silent Lear,
And doting fondly on the dear.

In sorrow's season he would smile;
In hours of darkness, moments vile,
The light of heav'n on him a while
Would flash, like beams thro' clouded pile,

He saw the frailties hid in might,
He saw the shadow follow light,
He saw in heav'n's of darkest night
The prospect of a starry sight.

He found the creeds were faithless faith,
Too weak to blunt the sting of Death;
"We gain a life through quick'ning Death,"
Reorient Nature mutely saith;

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

103

BY

THE HON. MR. G. F. KEATINGE, C.I.E.

In farming there are two fundamental units, the farm and the farmer. For agricultural progress it is necessary that the farm should be a fixed and permanent unit, so that it may admit of permanent improvement and adequate development, and that the farmer should be fluid and moveable unit, so that the right men may get to the right places. Speaking generally, we find, to our misfortune, that in India the exact reverse is the case, that the farm, on the one hand, is subject to a continuous series of economic earthquakes, and that the farmer, on the other hand, is fixed and rooted.

To turn first to the farm. So much has been said during the last few years on the subject of the sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, and the evil has been so generally recognised that I do not propose to go into the matter in any detail. No orderly development, no effective improvement can take place in a holding which is the wrong size and shape and which has no stability. The fact that this is true not only in theory but also in practice can be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to do so. Not only is the land totally undeveloped, as development is known in other countries, but the idea of progressive development is hardly understood by the landowners. To develop and improve a permanent 10 or 20 acre farm is an intelligible proposition; but to develop and improve a 10 or 20 acre farm which must in the near future be split up and fragmented is not an intelligible proposition to anyone; and since this is the proposition which confronts the Indian farmer, it is not surprising that he does not consider it seriously. In this way, a low standard is set of agricultural methods and of agricultural

results, a serious obstruction to progress is presented, and there arises a generally uneconomic situation which tends to become worse rather than better.

UNPROGRESSIVE FARMING.

Now let us turn to the farmer. The farmer owns his small and fluctuating area of land, it may be 15 acres of land in three plots of one generation, and 5 acres in 6 plots in the next generation. The point is that the farmer is fixed and permanent. His farm may fly into fragments and grow steadily smaller, but generally speaking he himself persists, whether he be a good, bad or indifferent farmer. In highly individualistic and competitive countries, efficiency is secured largely by the elimination of the unfit, who are squeezed out of the race by keen competition coupled by a high standard of living. This law is in constant operation in England, and there have been periods of agricultural depression there, when unprogressive farmers have been ruined and squeezed out wholesale, while on some kinds of soil it is recognised that a bad farmer cannot hope, even in prosperous times, to survive many seasons. In rural India, however, the competition is less keen, the standard of living lower and an easy-going tolerance, combined with an elastic joint family system, helps to tide the less effective members over their difficulties and to keep them in their places to the obstruction of the more effective members of the community. It is by no means contended that there are no good farmers, nor can it be expected anywhere that all farmers will reach a high degree of excellence; all that is suggested is that, owing to the causes mentioned above, the proportion of bad and indifferent farmer is unduly large. And after all it is this proportion which counts; for

while we would term a country backward in agriculture in which only 10 per cent. of the farmers were good farmers, we would be able to class it as advanced in agriculture if 50 per cent. of the farmers were advanced and progressive.

REFORMS NEEDED.

We may then sum up the situation thus—

The majority of the farms are of the wrong size and the wrong shape, they are not permanent units and are not susceptible of orderly and adequate improvement. The majority of the farmers are deficient in skill, industry and energy, and balance a low standard of endeavour by a low standard of living.

These are the fundamental obstructions to agricultural progress to which I have to refer. The question is how we are to overcome them. It is clear that what we have to do is to endeavour to create and maintain suitably sized and suitably situated holdings which will admit of adequate development, and to arrange that there shall be nothing to prevent these economic units from passing by natural laws into the hands of the most progressive farmers who will be in a position to make the best use of them. If we can do this, we can trust to the natural fertility of the soil and the natural industry of the farmers to secure the progress which we desire, aided by the scientific investigations which have been made and which will be made in future. But until we can do this, we shall not secure anything like the full results that we look for from our natural advantages or from our scientific labours.

Now what is it that prevents us from taking action of the nature indicated? Whenever any remedial action of this nature is suggested, it is always urged that the people have not asked for such action and do not want it, that such action would be opposed to their religion and to their sentiments, and that a shuffle of farms and of farmers would constitute a political danger. These aspects of the question must, of course, be

carefully considered. This is a country where religious and sentimental ideals count for much, where political dangers must be given due weight. But there is also a persistent demand on the part of a section of the population for material progress. We have come to the parting of the ways, and India must decide which road she wishes to take. You may set up a sentimental ideal, an aesthetic ideal, an ideal of voluntary poverty, or an ideal of political caution. Such ideals are quite intelligible. The trouble is that to a large extent they are not compatible with the ideal of material progress. All that I say is this, if the former ideals are chosen to the exclusion of the latter, let us stop all talk of rapid material progress, for we shall have deliberately refused to take the first steps that lead to it.—*From the Presidential address to the Agriculture and Applied Botany Section at the Indian Science Congress.*

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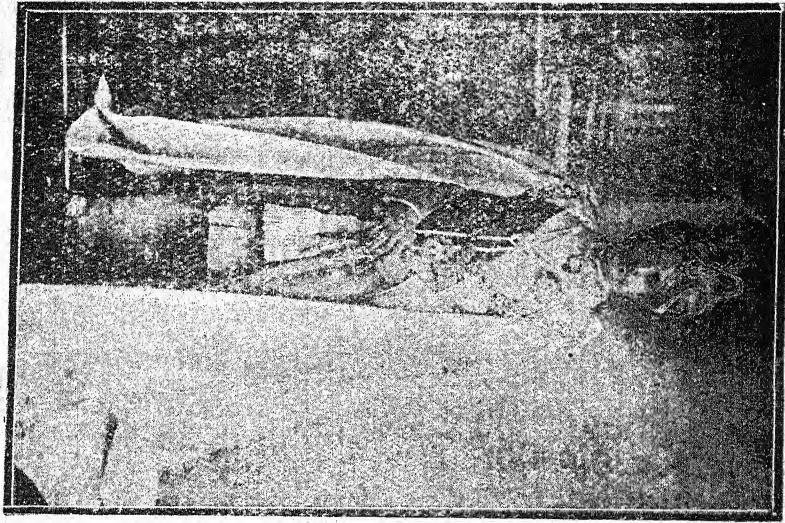
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H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

Chancellor, The Hindu University, Benares.



SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR

Vice-Chancellor, The Hindu University.



The first Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held at the premises of the Central Hindu College on January 17. There was a distinguished gathering of noblemen and Scholars and Educationists. The graduates having been duly admitted to their respective Degrees, the Chancellor, H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, delivered the Convocation Address. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, also made an impressive speech. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya announced some handsome donations for the Hindu University, in aid of students Hostels and Ayurvedic education.



D. L. RAY

A PATRIOT-POET OF BENGAL

BY MR. HEM CHANDRA NAG, B.A.

105

I

"*Devi amar, sadhana amar,
Swarga amar, amar desh!*"

"Goddess mine oh ! thou my haven,
Paradise mine, Motherland!"

HIS is the last and the most beautiful line of a famous Bengali song which attained wonderful popularity at the time of the Partition and Swadeshi agitations. The late Mr. Dwijendra Lal Ray, the most popular play-wright of Bengal is the author of the song. Two biographies of this great poet have of late been published in Bengali. Babu Devkumar Ray Chaudhury, one of the biographers and an intimate friend of Mr. Ray, describes how and when this song was composed. Mr. D. L. Ray was Magistrate-in-charge at Gaya in 1907, and Babu Devkumar, himself a poet of no mean repute, was a guest of his. So was also the late Babu Baroda Charan Mitra, the celebrated poet and Judge. The late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, I.C.S., the distinguished son of the distinguished father, the late Mr. T. Palit of Calcutta, was then the District Judge at Gaya, and he was a daily visitor to Mr. Ray. One fine evening Dwijendralal stood before them and sang the song in his unique voice and style. When he finished, it seemed that the air of the room was surcharged with love for the country. The effect was thrilling, and the friends lost their power of speech in wonder, awe and admiration. For a time they looked at the deep blue sky outside, and then suddenly, up rose Mr. Palit, grasped the two hands of Mr. Ray, and broke out :

Oh ! how wonderful—how magnificent ! Let me confess, my dear Dwiju, it's undoubtedly the very—very best and noblest national song that I've ever heard or read in my life. It's indeed a Divine inspiration !

Soon the song came before the country. From the streets of Calcutta it entered the innermost depths of villages in Bengal, ennobling, inspiring and strengthening the national movement. When the judgment of the country was passed, it of course agreed with the verdict of Mr. Lokendranath Palit.

II

This is not the only song of Mr. Ray which has attained celebrity. Mr. Ray wrote poems and dramas innumerable, but there is no doubt that if he lives for any of his writings, he will do so for his songs. They are the life-breath of his dramas, and there are a good many of them

which may be mentioned. The above song is known in Bengal as the song of *Amar Desh* or *My Country*. There are at least two other patriotic songs—*Amar Janmabhumi* or *My Native Land* and *Rharatavarsha*—which appeal equally powerfully to imagination and patriotism. While the latter has a most forcible diction, the former sends imagination to a dreamland, such is the charm of its wording and sentiments.

Mr. Ray began his poetical career as a satirist. He composed a good many satirical and comic songs, and it may be said with confidence that they have to this day no equal in Bengal. Through these songs, Mr. Ray ruthlessly attacked every form of social abuse of the day. They left no sting in the heart of the reader, for they were not aimed at individuals; nevertheless they carried a needed lesson to the person who required it. The sham patriot who must live for his country at the cost of allowing his brother to die of cholera unattended, the so-called reformed Hindoo who is "a queer amalgam of Sasadhar (a Hindu revivalist), Huxley and goose," preaching profusely but practising none of his precepts, the England-returned *salib* who smiles in the Parisian and coughs in the Russian fashion—these are all things of beauty and joy for ever, and there was a time when they were on the lips of everybody. Mr. Ray did not spare his own faults in composing these songs. He was a *pucca sahib* when he returned from England as agriculturist in 1886, and was appointed a Deputy Collector, but that did not deter him from writing his exquisitely fine satire on the England-returned. Mr. Ray was pre-eminently a hater of sham. Look at the merciless way in which he ridicules the man of fickle faith who changes his religion as often as he would change his coat. He is made to adopt Christianity for the sake of a girl and leave it for a kick of his father. He becomes a Brahmo for the fun of the thing, but has to abandon that faith when he is married in due course in accordance with the rites of Hindu orthodoxy. He turns an atheist, but leaves atheism on the birth of a daughter or two. And so on till the end. The finest touch of satire is reached when the man excuses himself at every change on the plea that everyone must act in the same way under such circumstances. Beautiful as these songs will read in paper, the fullest depth of their humour and satire can only be felt when they are set to the tune.

III

The first comic play of Mr. Ray is *Ekghare or The Excommunicated*. It is full of "withering sarcasm," as said by the late Babu Rajnarain Bose and was an attack on the leaders of the orthodox movement. The book has a history of its own. When Dwijendralal returned from England, he married a daughter of Mr. Pratap Chandra Majumdar, a famous Homeopathic practitioner in Calcutta. The marriage was celebrated in the Hindu way, and he was anxious to return to the bosom of the old society. But the leaders of orthodoxy would not allow him to do so. Pandits demanded money when their opinions were sought by the friends of Mr. Ray, and this injustice and shamefacedness made him rebel against the society. The stinging satire of the book created a sensation and its banters produced heart-burning in the noted quarters. We read in his biographies that a Bengali gentleman went to a bookshop to purchase a copy of the book. He went through it then and there, and tore it to pieces at the time of leaving the shop. This shows that the book served well the purpose for which it was written.

While he attacked orthodoxy, he did not spare those who went to the other extreme. The artificiality, greed of money and the luxurious living of the Indo-English stung him to the core, and the result was a comedy called *Prayaschitta* or *Rightly Served*. The obvious object of the comedy was to teach that it was well for the Bengali to live in his native way. These books have been criticised on the ground that they are guilty of exaggeration. But no comedy can avoid exaggeration, and it may be said without hesitation that there was a real need for both of these plays in Bengal when they were published.

The other comic plays he wrote with no more definite object in view than provide innocent amusement for theatre-goers. The bad taste of the existing farces pained him deeply, and he turned the tide by his powerful pen. The exquisite but refined humour of these plays made the whole Bengali Society roar in laughter. Who can indeed help it when he finds a lover devouring sweets in the sheer despair and putting up flesh in the utter exhaustion caused by the pangs of separation, and who can help it when he is seriously advised by Mr. Ray not to be re-born on Thursday afternoons which are considered particularly inauspicious by the Hindu almanac?

IV

Mr. Ray's wedding took place in 1887. He was a loving and devoted husband. Properly speaking, his literary career began in 1894. With a loving wife of many virtues and accomplishments, this was a period of unalloyed domestic enjoyment to him, and this happy period continued till the death of his wife in 1903. The happiness which he enjoyed at home was successfully transmitted to his literary productions, and it is worth recording here that all his comic plays and songs were published in this period. He also tried his hand in the composition of serious dramas, and produced three of them in this period. The first was on the basis of the unfortunate story of Ahalya who was beguiled by Indra and was turned into stone, the second was on Sita, the model of Indian womanhood, and the third was on the basis of the historical story of Prithviraj of Rajasthan and his wife Tarabai. *Pushani or The Stone Statue* and *Sita* received high encomium from the Bengali reading public, and these two books will for long occupy a high place in the Bengali literature, be they considered from the standpoint of character painting or the arrangement of the plot. Saint Gautama is simply superb, and his Sita is even more noble than the Sitas of Valmiki and Bhababhuti. *Tarabai* was not as successful as the above two, but in spite of its defects it established the reputation of Mr. Ray as a writer of historical plays in which he was latterly so much to shine. These books were, however, criticised on the ground that verse, especially blank verse, was not suitable for drama. Many including the late famous poet, Nabin Chandra Sen, were of this opinion, and Mr. Ray accepted this view and definitely abandoned the idea of writing dramas in verse.

V

"All my smiles are gone in this evening of life; they are asleep by the side of tears." Thus wrote the poet in a pitthy Bengali poem a few years after the death of his dear wife. This portrays the true picture of the plays he was producing after the tragic event referred to. His wife died in 1903 leaving a son who is still a student and a daughter who is now daughter-in-law of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. After this we seldom meet him as a writer of comic plays and songs. Henceforth he dedicated himself to the production of serious and patriotic plays, and almost all his plays of this kind are tragedies. The loss of the dear partner of his

life cast a deep gloom over him, and he was not able to get rid of it till his end in 1912, the forty-ninth year of his life. He was a most open-hearted man of jovial disposition, loving and loved by all who came in contact with him. But there came a change over him after the death of his wife. He was the same kind and loving friend, but he was no longer the same jolly man. He became moody. In the midst of joviality, he used to become serious and gloomy and it is believed that this mental depression was one of the causes of his premature death. As usual, he was pressed by his friends and relatives to marry again, but he remained firm in his determination not to commit the same foolishness. "How many times must a man marry?"—was his only reply to them. He used to say that a second marriage was not a marriage in the proper sense of the word. It was only feeding the lower desires of life. Such marriages might be necessary at a certain stage of the society. A man or a woman must be free to contract such marriage if he or she thought it necessary, but it was better to avoid it. It may be thought that a man holding such an opinion must bear prejudice against widow remarriage, but such was not the case with Dwijendralal Ray. However that may be, as he was still being pressed by his friends for marriage, one day he thrust a note into the hands of one of them and asked him to show it to all who might come to induce him to marry. The note was written in Bengali and ran thus:

"Dr.

"1. It is a mistake to marry at all. Those who desire marriage for the second time require treatment."

"2. It is wrong to marry when one has not the money necessary for the purpose....In my opinion I have not that money."

"3. It is madness to try to serve two masters. The service of a second wife is terrible, specially if her temper be a little high."

"4. It is not wise to bring a step-mother for the children....."

"Cr.

"1. Who is to look after my household? Answer—It is a meaningless word to him who has no house."

"2. Who is to look after me in my old age? Answer—Susi and Giris (his sister-in-law and her husband).

"3. Who is to look after my children? Answer—Their guardian-tutor.

"4. A bride's father would be saved by my marriage, as I would not take money? Answer—I am not selfless enough to marry for this reason only."

"Dr.

"5. It was not the wish of my wife that I should marry a second time in case of her death."

"Cr.

"5. Life will be purposeless without marriage? What would be the object of my future life? Answer—To serve the mother tongue."

The above is taken from Babu Devkumar Ray Chaudhury's biography of the poet, and it shows that he could be humorous in the midst of deep sorrow. But the temper indicated by the above is not just the kind of temper required to produce comic literature, and it was well that he bade adieu to it.

VI

"I have wasted half of my life in jest," the poet says somewhere. So he was no longer to jest. He was now to learn "how to shed tears in deep sympathy." His object was achieved, and he learnt the lesson under the guidance of the best of teachers, Time. The time was propitious for him. It was indeed the time most suitable for such a lesson. Bengal was then a vale of tears. It was the time of the Partition of Bengal. It was exactly in the year of the Partition that his first patriotic play, *Pratap Singha*, was published. There was immediately a stir in the Bengali community. Another Bengali play of the same kind—*Pratapaditya* by Pundit Khirode Prasad Vidyabenode had been in the field, and both received a most hearty welcome from the Bengali public. They drew enormous and unparalleled crowds to the theatre halls, and were eagerly discussed by every gathering that met. Thanks to a historical novel by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, the life of the great hero of Rajputana was already familiar to the people of Bengal. Bengali students learn the histories of Rajputana and Maharastra, not from their text books on history, but from the admirable novels of Mr. Dutt, *Rajput Jeeban Sandhya* and *Maharastra Jeeban Prabhat*, and it may be said with certainty that these novels are better history than many of the so-called histories of the day. It was due to these two books that Rana Pratap and Sivaji became objects of worship in Bengal. Dwijendralal Ray touched therefore a familiar chord, and the response was immediate and full. The historical character of Rana Pratap was preserved, but the poet sought to impress a moral on the public through him. Throughout the book he has tried to prove that narrowness and bigotry cannot win. According to him, Rana Pratap fought more for the race and racial pride than

for the country and therefore he failed. The best character in the play is not the Rana, but his brother Sakta, the cosmopolitan, who married a Mahomedan wife. It is needless to tell the student of history that his Sakta is the creation of his imagination with the exception of the name.

When Pratap Singha was receiving the homage of the theatre-goer, Mr. (now Dr.) Pramathnath Banerjee requested Mr. Ray to write a drama on Durgadas, the Rathore hero. Durgadas was an embodiment of the virtues of selflessness, faithfulness and dutifulness, and a nobler character than his does not exist in the whole history of Rajputana. So he at once agreed, and the play was shortly published. This play has, too, a moral like the other. Durgadas was an ideal man, he had no narrowness, no bigotry, but still he failed to drag the nation out of the mire. And why? Because the nation was divided against itself, manhood was gone. *Durgadas* is a tragedy in spite of the successes of the hero, and its tragic character lies in the fact that his successes led but to the grave.

There is one other important drama which Dwijendralal Ray wrote with an aim. It is *Mewar Patan* or *The Fall of Mewar*. The execution of the book is excellent, but conception defective. It is unfortunate that the poet set up in this drama an artificial quarrel between Universalism and Nationalism, and deliberately gave the superior place to the former. Nationalism, rightly understood, can have no quarrel with Universalism, and that Nationalism is no Nationalism at all which quarrels with Universalism. If the Nationalism as displayed by some of the characters in the drama was defective, it would have been enough to teach the right kind of it. However that may be, one may boldly say that the lesson that was sought to be impressed was lost upon the people, and even this book they accepted and applauded as a gospel of Nationalism. The quarrel referred to was ignored by the general public as a most minor matter.

VII

It has been said by an English critic that success is the only test of merit. If by "success" we are to understand the applause and patronage of the people in general, then it must be said that the above three dramas were highly successful. It would however appear to many that their real value does not lie so much in the intrinsic merits of the plays as dramas, as in the useful service they rendered at an important period in our

national life. Mr. Ray has observed somewhere that his dramas must not be considered as political essays. The people however accepted them as such. They may or may not survive the ravages of time, but that does not imply that they had no use in the economy of Bengal's national life.

These plays are valuable for another reason. In spite of their imperfection, it was through them that the real Dwijendralal came out to the public. Dwijendralal Ray has produced works of art, but it is not as an artist that he is adored by the populace in Bengal. He is admired and adored as a poet of patriotism, and there is no doubt that he was a highly patriotic soul. Mr. Ray has said himself that he could never feel easy after he had sung his famous song, *amar Desh*. He was an official, a Deputy Magistrate, but we found him singing national songs with procession parties in Calcutta, attending the famous Partition-day meeting at Bagbazar, and so on. His patriotism was based on love and not on hatred. We find ample evidence in his letters and conversation that he for ever refused to admit that race or class-hatred could ever be a factor of a nation's progress. It is this patriotism—noble and unalloyed—that he propagated through his dramas. They are the embodiment of a highly patriotic soul, and as such they are valuable. The entire teaching of the above pieces may be summed up by citing one line of a song of Mr. Ray, viz., *Giachhe desh duksha nai, abur tora manush ha—Mourn not for the country fallen low, be men again.*

VIII

The chief defect of the above dramas is that their characters are not life-like. They are either too good or too bad. Babu Navakrishna Ghose observes in his biography of Mr. Ray that Mr. Lokendranath Palit used to call Durgadas a bundle of qualities. So he is, and so also are most other characters. If they are not bundles of qualities, they are bundles of sins. Except one or two, the characters in these plays are not troubled by a conflict of emotions. The heroes are almost all so many incarnations of singleness of purpose. In a word, the principal characters in these plays are idealistic and not realistic. It is not recognised in these dramas that the life of a man is but the resultant of many forces acting from different directions. A man is actuated by various motives even at one and the same time. It is not often that one and the same action is inspired in life by different motives, some good, some bad. It was

Mr. Palit who pointed out this to Mr. Ray, and he learnt the lesson from him. Mr. Palit was a singularly well-read man, and he produced a great impression on the poet. He therefore began to try his hand in the production of realistic plays and live-characters, and he succeeded to a certain extent, though not to a very great extent. *Nurjehan*, *Shajahan* and *Chandragupta* are the result of this effort, and considered from all points of view these are perhaps the best dramas of Mr. Ray. It is in *Nurjehan* that we first come across a real internal struggle, a strong conflict of emotions. The world-famous consort of Selim is actuated by hundred different feelings in her actions—feelings some of which, at times, she was trying to conceal from herself. But even this character is not so intricate as one would like it to be. The character of Aurangzeb in *Shajahan* is admirably drawn up, and it is one of the most successful characters of Mr. Ray. He is neither the villain of the Hindu writers, nor the idol of worship of the Mahomedan writers. One of the most remarkable characters of Mr. Ray is certainly Chanakya, the Indian Machiavelli, and chief minister of Chandragupta. It has its merits and demerits, but on the whole it is unique. It is not known what sort of man the historical Chanakya was, but Mr. Ray's Chanakya is a strange mixture of sanity and insanity, hardness and softness; a weird touch has made the character almost uncanny. But Mr. Ray has failed to make a great diplomat of him. The Machiavellian side of his character is very imperfectly developed. The reader feels fascinated with him because he appears to him not of this earth, earthy, but he is at the same time sorry that it is not the traditional Chanakya he meets. A certain mysteriousness hangs about the figure all along, and that is the principal charm of the character. There is little in him to identify him with his traditional namesake except the name and his own confession. This defect is probably due to the fact that there is so little in history and traditions to help the author in the successful drawing up of this side of Chanakya's life. I am also disposed to agree with the late Babu Baroda Charan Mitra that intricacy was so much out of tune with Dwijendralal Ray that it was difficult for him to conceive intricate characters. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that Mr. Ray's Chanakya is a really artistic production.

I have not exhausted the list of Mr. Ray's publications, but I stop only to mention the names of *Sinhal Bejoy* or *The Conquest of Ceylon*, published after his death, and *Lyrics of Ind*, a

collection of his English poems. These lyrics are nearly the earliest productions of Mr. Ray, and they were warmly received by Indians and Englishmen alike.

IX

One noticeable incident in the career of Mr. Ray is his clash with Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, his once dear friend. Dwijendralal Ray was an upholder of morality in literature, and mysticism in poetry never appealed to him. Sir Rabindranath is preeminently a mystic poet, and Dwijendralal came to hold that some of the poems of the great poet bore no meaning. Besides this, somehow or other, he also came to think that some other poems of Sir Rabindra were not in keeping with the eternal principles of morality. He contributed an article on this subject to a Bengali magazine and a bitter controversy followed for sometime between the adherents of the two poets. This embittered the feelings of Mr. Ray, and he went so far as to write a parody on Sir Rabindra and had it staged at a Calcutta theatre. It is a relief to learn from Babu Devkumar that Mr. Ray confessed it to him as a great mistake of his life.

While the extreme length he went must be regretted by all, there is no doubt that the whole controversy arose out of Mr. Ray's zeal for morality. He was an agnostic all his life, though we are told that a change was coming over him at the later period. Like many of the agnostics of the past, however, he was a man of sterling moral worth—a worthy son of a worthy father, Dewan Kartikeya Chandra Ray of the Krishnagar Raj, named after Raja Krishnachandra of Plassey fame. A close friend of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and many other great men of the then Bengal, Dewan Kartikeya was a remarkable man of his time. He was a man of varied gifts, but the greatest of them was perhaps his unimpeachable character. Pundit Sivanath Sastri, the recognised leader of the Brahma Samaj, has observed in one of his books that Dewan Kartikeyachandra led an ideal life at Krishnagar at a time when that town was notorious for giddy immorality. Dwijendralal Ray fully inherited his father's moral fervour, and much may be forgiven of a man whose failings rose from virtue's side.

X

The above episode serves to illustrate another important trait of his character—his sturdy independence. Sir Rabindranath was a dear friend of his, all his life he was an ardent admirer of Sir Rabindranath, but he did not spare him when

the choice lay between friendship and public good according to his ideas. Mr. Ray was a close student of every phase of public life in the country — politics not excepted. More often than not we meet him as a critic in his letters and conversation, and as a critic he was original and independent.

He was no less independent in service, and he came in conflict with the Government several times in life for this particular trait of his character. I shall refer to one incident he himself described in a Bengali magazine. He was for some time a Settlement Officer somewhere in the district of Burdwan. In a certain case pending in his court, he stood by the tenants and gave his decision against the Government setting aside a plea for increment of rent. The decision was set aside by the District Judge on appeal to him, and the Government increased the rents accordingly. Sir Charles Elliot was then the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and the case attracted his attention. He called for the papers and severely condemned the action of Mr. Ray. Mr. Ray, however, defended himself vigorously, but the only answer the Lieutenant Governor gave him was that he had been a Settlement Officer himself, and that he was well-versed in settlement regulations. Conscious of the justice of the cause he represented, Mr. Ray, however, did not yield, and he retorted by saying that His Honour had been a Settlement Officer

in the Punjab and not in Bengal, and that there was a great deal of difference between the regulations of the two provinces. On this, the Lieutenant Governor issued a Resolution and Mr. Ray's promotion was stopped. The case, however, went to the High Court, and the decision of Mr. Ray was upheld. In another case, the Resolution of Sir Charles came in for severe criticism at the High Court, and thus the triumph of Mr. Ray was complete. This however intensified the wrath of the Lieutenant Governor, and he remarked in the *Calcutta Gazette* that Mr. Ray was not an industrious officer. To the eternal credit of Mr. Ray's European superior, it must be recorded here that he came to the aid of Mr. Ray at this juncture, and protested against the unjust aspersions of the Lieutenant Governor in his report. He wrote that Mr. Ray's work was a "monument of industry and ability."

The fact that he published his stirring plays at the time of the great political ferment in Bengal offers abundant testimony of this side of Mr. Ray's character. There are few Government officers in these days who would venture far less.

Independence, liberality, moral zeal, and an ever-waking eye for public good marked him out as man, and it was due to these qualities that he uttered nothing base. The least that can be said of him is that his memory will be enshrined in the heart of Bengal for many a year to come.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

THE third Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled at Delhi in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber on January 20, H. E. the Viceroy presiding. Over forty of the Ruling Chiefs of Feudatory India were present. His Excellency opened the proceedings with an address of welcome to the Princes who had come from far and near. He deplored the death of the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Rewa and Faridkot, the Maharana of Dungarpur, the Nawab of Palanpur, and the Raja of Khairagarh since the Princes assembled last. He then paid a handsome tribute to the magnificent services rendered to the war by the Feudatory States and their Rulers for the cause of the Empire and referred at some length to the recommendations embodied in the Montagu Scheme of Reforms. The first recom-

mendation, said His Excellency, is that with a view to the future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others. While discussing the methods of such classification, His Excellency pointed out "that the Government of India are concerned to safe-guard the rights, privileges and interests of their relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their rulers equally as partners and co-workers."

The next recommendation is that with "the consent of the rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future."

His Excellency added that he would welcome

any general observations which any of Their Highnesses might desire to make during the conference, either on the subject of the infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice.

COUNCIL OF PRINCES

Of the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes, His Excellency said :—

I desire at this point to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Durbar with the Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the Report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would not, of course, be affected by the institution of the Council, but it is important to emphasise this in the clearest possible terms. The durbar of a very important State, in their written memorandum, have said in this connection that it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between the States and British India. The assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the Rulers who compose it are willing in some measure to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Durbar, because they say later that the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should in fact be an absolute *sine qua non* of the working of any such general Advisory Council.

Lastly, His Excellency urged them to bear in mind an essential point :—

We on our part are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and peruse your *Izzat*. You on your part will not forget that the British Government is the paramount power in India and that this fact must colour its relations with your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters.

The Viceroy then dwelt on the need for the appointment of Standing Committees and Commissions of enquiry and concluded with a reference to the proposed Council of State and its joint deliberation with the Council of Princes.

Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the Viceroy, and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only, and at the outset I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which rightly used may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country, which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

On the conclusion of the Viceroy's address, H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior thanked His Excellency for opening the proceedings.

MAHARAJA OF KAPURTHALA

A Resolution on the Victory of the Imperial and Allied Forces which was carried unanimously, was moved by H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the following terms :—

That the Ruling Princes of India assembled in this Conference request His Excellency the Viceroy kindly to transmit to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor the respectful but warmest congratulations on the glorious termination of the War, coupled with an assurance of their abiding loyalty and attachment to His August Person and Throne. They also desire to seize the opportunity of paying a collective tribute to the brilliant achievements of the Imperial and Allied Naval, Military and Air Force on all fronts, which have so completely crippled the enemy power and resistance and have brought the prospect of an enduring peace within measurable distance.

This was seconded by H. H. the Maharaja of Bavanagar and supported by the Jam Saheb.

MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR

The Conference concluded its sittings on the 25th instant. His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior explained that the Banquet as announced in the original programme was dropped owing to the mournful event in the Royal Family.

PRESENTATION TO THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

His Highness then requested H. E. the Viceroy to present a Sword to H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala on behalf of his brother Princes, in recognition of the "dignity and self-restraint with which he exercised the functions of a representative of the States at the Imperial Conference." His Excellency then presented the Sword to the Maharaja of Patiala.

THE REFORMS AND INDIAN PRINCES

The Maharaja of Jaipur then moved the following Resolution :

"This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in their report on the Indian constitutional reforms for promoting the welfare of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safeguarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the right, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements. This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of H. E. Lord Chelmsford's noble endeavour in bringing together the Ruling Princes and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother-princes and the Government of India in all matters affecting their States. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them where questions of Imperial interests were concerned, thus bringing the

Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in the problems not only of India, but of the whole Empire."

H. E. the Viceroy thanked His Highness for the cordial words in which he moved the Resolution and promised to communicate its terms to the Secretary of State.

INDIA AND THE WAR

H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior made a lengthy speech, in the course of which he dealt at some length with "certain epoch-making events" which by their importance, he said, "claim priority of mention." He referred to the armistice and the solidarity of the British Empire which made the victory inevitable. He next turned to the influence of His Majesty's personality which rendered perfect cohesion possible at a time when crowns are tumbling into the melting pot. Reverting to the subject of the reforms, he said :

THE REFORMS

These measures, which are irrevocably promised, will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India, and the ampler they can be made with due regard for the conditions that are, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention, but I speak from conviction, when I say that both amplitude and expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, *viz.*, the continuation of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty, and the re-appointment to the Secretariate of State for India of the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu. The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman, Sir Satyendra Sinha, to the Peerage and his appointment to an office in the British Government is an example of true insight, great political imagination and what is even more important, of genuine honesty of purpose and we refuse to credit the libel from wherever it emanates that in this measure of simple justice to people, there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference, and in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikanir, amongst the delegates to Versailles, we recognise the determination to accord to the Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into the existing conditions, Mr. Montagu's powerful support, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet.

Referring to H. E. the Viceroy's opening address, His Highness emphasised that "the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. "Alluding to the importance of a Council of Princes," he pointed out :

The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of

the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk of being ignored. In addition, there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies, and these remedies, such, for instance, as the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry for the purposes stated, and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay.

Touching the relations between Native States and the Imperial Government, His Highness defined the scope of the old treaties :—

It will be admitted that no treaties are for ever comprehensive documents. Ours having drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion, and having had for their purpose the attainment of particular objects, they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor, however, is unmistakeable, and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which, in the course of time, have suffered deterioration in practice. Therefore, what the States ask for is, that no measures inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case, to all such measures as are likely to affect in any degree the internal autonomy of the States their free consent should be previously obtained.

His Highness concluded by recounting the result of the present Conference :

We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn hereafter between the Sovereign States and others. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage, we have appointed a Special Committee to thrash this question and make suggestion at our next meeting. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes, which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal" in English ("Chamber of Princes"). We have carried resolutions for the establishment of Commissions of enquiry and for the election of standing committees as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, but with slight modifications. We have cordially and unanimously supported the propositions of direct political relations between all the important States and the Imperial Government. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of precedence under Section 7. We have also decided that this Conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established, and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

The Conference closed with a reply from H. E. the Viceroy who assured the Princes assembled that the debates of the Conference would receive the most careful consideration of the Government.

"THE DANCE OF SIVA"

A REVIEW BY

MR. K. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

AT a critical juncture in European political and social story no greater service could be rendered to the statesmen concerned in National re-construction than a clear presentation of the Indian Ideal as embodying a fundamentally different "motif" in social organisation and cultural vitality. And it is part of the good fortune as certainly it is part of the mystery of all great human movements, that a new epoch in Indian Nationalism, which sprang at first whole from the heart of the common people, should so rapidly find for itself a large and powerful band of writers, artists, and thinkers, who, blessed with the word and vision divine, have each, in the measure and vein peculiar to him, successfully striven to express one aspect or another of its infinite-faced idealism in Art and Life. Not the least among these and in a sense occupying a unique place of his own as gathering into one braid many separate threads of thought and criticism is Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, whose most recent contribution to Indian Literature constitutes as much a testimony to the variety of his intuition and the patient devotion of his love-labour as it is a wonder-striking revelation of the consistency and one-heartedness of the Indian Ideal in its application to all the varied and vital problems of human well-being.

The fourteen Indian essays, named appropriately after the most characteristically Indian of them, "The Dance of Siva,"* were written and published during the critical years of the European war

and owe their peculiar interest and suggestiveness to their continual reference to the vital imperfection and self-destructive contrariety of the European scheme of personal art and competitive social order. Over against this background, dark with the primeval passions of the forest and the mountain, the Indian Ideal shows clear and chaste, illuminating with flashes of light the depths of an infinite mystery of Life and Being.

The essays are mostly distinct in theme dealing with a variety of topics, all however making one clear and related garland about the central thread of all Indian culture, a pure and consistent monism of thought but expressing it variously, now in terms of the technique of Indian music, the fundamental relation between 'sruti' and 'alap' and again as the philosophy of the Hindu communal organisation, a subtle and successful blending of the "Pravrutti" and "Nivrtti" marga in an arc of social experience which leads with varying insistence but with compulsive sweep through the four-fold 'purushardhas of life,' or again by a characteristic theory of the aesthetic positing for every perfect experience of 'Rasa' the realisation of emotional identity between the Artist and critic or 'Rasika' and interpreting every perception of beauty in nature as essentially a direct intuition-impression of Reality and Identity.

Such a close and critical analysis of every phase of the Indian experience not only brings out the pure consistency of higher Indian thought but helps to explain how through untold centuries of varying National fortunes Indian Life has remain-

**The Dance of Siva: Fourteen Indian Essays..* By Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, D. SC., George G. Harrap & Co., London and New York.

ed entirely faithful to itself, spiritually whole and united though outwardly under the need of alien domination. The picture of such an embodied culture alive and functioning to-day as in the vigour of youth should yield lessons of importance both to the modern Indian in the re-adjustment of individual and communal life successfully to resist the general characteristic vulgarisation of experience in the present predominantly industrial epoch, and to the statesmen of Europe and America in their anxious endeavour to re-habilitate the most elementary virtues of communal life in a social organisation weighted with the worst passions of individual rivalry and insatiate greed. Thus to the modern occidental, it must help to create and unravel a new series of individual values and a new order of progress based not on wealth, or the will to power and self-assertion but on the measure of true self-denial and self-regulation and the keenness of spiritual insight which must spring out of it. It must teach him too some of the characteristic and to him most needed, of oriental virtues, preached through its simplest folk-lore, the capacity for deep and undisturbed inwardness amidst an eddying whirl of external action, the pre-occupation with the eternal elements of life through all the abandon to the richest and the most delicate variety of sense-experience.

A higher service perhaps for the moment would be to explode the long-accepted doctrine that it is only the economic bond which could effectively hold communities together and to do it by a clear and positive illustration of how at least one society in the past very early outgrew the merely economic stage and deliberately moulded itself into a purposive organisation where the finer powers of the human soul would have free and untrammeled play, and so guided and controlled the lower desires and passions of Nature that Life thereby grew more abundant, and to wider and larger amplitude for aesthetic apprehension,

emotional rhythm and spiritual richness, and how similarly the European type of communal organisation too must rapidly release itself from the grip of physical want and struggle, to be free to reach out to the finer Ideal hidden in its own ardent industrialism and love of power, and so perhaps add its own contribution to human culture by a persistent and passionate emphasis of the Individual note in the Absolute.

To the Indian himself, such a clear exposition of the underlying philosophy and aesthetic unity of the most important situations of his social life is even more important as finally deciding for him the absolute impossibility of any change of "venue" for his social and spiritual evolution. It would be little short of moral and cultural suicide now to let himself launch out on the new seas of a purely economic and individualistic civilisation, and whatever the final chances of self-fulfillment for a communal life tuned to an "Idealistic Individualism" his must for ever remain a nursery of communal co-operative virtues, of group-harmony and guild-government, if the characteristic virtues of gentleness, hospitality, aesthetic self-abandon, and spiritual pre-occupation, in other words his essential and innermost Indianness, are to continue to distinguish him from, and keep the memory of his fathers among, the important nations of the earth. Not that all or even any of the social moulds should remain into the future as of old all unbroken, but that however the forms may change or be deliberately changed to suit new times and new relations between Nations, the Indian Spirit, with its unfailing touch on the universal behind every note of individualistic experience, must have firm hold of every social situation and cultural advance, guiding and governing every step of the National Life into nearer and nearer intimation with the Ideal determined once and for ever by the ancient Aryan Rishis, the builders of the "City of Gods."

Surdasa: The Milton of Hindi Poetry

BY

MR. KANNOOMAL, M.A.

In the pantheon of immortal saintly bards who consecrated their lives in tuning their soul's song to the praises of the Lord and held direct communion with Him through the all-absorbing ecstasies of their holy music, Surdasa occupies one of the highest—if not the highest—places. He stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries—successors and predecessors as far as religious poetry goes. Although sufficiently well known in the land of his birth, Surdasa's greatness remains to be duly known and appreciated by the western world, which has so far worshipped only its own idols.

Surdasa was born in 1483 of poor Saraswat parents at the village of SIHI in the vicinity of Delhi. From his very childhood, he was of a religious frame of mind and passed most of his time in the society of spiritual teachers and holy men. From them he drew his inspiration, and while only a boy of eight years, he left his home and parents and wandered about in search of the idol of his heart—Lord Krishna. He ultimately came over to Muttra—the holy birth-place of Krishna and settled there for life. From this place he used to make his wanderings in Vrij-mandala where lay the scenes of the sports and deeds of Lord Krishna's early life. Surdasa had by now become the pupil of holy Ballabacharya—the spiritual head of the Vaishnavite sect consecrated to the love, devotion and worship of Sri Krishna. Surdasa died at the ripe age of eighty, in 1563.

Although Surdasa wrote some light works, all of devotional poetry, his *magnum opus* is Sursagar—a collection of songs mainly describing the early deeds and sports of Lord Krishna, Tra-

dition says that this book contained no less than a lakh of songs but the modern manuscripts do not contain more than five or six thousands of them. Each of these songs is a masterpiece of poetry that has never been excelled. From a literary point of view, they stand unmatched and unsurpassed in the whole range of human literature. Their external beauty is immensely enhanced by their depth of devotional feeling that pervades them through and through. The poet loves his Krishna as a child or as a companion and lavishes the riches of his heart upon him. None who can understand the language of the songs, remains unmoved by their pathos. For chastity, beauty, grace, poetic art and depth of devout feeling, the songs of Surdasa, poured out of the depth of his heart in praise of his deity Krishna, remain unsurpassed. Sursagar is a priceless treasury of poetry. To hear and understand its songs is to be inspired by them. While the learned find in them a wealth of poetic beauty and charm, the devout hear in them a clear call to come and merge themselves into the undying, ineffaceable ecstasies of divine bliss. Surdasa was a very advanced saint, a matchless poet, a peerless musician whose harp, inspired by his immortal songs, has poured forth divine and blissful melodies that still reverberate in their undying musical vibrations in the sacred groves of Vrindaban where he saw his Lord face to face, though physically blind.

Sursagar is an inexhaustible treasure-house of beauty. Let some Indian scholar make it a work of his life just as Max Muller did in regard to the Rigveda.

THE RECENT CONFERENCES

In the January number of the *Indian Review* we published an account of the proceedings of some of the important Conferences held in the Christmas week. In this issue we give further accounts of various other gatherings held subsequently at different places. We have no doubt that this attempt to present a bird's eye view of the more important Conferences will be appreciated by our readers. [Ed. *I.R.*]

Indian Science Congress

The Indian Science Congress met at Bombay, on January 13. H. E. the Governor, in welcoming the delegates, expressed his appreciation of the honour in inviting him to be the patron of the Congress. He then paid a compliment to the President, Sir Leonard Rogers,—“a scientist of international and world-wide repute who has rendered incalculable service to India in the field of tropical medicine and research.” After referring to the munificence of Sir Dorab Tata, Chairman of the Reception Committee, H. E. concluded with an appeal to bring medical aid within the reach of the millions.

Sir Leonard began by thanking the Congress for including medical research among the subjects of deliberations at the Congress.

Realising that I owe my present onerous position to having been fortunate enough to make some practical life-saving advances in tropical medicine, I felt that I shall be most likely to interest my audience by illustrating the subject with some account of my own researches in which the collateral sciences of physiology, chemistry and physics were utilised in solving problems arising in the treatment of deadly diseases: for I feel sure that pure scientists will always rejoice in seeing their discoveries being made practical use of by medical research workers.

He then referred to the immense advantages that modern medicine has derived in the last few decades from advances made in closely related sciences and discoursed at some length on the research work done in the past.

More may yet be done, he continued, but sufficient has already accrued to prove the inestimable life-saving and economic value of medical research work. On this subject Sir Leonard grew warm and urged that increasing facilities should be afforded for medical work.

In order to get the medical officers with the highest abilities and scientific training required for success in research to devote their lives to it, and to abandon the much more lucrative clinical side of medicine, it will be absolutely necessary to give them salaries in

proportion to the long and expensive scientific training of from six to eight years, which they receive after finishing their general school education.

Unfortunately the short-sightedness, to put it as mildly as possible, of the controlling service in India, the senior members of which, admitted before the age of entry was raised to the present standard, were recruited from schools, often with the aid of cramming and almost invariably without any scientific knowledge, and whose education ceased before they became of age, has for long used its almost uncontrolled power in India to prevent the more highly educated members of the scientific service, including the medical, from receiving pay adequate to their training, much less the princely salaries which the Indian Civil Service obtain for themselves.”

Contrasting the emoluments of medical experts with those of the Civil Service, he said:—

That the Simla authorities are unaware of the value of scientific training and experience will be clear from the fact that, when recently sanctioning a new appointment as director of a post-graduate scientific school and research institute, they cut down the emoluments recommended by the local government, which is finding the money, to below a comfortable living wage in the expensive location of the institution, and actually to below the present pay in a much less responsible position of the very officer whose nomination to the post they at the same time accepted, and that too although he happens to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. Further proof of the truth of the above statement is surely unnecessary.

The Science Congress resumed its sitting on the following day when two papers, one on “Nitrogenous Fertilisers” by Mr. C. M. Hutchinson and another on “Celloids and their Relation to Industry” by Mr. Mackenzie Wallis were read.

In the evening, a public lecture illustrated by lantern slides on the “Life History of a Star” was delivered by Dr. Gilbert Parker.

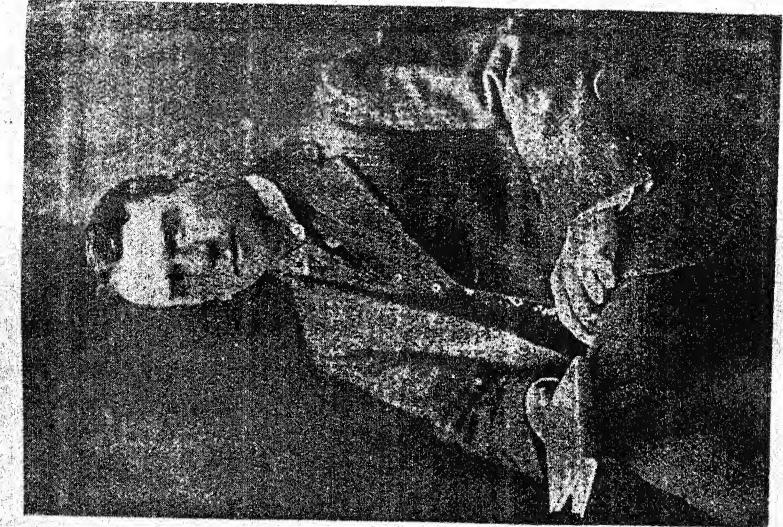
The next day the four sections of the Congress were in session, these being the agriculture and applied botany, physics and mathematics, medical research and geology sections. At the medical section, Major Glen Liston read a paper on “The Next War: Man versus Insects.” Mr. Keatinge read a paper in the agricultural section on “Some Economic Factors affecting Agricultural Progress” which appears on page 103.



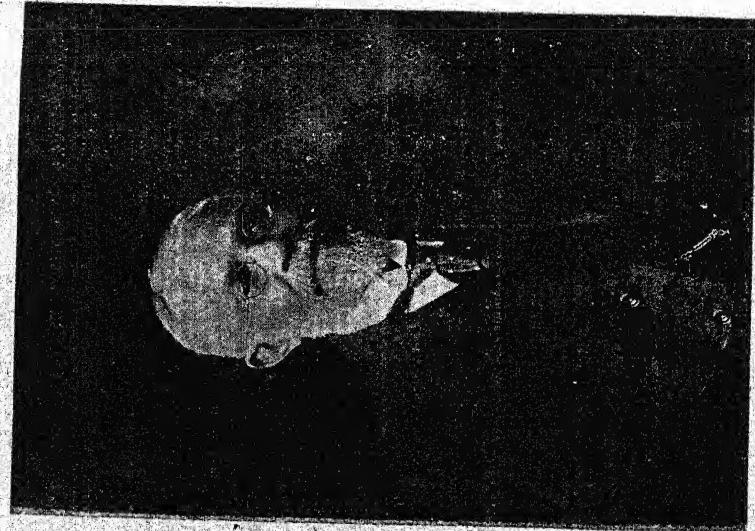
SIR LEONARD ROGERS
President, Indian Science Congress.



SIR THOMAS HOLLAND
President, The Engineers' Conference.



PRINCIPAL P. ANSTEY
President, The Economic Conference.



KHAN BAHADUR ADARJI DALAL
President, The Zoroastrian Conference.

The Engineers' Conference.

A Conference of Engineers was held at the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on December 30, to discuss the question of the formation of an Indian Institution or Society of Engineers. On the motion of Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir Thomas Holland was proposed to the chair. Sir Thomas, in the course of his speech, dealt at some length on the exact nature of the Institution they were organizing.

"We want to be quite sure," he said, "that the Institution membership will be recognised not only in India but outside as the standard of technical efficiency and competence. That is the line that has been taken up by the Institutions at Home, and in consequence of the standard of official recognition, the membership, according to its grade, has a definite market value."

He then offered some suggestions for forming the central and provincial bodies.

Mr. E. M. Hughman, the Secretary, announced that 179 applications had been received for membership.

The following resolution was adopted: "That it is desirable to form a society for the advancement of all branches of engineering science in India."

A committee was appointed to report to the meeting on the 3rd January regarding the following points: (a) The steps to be taken to approach with a view to co-operation of the representatives of the provincial engineering congresses, the Mining and Geological Institute and the local branches of the English institutions of Engineers; (b) to suggest a name and provisional constitution for the new society; (c) to nominate a list of the provisional committee with a view to completing the negotiations with the related congresses and societies; (d) to provide means for provincial finance; (e) to propose a date for and arrangements for an inaugural meeting.

Sir Claude Hill welcomed the organisation and said that the attitude of the Government of

India was one of sympathy and encouragement. He pointed out that they had no intention to officialise such an institution.

The Committee held several meetings and decided on all the subjects allotted for its discussion. The decisions of the committee were then submitted to the general body.

The third day's proceedings consisted of a joint meeting of British and American Electrical Institutes. Mr. H. P. Gibbs, of Bombay who presided made a few remarks concerning the possibilities for the extended application of the electrical art in India.

The fourth and last meeting of the Engineers' Conference was held on January 4th. The Chairman explained to the meeting what the committee appointed on the 30th of December had done. He said:—

"The committee met on the 31st and spent the whole day in discussing the proposals decided upon at the previous general meeting. The committee agreed on certain principles for organisation and certain principles that should govern the drafting of rules and regulations for the proposed society. They then appointed a sub-committee to work out these details, draft the rules, and prepare a financial scheme. The sub-committee worked on the 1st and 2nd January and the full committee reported its consideration of the proposals last night. The proposals that were agreed upon by the committee yesterday evening have been reviewed again this morning by the full committee and we are now in fair agreement about certain points to be put before this engineering meeting."

Resolutions touching the name, composition and the lines of work of the Indian Society of Engineers were then passed. Sir R. N. Mookerjee proposed and Mr. Cowley seconded the vote of thanks to the President who replied in felicitous terms.

In the afternoon, a special session was held, presided over by Mr. J. W. Meares, at which Mr. Richard H. Martin, District Engineer and Acting Electrical Engineer, South Indian Railway, read an interesting paper on "The Problem of the Electrification of Mountain Railways, with special reference to the Nilgiri Mountain Railway."

The All-India Cantonment Conference

The first session of the All-India Cantonment Conference met at Amballa on January 25. There were about a hundred delegates from different Cantonments. The objects of the Conference are to obtain certain civic rights in cantonments. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Sahib Benarsi Das, in the course of his address, defined the conditions under which the civil population of cantonments live and contrasted them with those of the people of other parts of British India. He said :—

Even in normal times of peace there are sections in the Cantonments Code that hang like the sword of Damocles over the heads of peaceful residents of cantonments. Even the elementary rights of British citizenship such as are enjoyed by every resident of British India are not extended to us in their entirety.

He deplored that, with all the advantages of the contact with fresh Europeans of broad sympathies and democratic outlook and ideals, the cantonment people are faring worse.

With such elevating influences of our environment, we in cantonments are more intimately acquainted with and better fitted for the free institutions of the west than other. But it is an irony of fate that though we deserve more we have got much less.

The claims of the Conference are modest enough. The Reception Committee stated in clear terms that the Conference did not desire to meddle with the military administration of cantonments. The Chairman continued :—

All that we desire is, that in matters pertaining to our own welfare we should be given a free hand. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme lays down the principle that in local-civil administration the people's voice be supreme. What we contend and pray for is that this principle be extended to cantonments. The constitution of the cantonment Committee is at present most unsatisfactory to my mind. A future cantonment committee should be a more inviting institution where the chosen representatives of the people be as welcome as the Military officers.

The President, Rai Sahib L. Laxminarain, in the course of his Presidential Address, pointed out the scope of the work of the Conference after which he summarised their views on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. He said :—

We do not doubt but heartily wish that the policy of self-determination should be applied to India in as full a measure as possible, but I do not think there is any one among us who will prejudice India's cause by adopting a policy which may result in the frustration of all our hopes and the perpetuation of the autocratic system under which India is governed at present. However great might be our regret that during the last election many of our most trusted friends have not been returned to Parliament, the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, has at the present moment done all in his power to restore confidence in us that the pledges held out to us will be fulfilled. The inclusion of Sir S. P. Sinha in the British Government as Under-Secretary of State for India and his elevation to the peerage are landmarks in the history of India's connection with England.

He then dwelt on the special grievances of the residents of cantonments. Resolutions of loyalty, of condolence with Their Majesties in their bereavement and congratulations to the allied armies, were passed.

The next day the following resolutions were discussed and passed :—

(1) This Conference respectfully but emphatically urges on the Government the necessity of introducing in the construction and working of the Cantonment Committees an element of popular control in consonance with the spirit of the recommendations made regarding the constitution and working of municipal and district boards in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme; that for the purposes of civic administration, the areas occupied by the civil population should be separated from the regimental lines and constituted into separate Municipal Committees, but until this reform is brought about at least 50 per cent. of the Cantonment Committees should consist of non-official Indian Members elected by rate-payers, and separate representation should be accorded to house-owners; (2) this Conference, while viewing with satisfaction the memorandum issued by Army Head-quarters regarding house property in Cantonments, regrets to notice that they are not observed in practice and urges that the same be enforced. The difficulties which the landlords in cantonments experience are (1) the cantonment administration do not act with sufficient consideration towards owners as a class; (2) the house-owners are required to make alterations, repairs and additions to their houses to suit individual fancies; (3) the rents of the houses in many cases were fixed four or five decades ago and are now, when prices have so much advanced, too low to make house property attractive or offer an inducement for investment of capital in new house property; (4) the allotment of houses by cantonment authorities to officers and regiments results in their being vacant for long periods and causes loss of rent. This practice, though it is contrary to law, is vigorously persisted in some cantonments; (5) the owners should have statutory power to deal directly with the tenants; (6) the language used in notices, etc., served upon landlords conveying threats of criminal prosecution sometimes for most trivial points is

most discourteous and humiliating; (7) that wear and tear due to the usage and negligence of tenants should be made good by the tenants, the service of such notices on house-owners is contrary to the intentions of cantonment law, which contemplates the intervention of the cantonment authority only when somebody's safety is endangered; (8) the awards of arbitration committees would not be final, but should be subject to appeal to the court of original civil jurisdiction; (9) that the tenants should have no right to sublet bungalows occupied by them without the written permission of landlords.

This Conference is of opinion that employment in the cantonment services would become more attractive, and the status of the service would be raised, if cantonment services are regularly granted and made pensionable. This Conference considers that sections 2-15, 21-6 and 21-7 in the Cantonment Code empowering the G.O.C. to expel, without assigned reason, being opposed to the fundamental rights of British citizenship should be expunged from the Cantonment Code.

It was further resolved that a deputation of the Conference should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Franchise Committee with a memorial embodying the purpose of the resolutions passed by the Conference. The next session will meet at Meerut.

The Mathematical Conference

The Indian Mathematical Society held its Second Conference at Bombay on the 11th, 12th and 13th January. H. E. the Governor of Bombay who was unable to be present on the occasion referred in his opening address to the importance of concerted action on the part of Mathematicians all over India. The various papers read at the Conference were mainly of technical interest. But the President, Prof. A. C. L. Wilkinson, in the course of his address, pleaded for an organised attempt to place the teaching of Mathematics on a sound and practical basis and concluded :—

I therefore urge upon you the necessity of carrying into practice that article of our constitution that provides for the formation of branches in the various presidencies, whose duty it will be to promote the study of elementary mathematics by setting on foot inquiries into the methods of teaching, the extent to which each subject should be taught and numerous other questions which will be suggested and then with the material collected, classified and discussed we shall be in a position to advocate such further reforms as may be considered necessary and thus in the future initiate where in the past we have followed.

The Bengal Mahishya Conference

The Bengal Mahishya Conference, the fifteenth session of which was held on 31st December 1918 and 1st January 1919 at the residence of Babu Nut Behary Shee of Howrah, was attended by delegates from the various districts of Bengal. There was a large gathering of distinguished educationists whom the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Babu Preo Gopal Chakravarti, welcomed in a neat little speech. The Mahishyas who number about twenty four lakhs, and formed the main agricultural population of Bengal, he said, were not receiving the degree of attention and sympathy they deserved at the hands of the Government. Rai Bahadur B. N. Das, M.A., B.Sc., Vice-Principal of the Dacca College, took the chair on the first day and Babu Bepin Behari Das I. S. O., on the second. The President, in the course of his speech, emphasised the supreme importance of education and advocated its spread amongst the members of his community as the sole means of promoting their material and moral welfare. After referring to the benefit derived by the Mahomedan community from the Muslim Fund, he earnestly appealed to all present to contribute to the 'Mahishya Educational Trust' which had as its object the granting of scholarships to poor deserving Mahishya students.

Then the following resolutions among others were passed after lengthy discussion :

That this Conference urges on every Mahishya to realise the importance of education and to push forward its advancement in all its branches amongst the members of the community and their priests. The Mahishya District Associations are accordingly requested to raise funds through the adoption of the following means :—

(a) Monthly subscriptions and donations.

(b) Donations on such occasions as Marriage, Shradh, Puja etc.

That steps be taken to collect funds for the creation of an endowment to provide free studentship for deserving poor Mahishya-students in the proposed Howrah College.

The Zoroastrian Conference

The seventh annual conference of the Parsis met at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on the 11th January. Miss Shirni Manackji Cursetji welcomed those present in a lively little speech in which she contrasted the condition of the Parsis of to-day with that of the state of things half a century ago. She referred to the freedom of women and the growing Europeanisation of the Parsi people. She advocated the starting of charity organisation and in conclusion deprecated sending Parsi boys and girls to mission schools. Khan Bahadur Adarji Dalal, in his Presidential address, referred to the loss sustained by the Parsis by the death of Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Ratan Tata. He deplored it was not possible to raise a Parsi contingent.

He next pleaded for the creation of a body of self-sacrificing missionaries to serve the community and the public at large on the style of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society, the Deccan Education Society, Mr. Apté's Women's University, the Benares Hindu University, and the Mahomedan University. Referring to politics, the President said it was a good thing that the aversion which the Parsis showed ten or twenty years ago to a participation in matters political, had gradually decreased, and the tendency now among educated Parsis was towards increased participation in politics in conjunction with other communities.

He favoured the representation made by Sir Jamsetji and others for communal representation because when other Indian communities asked for this, they should take care to press their demand. He again asked the Parsis to co-operate with other communities in the public political movement for the good of the country, and concluded with a word of warning against extremism in politics.

The Economic Conference

The Economic Conference which was held under the auspices of the Indian Economic Association began its sittings at Bombay on December 30. Prominent Economists like Prof. Jevons of Allahabad and Prof. Hamilton of Calcutta were present. Principal Anstey of the Bombay College of Commerce who presided over the Conference discussed in his opening remarks, the constitution of the Indian Economic Conference. Last year, he said they had a Conference of professional economists. Its scope should now be widened, he said, by the inclusion of members of the civil service, journalists and others interested in different branches of economics. He said that Government should pay due regard to the "collective voice of economists," and he contrasted the conditions in the West where, unlike in India, Economic experts are consulted by Government. Prof. Kale of Poona, in the course of a paper on the "Study of Village Economics," suggested that some distinguished economist must be associated with the Government officials to guide them in their policy. Prof. Coyajee, in his paper on "Some lines of Co-operative Progress," urged that the Co-operative movement might be utilised in organising and guiding the political opinion of the raiyat. Prof. Stanley of the Allahabad University read a paper on "Finance and Economic Development," while Mr. R. B. Ewbank, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, in a paper on "The Co-operative Movement and the Present Famine in the Bombay Presidency," drew attention to the material and moral advantages of Co-operation for the raiyats.

Among the other papers read at the Conference was one by the Hon. Dr. Harold H. Mann, entitled "First Investigations on the Efficiency of Agricultural Labour in Western India," excerpts from which appeared in our last number.



THE LATE NAWAB SYED MAHOMED

We regret to record the death of Nawab Syed Mahomed which occurred on Feb. 12. The Nawab Syed was a familiar figure in the public life of Madras. He was a staunch Congressman and an adherent of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He was a nominated member of the Madras Legislative Council having been before Sheriff of Madras. As an elected member of the Imperial Council he served with Mr. Gokhale for several years. He presided over the Karachi Congress in 1913.



PRATAP CAANDRA MAZUMDAR

PRATAPCHANDRA MAZUMDAR*

BY
PANDIT SITANATH TATVABUSHAN.

INTRODUCTION

P RATAPCHANRA MAZUMDAR, the writer, orator and theologian, was a great leader of the Brahma movement and in many respects the most eminent of the immediate disciples of Kesavchandra Sen. But he belonged not merely to the small community which recognised him as one of its great leaders, but to the whole country, and in a sense to the whole world. His sympathies were wide, and his literary and missionary activities far-reaching. The most important of his works were published in America, and some of his most remarkable addresses delivered there; and his English and American admirers would perhaps equal, if not actually exceed, in number those who admire and appreciate him in this country. His writings, though written, as they could not but be, from the standpoint of the Brahma Samaj, are so liberal in views and sentiments, that they may be read with profit and without the least offence being felt by men of the most varying opinions. Being written, as all his works are with the exception of two little Bengali treatises, in most elegant English, they afford a great literary treat apart from the value of the teachings embodied in them. A sketch of the life and teachings of such a valued writer and worker cannot but be welcome, we hope, to all, irrespective of creed or class.

FAMILY AND PARENTAGE

Mr. Mazumdar belonged to the same caste as his great master, Kesav, and was distantly related to him. It is called the Vaidya (physician) caste, one which is peculiar to Bengal, having no corresponding caste in other parts of India. It is a high non-Brahmana caste equal in social rank

to, if not higher than, the Kayasthas. Pratap was born in 1840 at his maternal grandfather's house at Banseria, a noted village 24 miles north of Calcutta; but his infancy was spent at Garifa on the Hugli, not far from Calcutta, a village which is the ancestral seat of both the Sens and the Mazumdars. Mr. Mazumdar's description of his own childhood reminds one of Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* and lends a remarkable testimony to the truth of the poet's reflections. This description is embodied in a biographical sketch attached to Mr. Mazumdar's *Heart-beats* and is written by the Rev. S. J. Barrows, President of the Chicago Parliament of Religions and a great admirer of Mr. Mazumdar. This sketch and the present writer's personal knowledge of him derived from a rather close acquaintance with his career as a preacher and writer, are the only available sources from which the following narration of his life, uneventful but rich in thought and sentiment, is drawn. Of his father, Mr. Mazumdar says: "In the dim, far, sad past I trace my father's face, a large, generous, loving face, in which great impulsiveness was written in strong characters. He was a stout, florid, full-sized man, very kind, very angry, frank, artless, warm-hearted beyond discretion but not very learned. He was educated up to the ordinary standard of those times, was a teacher in the Hugly College for some time, and then a senior clerk in the bank. I believe he had some leanings toward the Brahma Samaj; for I faintly recollect he had some volumes of the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, the organ of the Adi Brahma Samaj, in his room. Oh that he had lived a few years longer for me to have known him better! Oh that he had gone after putting me under the care of some one able to take care of me and teach me! But he

*Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for Messrs. Natesan & Co's "Biographies of Eminent Indian Series." Price Four Annas each.

died very early, too soon. In fact, he could not have been more than thirty-two when he died, and I was about nine." He left me an orphan under the care of my young mother, who did not know what to do under the paralysis of her great sorrow. The village woodmen speak of him with tears in their eyes. He always lent them money, took it not, but gave them more. The village widows talk of him to bless his memory. And the village boys, who have grown into older men than myself, mention him with honour and affection. He taught them and read with them, and preferred them before his own son. He often showed severity to me outwardly; but I know he always loved his boy in the heart of his heart, with all the fulness and fondness that there was in him." Mr. Mazumdar's memories of his mother are even more vivid and tender. He says of her: "She was a beautiful being, young, high-minded, intelligent, queenly in her features. She was unlettered, like other women of her time; but she was a lady with the high training of her caste and her position. She became a widow at about twenty-five, and loved me as a heart-stricken widow can love her growing son. She wished I should be comfortable and learn the best that a boy of my age should. But her means were very limited and she could have no hand in my education."

EDUCATION

Having passed through the usual *pathsalas* and school courses, young Mazumdar entered the Presidency College. He spent two years there, making good progress in all studies except Mathematics. His deficiency in this branch he attributes to the too frequent promotions with which he was favoured in the school department, and it was perhaps this deficiency that led him to leave college without taking a degree. Henceforth he was left to self-education and to the influence exerted by his friends and companions. For some time the latter was not of the most desirable character;

but he was soon thrown by Providence into contact with the two great souls who exerted the greatest influence on his character. They were Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Kesavchandra Sen. The former stood before him "in his character as a finished piece of workmanship, to be admired, loved and, as far as possible, imitated. Kesav was yet unfinished. But he had the fascination of a growing beautiful character," says Mr. Barrows. "He grew with and into us," says Mr. Mazumdar, "from within: he was in perpetual contact with us. He was most natural, and made everything about him as wholesome as the earth and air. He was so true, strong, warm, elevated and magnetising that he became to me really a part of myself, the better part. He was like another self to me, a higher, holier, diviner self. Yes: we grew together, he in one direction, and I in a somewhat different. I was conscious of the difference; but he grew into me, and I grew into him, in a relationship which outlived the separation of death itself."

MARRIED LIFE

Mr. Mazumdar was married when he was only eighteen years old. The union, though a child-marriage, without choice on either side, proved to be a very happy one.

CONVERSION TO BRAHMAISM

Mr. Mazumdar signed the Brahma Samaj covenant in 1859. This in itself did not lead to any severance of connection with his relatives, but when in 1862 he took his wife to the house of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore on the day of Kesavchandra Sen's appointment to the Brahma Samaj ministry, he was subjected to a good deal of persecution. The Tagore family had lost caste, even before embracing Brahmaism, through Muhammadan influence. A letter was therefore sent to young Mazumdar, while at the Tagores', to the effect that as he had violated the wishes of his guardians in taking his wife to the house of an ex-communicated man, he should no longer

return to the ancestral house. But Mazumdar "determined for once to stand on his rights. He would cross the threshold and see what came of it. But his poor wife trembled from head to foot. How could she go and show her face to women who were so furious? Her husband took her firmly by the hand and said, 'We must go.' All the houses in the neighbourhood were crowded; every house-top was full of women; every house door was full of men. They were curious to see the destiny that awaited her. There was no open violence, but that fearful boycotting which was one of the consequences of ex-communication was immediately experienced. No cook would prepare their meals. No servant would touch their clothes. The people in the neighbourhood would not talk to them. The experience was painful and humiliating. His wife, in this emergency, managed things with the firmness, heartiness and industry which have always characterised her." There has been incomparably more fearful persecution than the above in the case of many a convert to Brahmaism; but as this was all that fell to the share of Mr. Mazumdar, we have given as full a picture of it as we could.

PREPARATION FOR LIFE'S WORK

Mr. Mazumdar served for a short time at the Bank of Bengal, but he soon found out his real work—the preaching of religion—and devoted himself to it with all the zeal that characterised him. His father left him a property worth about Rs. 15,000, but much of this was wasted through the mismanagement of his guardian, so that when a settlement was effected, it was found to be worth only Rs. 10,000. With this money Mr. Mazumdar subsequently bought his "Peace Cottage" near Kesavchandra Sen's "Lily Cottage." Latterly he built another house at Kurseong, below Darjiling, and called it the "Sailasram." At the time we are speaking of, Mr. Mazumdar's chief occupation was study and writing for the *Indian Mirror*, which was first

started as a fortnightly by Kesavchandra Sen and his friends, but which gradually became a weekly and then a daily. Mr. Mazumdar's studies at this time lay mostly in the line of general literature and philosophy. It is said that he was a voracious reader of novels and read almost every book of romance known to him. This seems to explain to some extent his great command over the English language and the refinement and elegance of his style. His connection with the *Mirror*, of which he was often the editor, was also of great use to him in forming his style.

AS A PREACHER OF RELIGION

In 1865 Mr. Mazumdar, with many others, seceded from the Adi Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Kesavchandra Sen. The secession was due to the difference in the types of religion held on the one hand by the old leader, Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, and on the other by Kesav and his followers. While the religion of the former was essentially Hindu and in favour of slow and cautious progress in social matters, that of the latter was essentially Christian with a cosmopolitan flavour, and advocated radical reform in society. The immediate cause of the schism was Devendranath's re-installation of two Brahma preachers who had been dismissed for retaining their sacrificial threads, but whom Kesav and his party could not tolerate on the Samaj pulpit. After vain efforts to retain their influence in the parent Samaj the latter came out and founded in 1865 the "Brahma Samaj of India," of which Mr. Mazumdar was appointed Assistant Secretary. He also became a minister of the Samaj and began to preach about this time. His prayers and sermons were greatly appreciated, and this appreciation grew with the growth of his influence and spiritual experience. His ministrations were at first in Bengali, and sometimes in Hindi, but from about the time he was thirty, he began to deliver public addresses in English. He gradually became one of our ablest

and most eloquent speakers, and his influence was felt by vast audiences in this country, in England and in the United States of America. His delivery was slow, but dignified and impressive. He used the choicest words and the aptest figures and imagery, and all that he said was suffused with the glow of his deep emotions and spiritual experience.

AS A JOURNALIST

In or about 1872, Mr. Mazumdar began to edit and publish a yearly record of religious thought and missionary activity under the name of the *Theistic Annual*. This was followed by the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, and much later by the *Interpreter*, a monthly and, for sometime, a fortnightly journal. He also wrote for the *Dharmatattva*, the Bengali organ of the Brahma Samaj of India. When the *Indian Mirror* passed out of the hands of the Brahma leaders, and the *Liberal and New Dispensation* was started as the organ of Kesav's church, Mr. Mazumdar also wrote for it occasionally. He also contributed occasional articles on the principles of the Brahma Samaj to Anglo-Indian, English and American journals. Until 1882, when his first work, or at any rate his first important work, came out, his literary activity was confined to writing for the periodicals.

PART IN THE SECOND BRAHMA SCHISM

In 1878 the schism in the Brahma Samaj that followed the marriage of Kesavchandra Sen's eldest daughter with the then young Maharajah of Kuch Behar, took place, and the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the third great section of the Brahma community, was established. Pandit Vijaykrishna Goswami, one of Kesavchandra's closest followers, with many others who had followed him more or less closely, joined the new organisation. Mr. Mazumdar might have done the same and for a time it seemed he might do so. Though deeply attached to Kesav and indebted to him for much of what was valuable in his own life, it was very widely known that he was an independent thinker and had never blindly fol-

lowed his leader. He did not also quite approve of the marriage that formed the bone of contention. But nevertheless he clung to Kesav and condemned the schism.

EXPOSITION OF BRAHMAISM

In 1882 appeared the first book, at any rate the first important book, written by Mr. Mazumdar. It consisted mostly of his public addresses and contributions to periodical literature, recast and partly re-written, and was named *The Faith and Progress of the Brahma Samaj*. It was in three parts; (1) Speculative and Doctrinal; (2) Devotional and Practical; and (3) The New Dispensation. It thus professed to be a defence of the religion of the Brahma Samaj and an account of its missionary and other activities. But it was so only partly and rather imperfectly. On its speculative side it contained no reasoned and systematic exposition of Brahmaism, such as would convince, or even be fully intelligible to, a non-Brahma wishing to know what Brahmaism is. The writer simply stated, with his usual wealth and elegance of language, what he believed Brahmaism to be.

VISITS TO THE WEST

Mr. Mazumdar paid his first visit to England in 1874. In 1883 he re-visited England and extended his journey to America. "The memory of his visit," we quote from Dr. Barrows, "and the inspiration and enthusiasm it awakened, will still be fresh in the minds of many who read this book (Mr. Mazumdar's *Heart-beats*). He returned to India by way of San Francisco, stopping in Japan and lecturing in the University." The experiences of these two visits to the West are recorded in his interesting *Sketches of a Tour Round the World*. On returning from his second visit to the West, Mr. Mazumdar found that his great friend and leader, Kesavchandra Sen, had gone to a better world. The period following this event was the most troubled period of his life. But we shall speak of these troubles later on. In 1893, Mr. Mazumdar paid his third visit to the

West. He attended the meeting of the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, where he read a paper on the "World's Religious Debt to Asia." "In Boston," we again quote from Dr. Barrows, "he was invited to deliver four lectures on India before the Lowell Institute. So great was the interest in these lectures, that he was induced to repeat them afternoons, under the same auspices, to a crowded hall. These lectures were reported and published in the *Christian Register*" (a Unitarian weekly). They have since been published in a book form under the name of the *Lowell Lectures*.

"THE ORIENTAL CHRIST."

In 1883 was published Mr. Mazumdar's *Oriental Christ*. "This remarkable volume," says Dr. Barrows, "was at once recognised as the product of a devout mind, active intellect and a glowing imagination. It was essentially a new contribution to Christology." In Mr. Mazumdar's Christology, however, there is no appeal either to the philosophic intellect or to the historical sense of the reader. The author neither draws upon Metaphysics to show that the Logos or Universal Christ incarnates himself in, and lighteth, every man coming into the world, nor upon the newly founded science of Higher Biblical Criticism to reconstruct the real historical Christ out of the semi-mythological records of the New Testament. He simply explains, in the light of his spiritual experiences, the sayings and doings of Jesus as they are narrated in the gospels. As such, it is a very valuable book and will be read with great pleasure and profit by all devout persons. As to Mr. Mazumdar's exact position in regard to Jesus Christ, it will be found expressed in a brief but very clear form in another work of his, *The Spirit of God*. Jesus, to him, is neither the Trinitarian Christian's third person in the Godhead nor the ordinary Theist's religious teacher, one among many. To him he is the embodiment of all human excellences, the human image of God's moral perfections and the very type of perfected huma-

nity. "He is the type of humanity. Humanity broken up before and after is bound up in him, so that he is the human centre and bond of union in the religious organisations of mankind. . . . He taught us to be the sons of God. In all things did Jesus, so far as the times permitted, conform himself to the mind of God; that is to be the son of God." This is the typical Unitarian Christianity of men like Channing and Martineau, and neither ordinary Brahmanism nor ordinary Hinduism. For holding this view Mr. Mazumdar has often been accused of being a disguised Christian. But though such a view is rare among Brahmas and Hindus, we do not see that it is anyway opposed to the fundamental principles of either Brahmanism or liberal Hinduism.

DIFFERENCE WITH FELLOW-DISCIPLES

After the death of Kesavchandra Sen, serious differences about doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters broke out among his disciples and divided them into several opposed parties. The chief questions that divided them were succession to the office of the chief minister, the mode of conducting public service, the trust-deed of the Mandir, and the authority of the Apostolic Darbar or Missionary Conference. Mr. Mazumdar found himself, most unwillingly perhaps, at the head of one of these parties. As the ablest of his fellow-disciples, he might perhaps expect, and the public seemed clearly to expect, that he would be recognised as the rightful successor to the leadership of his church, but the party chiefly opposed to him, 'the Darbar party,' not only did not give him the expected recognition, but actually resolved to keep the Brahma Mandir pulpit vacant as a mark of their perpetual relation with their departed master. Mr. Mazumdar regarded and publicly represented this as the setting up of a fetish in a theistic temple, and long refused to preach there. We need not however enter into the details of these divisions, as the general public are not likely to feel any interest in them.

Suffice it to say that Mr. Mazumdar felt himself misunderstood, unappreciated, distrusted and persecuted by his colleagues, more or less, during the whole time that intervened between Kesav's death and his own, and that his usefulness suffered much from these causes. He however had a number of faithful followers with whom he prayed while he stopped in Calcutta, and who helped him in carrying on his work according to his own ideas. It may be added that he at last felt the need of some sort of constitution for his church and tried to secure it. But he was not successful in his attempts, and up to this time the more thoughtful among his followers are trying, with very indifferent success, to bring some order out the chaos and anarchy into which the affairs of the New Dispensation body have fallen. The seeds of autocracy have been too long and too thickly sown by the leaders to allow of a constitutional and representative form of church government being established without long-continued, persevering and perhaps violent efforts on the part of those who wish it.

OTHER WRITINGS

Soon after Kesav's death, Mr. Mazumdar wrote an excellent biography of him. It did not quite please his fellow-disciples, some of whom wrote, in collaboration, a lengthy life of their leader in Bengali. But the general public will find in Mr. Mazumdar's book a faithful account of the great Brahma leader's life and teachings. One great merit of the book is its impartiality and absence of strong bias, a merit which could hardly be expected in a biography written by an ardent follower and admirer. Mr. Mazumdar also wrote in the years following *Aids to Moral Character* for young people, and *Sri-Charitra-Sangathan* in Bengali for women. While in America during his third visit to the West, Mr. Mazumdar published his *Heart-beats*, which has already been referred to, and shortly after came his *Spirit of God*. The former is a collection of short para-

graphs containing reflections on religious and other matters and embodying spiritual experiences. "To me," says Dr. Barrows, "the book seems the most remarkable devotional book since that of Thomas a Kempis."

LAST DAYS AND LAST WORK

In the last years of his life, Mr. Mazumdar put his hand to a very useful work,—the foundation, with the help of others, of an Institution for the Higher Training of young men. It is now called the University Institute and is housed in a fine building in College Square, Calcutta, which would have been a great joy to him if he had lived to see it. He was for several years a President of the Institution and delivered several addresses in connection with its Moral Section. During his very last days, one of his fondest cares was to carry through the press a volume of reflections, prayers and autobiographical sketches in Bengali under the name of *Ashish* (blessings). It is said that when this book, just out of the press, was brought to him only a few days before his death, he silently and devoutly placed it upon his head. We also may place it on our heads as the last legacy of our revered countryman to us. The book is of great value, as embodying the last thoughts and experiences of the great thinker and devotee.

Mr. Mazumdar died on the 27th May, 1905, of Diabetes, from which he had long been suffering. His body was followed to the crematorium by a large number of his friends and admirers, including some leaders of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. The procession made a halt once before the Brahma Mandir of India and again before the Sadharan Brahma Samaj Mandir. At the latter place several ladies came out from the adjoining Brahma houses and paid their respects to the last remains of the great leader and preacher. Mr. Mazumdar was childless and has left only a bereaved widow. But his admirers are many and they meet every year on the anniversary of his death to honour his memory.

THE SANKHYA SYSTEM*

A REVIEW BY

PROF. T. RAJAGOPALACHARI, M.A., M.L.

HIS is a volume of the newly issued series of books, called the Heritage of India Series, under the joint Editorship of the Right Reverend V. S. Azariah, and Dr. J. N. Farquhar. "Everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic" is proclaimed in the editor's preface as the keynote of the series, and as far as the present volume is concerned, we have no hesitation in saying that this double promise is amply fulfilled. In a short compass of about a 100 pages, a mass of information is collected and arrayed from all possible source which gives a clear picture of the Sankhya philosophy and literature, and its relation to other schools of Indian thought. Dr. Keith's small volume must be welcomed as a really useful publication calculated to aid and instruct modern students in understanding the nature of the Sankhya.

Indian tradition ascribes the priority in age to the Tatwasamasa, then to the Samkhya Karikas. The Samkhya Sutras are generally accepted as the latest production. Dr. Keith however adduces reasons for the conclusion that the Tatwasamasa is a late work, probably of the 14th century, much later than the Karikas which are assigned to the fourth century A.D. Max Muller follows in his Six Systems of Indian Philosophy the Indian view that the Tatwasamasa is an early work on the Samkhya. Anyhow the Tatwasamasa is so brief and characterless that all Indian students read the Samkhya Karikas of Iswara Krishna as the principal work of authority of this School. It is this work that is quoted by San-kara, Ramanuja and other later scholars as the source of their knowledge of the Sankhya School,

The author of the Samkhya Karikas, whose style is terse but not without charm, gives no indication of his date; but it may be guessed that the school had other extensive literature of a diffuse kind, as indicated by the 'Samkhya-Smriti' refutation in the Brahma Sutras, (II. 1). We can say for certain that at the date of the Brahma Sutras, whatever that may be, the Samkhya had become crystallised as a Niresvara or God-less philosophy, postulating one active principle the Prakrti with all its modifications, and numberless Soul-entities, action-less, and pure in essence, but subject to influence by the co-ordination of the former, but no God or Supreme Soul. Liberation means the cessation of the Prakrti's action on the soul, bondage the continual play of the same entity on the soul. The Prakrti is matter, not spirit; the soul is pure spirit, liable to apparent modification by the mere presence of matter, as a sensitive and emotional individual of the world may be by the presence of an attractive female, coquettish and not too prudish. The final Liberation comes when the soul realises its independence, to the folly of its delusion, and discards the idea that the Prakrti is necessary for its existence. These fairly simple doctrines form the essence of the Samkhya and are set forth in the Karikas, and the Sutras. But the details of the system and its endless classifications of the prakrti's form and effects require careful attention, and Dr. Keith deals with them fully in his chapters on the Samkhya Karika and the Sutras.

Dr. Keith's chapter on the Shastitantra is very interesting reading. The author is said to be Vaisahaganya, and the Ahirbbdhnya Samhita, a Pancharatna work, recently published by Dr. Schrader, of the Adyar Library, Madras, is referred to as giving some indication of the

* By A. B. Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt., Heritage of India Series, Association Press, Calcutta.

nature of the 60 principles making up the system. A question is raised whether the Shastitantra is a mere name for the Sankhya or the name of an independent work of the Sankhya school. A Chinese tradition is referred to, that sage Pancha Sikha was the author of a Shastitantra, of 60,000 slokas. This no doubt contradicts the story of the authorship of Vaishaganya. Pancha Sikha is traditionally the 3rd of the Samkhyan founders, the prior ones being Kapila, and Asuri, and therefore there is nothing improbable in the early Shastitantra being a work of Pancha Sikha and of a voluminous kind, fit to be called a Smriti, as the Vedanta Sutras style it. Dr. Keith draws the important conclusion that the Shastitantra was not atheistic like the later Samkhya from the Karikas downwards, but was a theistic system. Though such a theistic Samkhya System is unknown to later literature, it is curious that later writers speak always of the Samkhya known to them as "Nirisvara Samkhya" or *a theistic Samkhya*, a qualification which would seem to be purposeless if there was no "Seshvara Samkhya." The analogy may be mentioned that the Mimamsa which is now practically atheistic, not recognising the existence of a supreme deity nor in fact any deities other than Mantric, had a precursor, "The Seshvara Samkhya," in which God-head was not disregarded. The references to the Sankhya in the Mahabharata and the Bhagavad-gita especially clearly assume that system to be Seshvara, as there is no refutation of their supposed god-less tendency. The attitude of the Brahma Sutras is therefore to be explained by the fact that the system having developed into an atheistic, the Vedanta retained its physics, and asserted its falsity in so far as the immanence of God was denied. This is the theme of the Vedantic references to Samkhya, by Badarayana, and his solicitude to explain away Vedic texts which seem to assert Samkhyan ideas or imply them in various

places, (I. 1. 5, I. 4, 1,) as for example the same Chandogya and Katha Valli texts, and also his elaborate refutation of the Samkhya Smriti in II. 1, 1, etc. All the above may be called a sort of defensive warfare of the Vedantin. Dr. Keith does not discuss the relationship to the Samkhya of the Brahma Sutras. Dr. Keith however indicates his views when he says (at p. 7): "just like the Vedanta of Sankara, or the Vedanta of Badarayana, the Samkhya is a system built on the Upanishads: from both of these it differs in that it goes radically and essentially beyond the teaching of the Upanishads." Dr. Keith also rightly criticises the Samkhyan views (at p. 87) on the ground that "no reason is given for the belief of spirit that is bound" by matter. Again, "the denial of the Samkhya of any connection between spirit and matter as in the Adwaita or Visishtadwaita forms of the Vedanta shuts off the Samkhya from any possibility of logical explanation of its main principles." These criticisms of the Samkhya, elaborated already by the Brahma Sutras, and the prevalence of the theistic Vedantic doctrines in India must have led to the decline of Samkhya in the country; and merely spasmodic life was given to it by Iswara Krishna (third century A.D.) and by other writers up to the fourteenth century, the date of the Samkhya Sutras. If writers like Ramanuja (eleventh century) elaborately refuted the Samkhya, it was in deference to the Sutras which they were commenting upon, and not because the System had much life in it as a philosophy in their days.

Among other chapters of interest, we would draw attention to chapter VI, *Greek Philosophy and the Samkhya*, where Dr. Keith discusses the probability of Greece having borrowed from the Samkhya, and comes to the conclusion that the Samkhyan influence on Greek philosophy is practically *nil* or at best negligible.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

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Cabinet or President ?

Prof. A. V. Dicey, writing in a recent number of the *Nineteenth century*, discusses whether it is desirable to introduce some of the qualities of Presidential Government into the Monarchical and Parliamentary constitution of England. The essential characteristics of the English Cabinet are (1) That it links or fuses together the English Executive and the English Legislature (2) that it can in general dissolve the Parliament by which it was created and appeal to the next. The existence of the Cabinet protects the King from responsibility for his acts, and on the other hand the vagueness of the King's powers, most of which are exercised through the Cabinet, increases the moral and the legal authority of the Cabinet. The Cabinet links the electorate and Parliament and produces harmony between the will of Parliament and the will of the people. In short, it harmonises the action of every part of the constitution.

Presidential Government means the real administration of affairs by an executive officer who may, when occasion requires, exert considerable power, but he is an official whose authority is under the constitution definitely restricted. The Presidential Government, as it exists in America contrasted with Cabinet Government as it exists in England, has the following virtues and defects. It does not appear at its best in a period of peace and it appears to good advantage in only times of war. Then the authority of the President if supported by the nation will become almost despotic. The independence of the President within the sphere of his powers not only increases the dignity of his office but limits to a considerable extent the evils of Party Government. The power and independence of the President especially in strong hands will considerably increase the sense of patriotism and of the

duty owing to the country by its chief and chosen representative. On the other hand, a Cabinet Government ensures the presence in Government of men of ability ; it educates the nation ; it possesses a special kind of flexibility which at times may be of extreme advantage. But in times of War, its defects become very obvious. It is deficient in the energy, promptness and decisiveness of action which should mark a Government then. It is based on partisanship and it is all but impossible to transmute partisanship into patriotism.

The only matter worth consideration for English people is to see whether it would not be possible in times of warfare to create a dictatorial power such as has fallen under the constitution of the United States to Abraham Lincoln and President Wilson. In spite of a final triumph, the English Cabinet did certainly exhibit weak sides during the War. The coalition of adverse parties, the creation first of a War Council and then of a War Cabinet were in the main efforts of patriotism ; the working of Parliamentary Government since the beginning of the War has exhibited the radical defect of the Cabinet, namely its constant dependence for office upon the will of the House of Commons, and Cabinet Government now-a-days even in peace does not come up to the ideal of Bagehot. The Prime minister is in reality chosen by the will of well-organised factions and the nation has come to loath party cries. The Presidential dictatorship of America has not damaged its freedom and Prof. Dicey concludes by asking the question whether it is absolutely impossible to discover some constitutional arrangement by which in times of War a real leader of the nation may be given that independence and that patriotic supremacy which was possessed by Lincoln and is possessed by Wilson.

Oriental Religions

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society for January 1919 has an interesting article by Prof. A. G. Widgery on "The Theories of Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering as found in some Oriental Religions." The writer says that the mild influence of the image of the sitting Buddha must have helped millions of suffering minds to realise a feeling of resignation and fortitude. The earliest religious attitude towards suffering was to think of it as due to disobedience or some form of wrong-doing against the Gods or as coming from deliberate malevolence of bad spirits. Sacrifices and offerings were then resorted to as means of reconciliation or propitiation. In the consciousness of some wrong committed and the desire to overcome the wrong is the beginning of a genuine feeling of repentance and it is the earliest form of the consciousness of sin. From its most primitive conception to its latest theory sin is some thought, feeling or action regarded as being disharmonious with the wishes or will of the God. The position of emphasis varies; at first, predominantly on the external acts and its consequences it is moved more and more on to the inner attitude of the will and the feeling of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Aristotle and the stoics go beyond the Socratic position of '*virtue is knowledge*' in their recognition and insistence that for the moral life the right use of the will is essential. The most thorough-going presentation that suffering is the result of our iniquities is to be found in Buddhism, Jainism and the various forms of Hinduism and in the Doctrine of Karma. Zoroastrianism traces all evil back to wrong thought, wrong words and wrong deeds. Buddhism originated in a measure and has always been preached essentially as a way of redemption from evil especially from suffering. Early Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire as the way of redemption from suffering but was opposed to methods of self-torture, for expia-

tion or the acquisition of merit. All sin has been thought off as being due to ignorance, in other words '*virtue is knowledge*.' In Hinduism, suffering is represented as an inevitable characteristic of the life of a finite being. The only redemption from suffering is escape from finitude and salvation is thus described as escape from rebirth, i.e., freedom in fact from all thought of self. There are several ways in which this may be achieved, action—Karma Yoga; emotional devotion—Bhakti Yoga and knowledge and contemplative insight—Gnana Yoga. According to the Jains, possession of true knowledge will obtain redemption. In Zoroastrianism, we find saviours who by their good deeds help in the work of final restoration of the world and who destroy the breakers of promises and servers of false idols. Mithraism which spread over a large portion of the Roman Empire and became the most formidable opponent of Christianity also contains the conception of a mediator. The Jews see in suffering not only the punishment for sin but also a means of divine preparation for the religious mission in the world. Amongst many Sunnis and Shyyas the Prophet Mahmet has a particular function in the salvation and redemption of men.

Drink and Housing

Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee, Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University, writing on the Housing Question in a recent issue of the *Modern Review*, testifies to the demoralising effect of the drink traffic upon the workmen in Indian cities. Grog shops are many, he says, and they are situated so near the lines where the people have to live that drunkenness and debauchery are the inevitable result. We would also draw attention in this connection to the inquiries recently set on foot by the Calcutta Temperance Federation. The moral of it all is: shut up the drink shop and open the social institute. Improve the housing conditions and remove temptations. In short, make it easy for the people to do right and hard for them to do wrong.

Missionary Organisation and Life

A writer in *The International Review of Missions* (January 1919) describes the character of the present-day methods of missionaries and missionary organisation and declares that "organisation which not only ignores the fundamental spiritual laws of Christian character and obligation, but substitutes for them motives and appeals drawn from business conceived in its old and gross commercial and competitive aspects, is costly to set up and operate, and no matter what its returns, is a foolish missionary expedient." The present day tendency among missions is to sell foreign missions to the whole Christian public by publicity and advertisement, by prudent use of the lessons of mass psychology by parish organisation and methods of benevolence and by the rational adaptations of the principles of business efficiency and organisation.

Jesus Himself rejected all forms of influence and subjected Himself to conditions which deprived Him of any method of action except simple personal influence. Money in any capacity, and least of all as a method of influence, was of no interest to Him. As for organisation, that too He treated with silent indifference. St. Paul was surely an organiser, he sought out capable young men and laid responsibility upon them, he dealt with all levels of society and used the means of access which were necessary. He worked out systems of supervision and responsibility and moved about personally and through his missionaries in a programme of comprehensive and skilful world evangelisation. But the question is not that modern methods of efficiency and publicity should be rejected; The problem for missionary organisation is, not between the employment and the refusal of all conceivable instrumentalities of efficiency and influence; but it is a problem of the spirit and the end, the proportion and the actual result.

Beware of Bolshevism

The January number of *Business* contains a very interesting and thoughtful article on "Is Bolshevism Democracy? Six Cardinal Points," by Mr. A. H. S. Hinchliffe, B. A. The writer first speaks in glowing terms of the virtues of democracy and applies its six main principles to Bolshevik ideals of Government. The first principle, he writes, is "self-preservation," and the Bolsheviks who, far from ready to face public danger themselves, lay themselves out to prevent others from preserving the State and destroy discipline and efficiency, cannot have any claim to this ideal. The next three principles are from the democracy of France: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Applying these principles to Bolsheviks, he remarks:—

In their actions they pull down everyone of those things which are accepted as the practical proof of Liberty. Trial by Jury, one of the most prized possessions of the liberty-loving English, they dispense with summarily. Freedom of the Press another sign of liberty, they obliterate. Freedom of the individual, they interpret to mean confinement within the walls of prison. Freedom of speech they agree with, so long as the speaker is a Bolshevik. Never is a Bolshevik hypocritical as when he speaks of liberty, scheming all the while how he may pull down every edifice erected by its devotees.

The fifth and sixth principles are culled from Mr. Lloyd George and America respectively, Honesty and Unity, and Mr. Hinchliffe, after careful examination and comparison, comes to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks deplorably lack these cardinal democratic ideals. This article is concluded with the following beautiful paragraph:

"In these days, when royalties are a slump upon the market, and traditions are being overturned daily, we hear much talk of Democracy and Democratic ideals. We feel that we have fought for such ideals and those of us who have been permitted to survive are expected to find consolation in the fact that our efforts have made the world 'safe for democracy'. If they have, I, for one, am more than content, but the democracy which we have fought for must be the real thing: there must be no cheap substitutes. Like men who have been tramping over a scorching desert and see water ahead, we feel that our thirst will soon be relieved, but it can only be so if the water is pure, if it is salt and we drink it, we shall only find ourselves in a worse plight than before. Beware of Bolshevism; it is as salt as the Dead Sea itself."

The Lot of the Indian Labourer

The January number of *The Social Service Quarterly* contains three very informing articles on the all important question of Indian labour, i.e., one on "Factory Legislation" by Mrs. R. M. Gray, the second an editorial note on "National Minimum for Indian Labour" and the third on "Housing of Factory Workers" by A. E. Mirams, F. S. I., F. S. A. Mrs. R. M. Gray first speaks of the early stages of industrial revolution in England and thinks that the bad conditions of Indian labour in the Indian mills are nothing when compared to the low and intense economic depression of the former before the time of factory legislation. The principle underlying all factory laws, she says, has up till now been the protection of the younger and weaker workers from injury by overwork or unwholesome conditions. The conditions of men's labour remain unchanged. The Indian Factory Commissions of 1891 and 1908, she further writes, expressly repudiated the idea that they had any intention of interfering with men's work, though they acknowledged that the men's hours were far too long. The remedies suggested for improving the hard lot of the Indian labourer are the creation of sound public opinion which is invariably followed by legislation, and trade unionism following on compulsory education. Turning to the present condition of Indian workmen, she remarks :

At the present moment all classes of operatives are equally inarticulate in India. They submit with such extraordinary patience to their hard conditions that it has been possible even for enlightened people to argue that they like the life. But after all, they are human beings, and it is hard to imagine that any human being really wants to rise long before dawn, hurry half-fed and half-rested through the dark streets to his work, snatch another short spell of sleep on the stones outside the factory doors, work at a dull, mechanical task, for 12, 13, 14 hours, amid crashing machinery, stifling heat, and flying dust and then return at dark to his home so weary that he can only get sleep enough to be able to resume his Sisyphean task. Is this what any of us call Life?

The editor in a thoughtful note on "National Minimum for Indian Labour" discusses the ideal towards which efforts at social reconstruction may

be directed. Commenting on the Industrial Commission Report with reference to the question of the welfare of workers in factories, he remarks :

The effect of the halting recommendations they make in respect of hours of work, education and housing may be only to perpetuate the existing state of things and to enable employers of labour to take refuge behind the tone of hesitancy adopted by the Commission and resist all demands at enforcement of the national minimum.

Further, the Industrial Commission, he then proceeds to observe, believe in the statement that the Indian workman is such an irrational and perverse human being that once his wages are increased his output diminishes, that he only earns enough to feed him and his, and that he is "content" with a very low standard of living. This standpoint leads the Commission to support another charge put forward by employers against labour. The Indian workman does not actually work for twelve hours as permitted by Factory laws as he is naturally inclined to waste much of his time during his work. As regards the Commission's attitude towards the shortening of the working day for labourers, the writer states :

"The Commission fail to treat the workers as human beings with social interests and with a desire for leisure and recreation like other men, and can only look upon the reduction of the working day as an act of grace on the part of the employer."

Mr. A. E. Mirams, writing on "Housing of Factory Workers", discusses in detail that part of the Commission's report which treats about housing problems, and thus summarises the main remedies suggested therein :

They are of opinion that the ideal to be aimed at is a single or at most double storied building with court-yards, or if possible, double-room units; and in any case ample space round the buildings; that, further inasmuch as the City of Bombay is directly interested in the question of housing its operatives, the Municipality and the Improvement Trust should bear the largest share in the cost of erecting and maintaining industrial dwellings, and that the Bombay Government should render such assistance as they may be able to spare. All that the employers are expected to do is to pay any additional taxation it may be necessary to impose upon them, contingent on the resources of the local authorities, together with Government assistance, not being sufficient for the purpose of carrying out the programme of building contemplated.

The Future of Russia

Dr. Sudhindra Bose has contributed a very thoughtful paper to the February number of the *Modern Review*, in which he takes a bird's eye view of Russia, her stained past, her strange metamorphosis, and her future hope from the standpoint of President Wilson's ideal of the League of Nations. The old Russian Government, he says, was one of absolute bureaucracy, of base and abominable despotism, and autocracy was the hall-mark of the Romanoff family.

When Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914, it was greeted with enthusiasm in Russia. The reasons for such a loyal support of the war on the part of the people are not far to seek. The strong belief that Kaiser incited the Czar in his aggressive policy in the Far East which brought about the Russo-Japanese War, and the increasing German influence in Constantinople and in the internal Government of the country settled the mind of the Russian Nation, and all Russia joined, with heart and soul, in the momentous issue of the overthrow of Kaiserism. But as long as there were victories, Russia was safe. When the Russian armies met with defeat after defeat, the whole complexion of the Russian Government changed, and it was accused of corruption and incompetence. The Russian people began to talk of radical changes in the government, and a coalition in the Duma, composed of Conservatives, Radicals and Moderates, was formed to get rid of Nicholas II. Discontent became widespread in the country and riots and strikes were in evidence in the early part of 1917. The Duma was asked to be dissolved, but it refused and began to defy the Czar. A provisional Government was set up by the executive Council of the Duma, and the Czar was asked to abdicate, which he did. It initiated many excellent reforms, but soon found an enemy in the Petrograd

Council, organised by the Soviets. The former was for continuing the war, while the latter was for securing peace. Among the Russian socialists there were two parties, the Bolsheviks, in favour of complete socialism and absolute political democracy, and the Mensheviks in favour of a gradual and moderate reform programme. The Bolshevik party grew stronger and stronger and the October Revolution in 1917 swept the Provisional Government out of existence. The new Bolshevik Government stopped all military operations and sued Germany for peace. The treaty was signed, and Germany obtained command over Russian economic resources.

The main reason for making such a precipitate peace seems to be that the Bolsheviks wanted to get Russia out of war. Once that was finished, they desired to overhaul the internal system of the Russian Government in the light of their social ideals and dreams and, if need be, to force their ways of thinking by violence and revolution. The army has been completely democratised. Local Government has been placed in the hands of the Soviets. Everywhere socialistic experiments are being tried on a large scale. Banking has been nationalised. It is the avowed object of the Bolsheviks to render the bourgeoisie, the exploiting class, powerless, and they have excluded them from all political power.

But the present chaotic condition of Russia, in spite of the fall of Czardom and the declarations for the rights of small nationalities and self-determination for all the peoples, calls for immediate solution at the hands of President Wilson who has promised to help her. As the great President said :—

"What we are about to do has as its single and only object the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavours to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny."

Dr. Sudhindra Bose concludes :—

"To be sure, Russia is passing through a spell of social sickness, but unless all signs fail, Russia will recover."

England's Mission in India

In discussing the "Goal of India" in the special Indian number of *Overseas*, published by the Overseas Club and Patriotic League in London, the Rev. D. E. S. Holland, the late Principal of the St. Paul's College, Calcutta, has some illuminating points to offer for solution to the British democracy. As a preface, he expresses his political conviction that the transference of power from the British bureaucracy to the Indian people will inaugurate an era of inefficient rule, if not misrule; and as the only one alternative to it, he puts down the ideal that it is "our own continued domination, not self-determination in India but a foreign rule, beneficent no doubt, as heretofore, but that is the very claim that Germans advance as their right to dominate the world". He asks whether England which fought so nobly for the overthrow of race domination will herself follow in the path of Germany for perpetuating bureaucratic ideals in India, and asks again: "Is our championship of the right of Nations only political camouflage for war propaganda against Germany?" He himself answers this question:

"No, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman once so well said, good Government is no substitute for self-government. If we have to choose between the loaves and fishes of fat and soft security under domination and all the ennobling pains and risks that make us men, we will choose the arduous path to freedom every time." And because we know it is the highest good, we must choose that for others as well as for ourselves so far as they are in our hands."

The Rev. Mr. Holland concludes his interesting paper with the following appeal for the introduction of progressive ideals in the Government of this country:

"Nor will India any longer be content with the offer of security and comfort in place of freedom. It is too late to go back upon world's pronouncement in favour of popular government; and the thought-nerves of the world that have so decided now run through India from end to end. This is the exhilarating task that now confronts British statesmanship, the training for freedom of one-fifth of the entire world's population of peoples, besides whose hoary civilisation, milleniums old, we seem to be but a mushroom growth of yesterday. And we shall not shrink it!"

The Historicity of Salivahana

In the current number of *The South Indian Research*, (a monthly Journal devoted to all kinds of research) there is an article of great historical interest written by the Editor and entitled "Salivahana: Who is he?" The writer refers to the religious significance of the word *Salivahana Saka* which Hindus come across in the performance of religious ceremonies, and then proceeds to determine who that great personality is, whose fame and good deeds deserve an era, whether he was a God or an ordinary mortal, there are any fragments of his illustrious history, and so forth. If we have no other story about Salivahana, he says, the mythical traditions that have sprung about this great personality might have confused historical criticism. He also points out that "popular traditions and recent literature give us these stories as the history of Salivahana, but books written four or five centuries before our time associate these fables with a certain King Satavahana." He then narrates two stories that speak of Satavahana and other two that relate to Salivahana.

After giving a short summary of these important evidences, the Editor cites epigraphical evidences which only speak of Satavahana, not Salivahana. Then, what is our next goal? he asks, and then proceeds to consider the evidences that show that Salivahana is Satavahana. The chief evidences are:

1. The Prabanda Chintamani of Merutunga Acharya (1362 Salivahana Saka).

2. Poet Srinatha's reference about Salivahana in one of his poetical works (1334 of the same era).

By means of these positive historical proofs, the identity of Salivahana with Satavahana and the existence of a book called *Saptasati* under the authorship of Salivahana are proved.

Government Control in War & Peace

The vast expansion of Government control in the economic sphere which has taken place during the War is without parallel in the history of the world. In the period of transition which has followed immediately on the declaration of peace, some proportion of that control is justified. One school of thought claims that this control should be permanently retained. Professor A. C. Pigon explains and criticises in the last number of *The Economic Journal* three distinct types of Government control, *viz.*, (1) administrative intervention by Government in industry designed to increase production, (2) Government interference with the allocation of supplies between different industries, different firms and different individual consumers—which may be grouped together under the general name of rationing and (3) Governmental regulation of prices.

(1) The underlying motive of intervention in the first case has been to force capital enterprise and labour forthwith into the production of particular urgently needed things. Government has also intervened with a view to breaking down various rules and customs which have been built up by trade-unions for the protection of working people and which are believed to hamper output. There is no particular reason why government should not return, so far as administrative intervention to stimulate production is concerned, to the general attitude which it was accustomed to before the War. The quasi-public administrative control of railways during the War may be continued even after the return of normal peace conditions; whether this should be developed into definite nationalisation may be regarded as an open question.

(2) The question of rationing in the permanent peace practice of the country is permanently bound up with the question of price control. The solution will be quite different according as

prices are or are not limited in such a way, that, at the legalised price, the quantity of the things demanded is greater than the quantity offered for sale. Not all price control involves this kind of limitation. The distinction is not between control and absence of control over prices, but between a kind of control that causes demand at the controlled price to exceed supply and absence of this control. In industries which obey the law of increasing returns, obstruction to purchase will actually increase the price to others and lessen the supplies available for them. In industries which obey the law of diminishing returns, rationing which limits the consumption of some, would, even as a permanent policy, benefit others. The technical difficulties of building up a permanent rationing system will be very great. The rationing of materials to various firms engaged in the same industry, and the rationing of them between different industries as a whole would present much greater difficulties.

(3) *Price Control.* The main motive of price-control is a desire to prevent profiteering. Permanent Government control over the price of things produced under competitive conditions, is not required as a preventive of profiteering, because for competitive industries as a whole, competitive conditions are themselves an adequate preventive, while Government control is objectionable, because it will hamper production. But there is a strong case for State action to regulate the charges which may be made for monopolised and partially monopolised articles, and the case for Government control over these has been strengthened to some small extent by the experience of the War.

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The History of Indian Guilds

A recent number of the *Bengal Economic Journal* has from the pen of Mr. J. C. Sinha a description of the guild-system as it existed in the industrial life of India from very ancient times. He says that the Laws of Manu (first century A.D.) and Yajnavalkya (200—300 A.D.) give us a glimpse of the laws of early Indian corporations. The earliest apparent reference to guilds is in the Brahmanas which were composed *circa* 800—500 B.C. The word Shresthin occurring in certain of the passages of the Brahmanas has been explained as meaning the headman of a guild. In the post-Vedic period, we come across distinct references to guilds which are mentioned in the Dharma Sutras and in the great epics. There are also frequent allusions to guilds in the early Buddhist literature. In the age of the *Jathakas*, the most important handicrafts were organised into guilds which had powers of arbitration even in purely social matters. Going next to the Artha Shastra, we find numerous references to guilds of artisans which were very wealthy institutions. In Manu, the laws of the guild stand on a footing of equality with the laws of castes and of families. In the Narada-Smrithi which belongs to about 500 A.D., there is an interesting description of the rules of apprenticeship. But this of course does not prove that there existed associations of craftsmen. In the Brihaspathi-Smrithi which belongs to a somewhat later period, there is an allusion to a board of advisers, the companies of artisans and other associations.

There are also numerous inscriptions giving us positive proofs of the existence of guilds during the early Hindu period. In the Nasik Cave Inscription of Ushawadatta, there is reference to guilds which received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them for generations. As early as the tenth century and possibly in much earlier times, there were in South India

professional guilds. In the Sukranithi which in its present form belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D., artisans were to decide their disputes according to the usages of their guild. Alburuni writing about 1030 A.D. also speaks of eight guilds. But all these evidences do not give us detailed information about the nature and organisation of the guild. It is probable that their constitution was similar to that of a political and religious body. In the Muhammadan period, guilds continued to exist. In the Ain-i-Akbar of Abul Fasil, there is a distinct reference to guilds. Burnier, the French traveller, found during the 17th century traces of the guild system. In the British period, the history of Indian guilds is a history of their gradual decline. The chief causes of their decline are the rise of the modern class of merchants and manufacturers, improvements in communication and the rapid increase in the machine-made increase into India as well as the spread of individualism, modern ideas of personal selfishness, the gradual denationalisation of the Indians and their distaste for Indian handicrafts. There were, besides craft guilds, merchant guilds also in India and the former arose before the formation of the latter. The organisation and the function of the Indian guilds are in many respects similar to those of European guilds. The guilds now devote their attention mainly to their social and religious functions and they do not exercise any important trade functions at all.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

- THE EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL. By K. G. Sankara Aiyar, B.A., B.L. [The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, January 1919.]
- THE RECOVERY OF INDIAN WOMEN. By Annie Besant [East and West, January 1919.]
- CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA. By Prof. H. A. Hanson M.A., S.T.B. [The Modern Review, February 1919.]
- INDIAN CASTE AND DIVINE RIGHT. By Channing Arnold, [Business, January 1919.]
- PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL REFORM. By the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Justice T. Sadashivier, [The Theosophist, February 1919.]
- THE SINHALESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. By the Editor, [The Young Lanka, January 1919.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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Moslems and Turkey

An important memorial has been sent to Mr. Balfour by H. H. Aga Khan and other Moslems regarding the future of Turkey. The document urges :—

We have read with great concern the suggestions recently put forward in the Press from various irresponsible quarters regarding the future of Constantinople to the effect that it should be taken from its present possessors, in spite of the Ottomans being the most populous single nationality in Constantinople, and be made over to some Christian people or State, or be placed under international control. We therefore feel it our duty to point out at the earliest opportunity, that such a course, if adopted, would be in direct conflict with the vital principle of Nationality placed in the fore-front of the war-aims of the Allies and would cause not only among the Moslems of India but also among Mussalmans throughout the world grave dissatisfaction.

In the course of four centuries Constantinople has undergone complete transformation and is now in all essentials a Moslem City. It is honeycombed with Moslem institutions and is covered on all sides with memorials of their Faith. Its population is predominantly Turkish by race and Moslem by faith as was recently admitted in the clearest terms in the House of Commons.

The solemn declaration of the Prime Minister made only a short time ago that the Turkish nation will retain their sovereignty unimpaired in their home-land with Constantinople as the capital of their territories, had a re-assuring effect on the Musselman population of India and elsewhere, and we feel certain that any departure from that memorable pronouncement would create the gravest disappointment. The Mussalmans who have shed their blood or helped with their resources in the defence of the Empire

are entitled to expect that the principle of national unity and freedom will be maintained in the case of Turkey as in the case of the European peoples. Any other course would give rise to a most painful impression that the high principles and lofty ideals which secured for the Allied cause the adhesion and loyal co-operation of the larger part of the Moslem world were abandoned in the case of Turkey because she is a Moslem State. We feel confident, however, that no racial or religious prejudices will be allowed to impair the trust of the Moslem nations in the good faith of the Allies and that the settlement of this momentous world-problem will be based on the principles of justice and equity, and of national unity and national rule laid down by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

In Asia from the Northern Borders of Syria Proper up to the Aegean and the Black Sea, along the Southern littoral as far as the frontiers of Azerbaijan, the population, numbering roughly, 19 to 20 millions, is in some districts exclusively and in others preponderantly Turkish in race and Moslem in faith. In Thrace also the conditions are the same; the population is predominantly Turkish. We respectfully submit that the whole of this territory with Constantinople as its capital should be left in the hands of the Turkish nation in accordance with the declaration of the Prime Minister. The right of nations based on nationality to remain under their own governments and to possess the power of self-determination proclaimed and insisted upon by the Allies applies equally to Christians and Moslems. We do not ask for a new status for the Turkish nation; we urge that the Turkish nation should have the same rights as Christian nationalities to hold the territories which they inhabit exclusively or where they form the preponderant portion of the population, as they have done heretofore.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Hon. Mr. Sastry on the Rowlatt Bills

The Rowlatt Bills have been strongly condemned all over the country and as might be expected the speeches made in the Imperial Legislative Council by non-official Indian members in opposing this retrograde measure were of a high order. The Indian members strongly maintained their opposition to the introduction of any repressive legislation in addition to those already in the hands of the executive. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry in opposing the Hon. Mr. Vincent's Bill No. 1 made a very impressive speech which was listened to with interest by officials and non-officials alike. We have no space here for the full text of the speech, at the conclusion of which, the reports say, "there was an outburst of applause in which the European members and even some officials were compelled to join." We extract a few paragraphs:—

My Lord, as I have read these things, whenever a repressive law is in exercise, every single exercise of it is at once openly challenged, a public enquiry is probably held anyhow, a committee is appointed to take evidence. What happens in India? A press law is passed. Ten years afterwards in the Supreme Legislative Council an enquiry to be conducted by a mixed commission appointed by the Council is asked for and Your Excellency's Government come forward and say, "We will not appoint a committee, we will not face an inquiry into this affair." Now that kind of thing is not a circumstance which encourages us to go forward and place summary powers in the hands of the executive, because we fear with some experience behind us that you will not submit your actions to the scrutiny of the public, as every exercise of arbitrary power should be submitted.

Then we are told with almost pathetic simplicity quite worthy of a parental Government, "why need the innocent fear?" The honest man need not walk in fear of these repressive measures. They are meant only to punish the wicked and they will be used only to punish the wicked. Let the virtuous go about as usual in the exercise of their work." I wish that this idyllic picture were true in India or anywhere. Now, My Lord, a bad law once passed is not always used against the bad, in times of panic, to which all alien Governments are unfortunately far too liable in times of panic, caused it may be by very slight incidents. I have known Government's lose their heads. I have known a reign of terror being brought about. I have known the best, the noblest Indians, the highest characters amongst us brought under suspicion, standing in hourly dread of the visitations of the C.I.D. I remember in my own time—it is not a very long

experience I have of these matters, but I can remember—a very valued friend of mine now alas! no more, a saint amongst men telling me with almost tears in his eyes, "I have borne a good character all along, but I have recently become a suspect of the C.I.D. and my life is passed in bitterness and sorrow." Why? Because the Government started a policy of suspicion generally in the locality and when they sent their minions of the C.I.D., none, not even the most trusted friends of the Government, were safe. I can remember, My Lord, in the year 1908 when I went round organising District Congress Committees, such a blight had fallen on the political world. The C.I.D. had been so active, the repressive policy of the Government had been so manifest that it was impossible in many places to get people to come together to a public meeting. "Oh no, not now, not now," they said. A gentleman high in office at that time and about to retire from service, met me in the middle of the night on one occasion. I was quite surprised and he told me, "my dear fellow, I have been longing to see you these three or four days that you have been here, but this place swarms with spies and police informers. I am nearing my pension and have many children. I do not wish to be mixed up with a member of the Servants of India Society to their knowledge." But it is all very well to say that the innocent are safe. I tell you, My Lord, when the Government undertakes a repressive policy, the innocent are not safe. Men like me would not be considered innocent. The innocent man then is he, who forswears politics, who takes no part in the public movements of the times, who retires into his house, mumbles his prayers, pays his taxes and salaams all the Government officials all round. The man who interferes in politics, the man who goes about collecting money for any public purpose, the man who addresses a public meeting then becomes a suspect.

* * *

There is one remark Sir, which I must make and that in justice to the feeling in the country, of which for the moment I am the spokesman. I do not think the Hon'ble the Law Member could have meant all that he said when he said, that some of us were indulging in threats of agitation. I venture to think that no one here, who has spoken against the Bill indulged in anything, which might truthfully be described as a threat of agitation. None of us certainly, none of the Moderates, I take leave to say, has power to go and stir up a violent agitation in the country. It is impossible. The agitation must be there already. The heart must be throbbing, if any words that we use here can possibly have any effect on the general political atmosphere. The agitation is there. I wish to assure my official colleagues we had no share in it, but if our appeals fall flat, if the Bill goes through, I do not believe there is anyone here who would be doing his duty, if he did not join the agitation. That is not a threat. I take leave to think that is by no means a threat. Anyhow I am the best judge of my own mind and I do not indulge in any threats. I have yet borne no part in this agitation. But if everything goes wrong, if we are face to face with this legislation, how it is possible for me with the views that I hold, to abstain from agitation, I for one cannot say.

FEUDATORY INDIA

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Mysore and Communal Representation

In the rules prescribing the qualifications of voters and candidates at the Municipal elections in Mysore State under new Regulations extending the scope of local Self-Government in the State, some recognition has been accorded to the principle of communal representation. At first, the Government vigorously opposed communal representation in local bodies and municipalities. The present rule states that, if in any division of the municipality divided for electoral purposes into divisions under the foregoing rule, not less than 50 percent and in a municipality not so divided not less than 25 percent of the total number of persons eligible to vote belong to any one section of the inhabitants, then such voters may apply to the Government, provided that application is made by not less than three-fourths of the then total number for permission to elect one or more members of such section, and the Government may, thereupon, pass such orders as they deem fit.

Travancore State Finances

An official memorandum on the Travancore State's transactions of the year 1093 corresponding to 1917-1918 shows that in spite of war conditions the year was a prosperous one. The revenue was Rs. 1,65,90,000 and the ordinary expenditure Rs. 1,61,56,000, resulting in a surplus of Rs. 4,34,000. If the capital expenditure on the railway extension to Trivandrum be included in the last year's disbursement, the result is a deficit of Rs. 4,36,000. The Darbar balance has thus fallen from Rs. 43,83,000 at the beginning of the year to Rs. 39,47,000.

The total assets of the Darbar amount to Rs. 1,34,36,000 and the liabilities to Rs. 94,90,000 excluding the closing balance. These figures do not include the Darbar's liability till March last of Rs. 1,18,56,000 on account of the Shencottah-Quilon Railway and also Rs. 80 lakhs invested on the Kodayayar irrigation works. Another Rs. 50

lakhs incurred by the Darbar is the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum.

Last year's income exceeded that of the previous year by Rs. 246,000 and the expenditure last year was Rs. 832,000 more than the year previous.

Co-operation in Travancore

The Travancore Government have issued a review of the work done by the Department of Co-operation during the past official year. There were 44 societies of which 33 were agricultural. Owing to the rush of applicants to join the non-agricultural credit societies and also to avoid the danger of permitting such credit associations to assume an unmanageable size, action was taken to prescribe a limit to the membership of some primary societies till they were able to establish a good business reputation. A co-operative conference was held last year with the Dewan as president. The Government observe that the Department continued to progress during the past year.

Iron Works in Mysore

Mr. Berlin, the Iron Expert, is expected next month in India when he will work out details of the Mysore Government iron scheme and carry out the installation of machinery at Bankipur where the Mysore Government iron works will be located. The scheme, it is understood, is entirely financed by the Mysore Government and its management will be under the control of a Board of three representatives of the Mysore Government and two of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. The Company will act as agents of the Mysore Government for the manufacture of pig-iron.

A Weaving School for Pulayas

His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has sanctioned a separate weaving school for Pulayas. This school will be under the management of a European Missionary of C. M. Society working in Travancore. Two other schools also for fibre and yarn industries were opened in pursuance of a scheme by the Travancore Government for the promotion of cottage industries.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Merchants in S. Africa

Mr. E. J. Asvat, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, has sent the following cable dated February 11, to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, "The Indian Review": Legal proceedings under the precious Base Metals Act of 1898 resulted against Indian merchants of long standing at Krugersdorp area. The effect of judgment is the virtual ruination of the mercantile community throughout Wit Waters Rand. The Transvaal Ordinance IX of 1912, the Relief Act and other laws affecting Indian community are being rigorously enforced, the object being the elimination of Indian trade to the benefit of European competitors. The British Indian community emphatically protest against this cruel reactionary policy. It is significant that action had been taken almost simultaneously with the armistice. The community submits such policy as a poor mark of appreciation of Indian sacrifices for the Empire during the war. The community earnestly appeals for protection, meanwhile endeavouring to get the matter ventilated before the bar of the Assembly of Capetown. Please help in every possible way.

South African Indian Congress

The South African Indian Congress representing the Transvaal, Natal, and the Cape Province, passed a resolution asking the Government to amend the laws which were operating oppressively against them, including the Act prohibiting free movement of Indians throughout the Union. The Congress decided to send at least two delegates each from the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Province to attend a special session of the Indian National Congress in London in order to support the claims for Indian autonomy. The delegates will also be authorised to plead the cause of South African Indians. The Congress passed a further resolution to urge the Imperial Government not to cede German South-West Africa to the Union until "the obnoxious laws" in the Union were repealed.

Indian Troops in Africa

On the termination of his command of the East African Expeditionary Force, General Van Deventer, Commander-in-Chief, sent the following message to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India:—

"On the termination of my command of the East African Force, I tender you my sincerest thanks for your ungrudging assistance and constant co-operation. The troops sent from India have borne their full share of the hardships of a campaign in which the fighting has been severe and the physical difficulties enormous and have played a gallant part in the conquest of German East Africa. I am proud to have had them under my command. I beg that you will convey my warmest gratitude to those who by their generous gifts have alleviated the sufferings of the sick and wounded and contributed to the comfort of those in the field."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied: "I thank you for your cordial message. It has always been a pleasure to us to help you whenever we could. The troops sent from India are proud to have had the opportunity of taking part in these ably conducted operations upon the successful conclusion of which the army in India tender you their heartiest congratulations."

Transvaal British Indians

At the annual general meeting of the Transvaal British Indian association, at which some 800 were present, including representatives of the various bodies in the Transvaal, N. A. Cama, who presided, gave a brief resume of the association's activities during the previous year, and dwelt upon the loss sustained by the community in the death of A. M. Cachalia, Serabjee, Esuph Hassim and other staunch supporters of the association.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

An Industrial Charter

The important features of a proposal submitted by Dr. Sidney Webb for industrial reconstruction are :—

I. The prevention of unemployment by a programme of public works undertaken in periods of slack private industry.

II. The maintenance of the standard rates of wages which shall be a minimum and not a maximum, and which shall be decided by a "joint board of employers and employees, to which all employers in the industry and all trade unions claiming to include any considerable number of workers in it should be invited to take part."

III. A constitution for factory and industry in which there shall be written guarantees of universal acceptance of trade unionism and provision for Conference with workshop committees on technical problems.

IV. No limitation of output.

V. Freedom for every worker to take or leave employment and freedom for the employer to use any and all machinery and to hire any employee, provided that the new employee will immediately join the union.

The Fibre Possibilities of India

The sowing conditions created by the war have emphasised the great importance of the investigation of fibre resources of the Empire, and India with its present monopoly of jute cultivation and its wide variety of climatic conditions offers a compromising field for investigation. It has accordingly been decided to extend the scope of Mr. Fillow's work (Fibre Expert) with a view to the thorough exploitation of the fibre possibilities of India. His investigations will extend throughout India, but his duties under the scheme will be purely advisory and his headquarters will remain at Dacca in order that his important work in connection with Bengal jute may not be interrupted.

Development of Indian Industries

The proposal put forward by the Indian Industries Commission to set up an Industrial Board to undertake the responsibility for framing and carrying out a programme of industrial development in India, will, if adopted, lay the foundation of a new scheme, in which Engineers will play a leading part. It is suggested, indeed, that the actual administrative work of the new organisation, which would be entirely decentralised, would be in the hands of officers whose qualifications would be gauged by their knowledge of mechanical engineering. The proposal has been received with much interest, and it is good news to those who have worked with the object of improving the status of the Engineer that the disadvantages of casual recruiting for these Indian appointments are to be overcome by the formation of an Imperial Industrial Service. The field to be covered is very wide, and its extent is hardly more than suggested by the summary of the Report of the Commission, which is all that is at present available ; but it is clear that attention is being focussed on the development of industries, the absence of which has been shown to be a grave danger in time of War, and that industrial and technical education and training, research work, the collection and circulation of commercial intelligence, housing and welfare schemes, and the improvement of transport, are included in the other provisional plans. Other important questions which are raised are the extent to which the State should participate in manufacturing operations, under which head a policy of severe restriction is recommended, and the reform of the system on which Government stores have been purchased in the past. It is admitted that the old method of making such purchases has tended to retard industrial development in India.—*The Times.*

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Education in India

Mr. H. M. Leake, M.A., F.L.S., Principal, Agricultural College, Cawnpore, contributes a very informing article of practical interest in the January quarterly number of *The Agricultural Journal of India*, wherein he collects and analyses all the materials available for a policy of agricultural education.

One of the functions of education ought to be, Mr. Leake points out, to render the individual a useful citizen. Education, considered from a national aspect, must be diverse, and, in its practical aspect, consists in placing before the youth of the country the essentials for the development of the mind in a form which will leave the individual in a condition in which he will render useful service as a citizen. After dealing in detail on various ideals that should form the main objects of educational policy, the writer takes up the subject of agricultural education and the facilities there are for its future progress. He observes that true attempts have been made to introduce agriculture in the school curriculum and have come to grief from failure to distinguish between teaching agriculture and supplying an education suiting the pupil to return to the land. The first conclusion, therefore, arrived at is that "the present educational system totally fails to satisfy the needs of the largest single element, if not the major portion of the community. It is true there is an agricultural college, but that is a coping stone without the underlying structure." After referring to the importance of agricultural education, and legitimate functions of agricultural institutions, Mr. Leake points out that "the primary object of such schools will be to raise the receptivity of the younger generation of agriculturists and the method of attainment must be through education under conditions which retain the association with the land." As regards the organisation of an agricultural school of this type, he states that "the courses of instruction are to be

educational and the students are to be introduced to an appreciation of a standard of country life, something superior to the ordinary village life they have known, by a process of familiarity." He then describes the main features of such an organisation by a description of such a school as he conceived it, its educational and environmental aspects and its provisions for a ladder by which those intellectually qualified can arise. He winds up his interesting article with the remark that "it is essentially a case for trial and experiment, the establishment of a few schools of the type described and their gradual extension in that direction which experience shows to be most desirable. What is essential is a clear comprehension of the fundamental principles which underlie the problem—a comprehension so sharp that it can be used as a test during each stage in the experiments."

Agricultural Banks.

H. H. the Aga Khan writes in his new book on *India in Transition* :—

In the autonomous provinces of the India of to-morrow the great work of the I.C.S. ought to be not alone the carrying on of surveys for settlement of the so-called land-tax or rent, but still more, that of guiding and assisting the agricultural banks in making the necessary advances for legitimate and long-overdue improvements. And these banks must constitute, far more than at present, a vitalising agency, ready to advance money, ready to advise improvement, ready to bring the surveyor and the expert to the help of the peasant. In each district there should be a central institution with touring specialists working in hearty co-operation with the agricultural department, and ready to advance money for necessary improvements at quite moderate rates. The advances they make should have a statutory relation to the rates at which Government borrows from the public.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Indian Women and War. By John Travers (Mrs. G. H. Bell.) Oxford University Press.

In this book John Travers treats mainly with the glorious part that Indian women took in the great War in sending their sons, brothers and husbands to the battlefields of Europe. In the chapter on "Great Women and War," there is a very good survey of the military achievements of some Indian women of old.

Cartoons from "Hindi Punch" for 1918.

The *Hindi Punch* office, Bombay. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Price Rs. 1-12.

The nineteenth annual publication of the Cartoons from "The *Hindi Punch*" contains a varied collection of humorous pictures depicting the political and social history of the country during the year. This enlivening publication always maintains its high reputation for cartoon-representation of live topics, and is certainly a storehouse of genial laughter and vivid humour.

The Silken Tassel. By Ardeshir F. Khabardar. Theosophical publishing House, Adyar.

Mr. F. K. Khabardar, reputed to be a very gifted poet in Guzerati language, has attempted in this little volume to find expression to his wealth of ideas and richness of imagination in a foreign tongue. Indian ideas dressed in delicate English verses and shaped accurately to metrical rules are specially characteristic of his songs, and we commend them heartily to the public.

The Vedic Law of Marriage by A. Mahadeva Sastri, B.A. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.

This is the second edition of the book published in 1908. Deeply versed in Sanskrit Smritis and other well known ancient treatises, Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri has added to this new volume his original studies of marriage and other socio-religious institutions, and we hope the book will have a hearty welcome from all.

"From a Kindergarten Window" By Corrie Gordon. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Price 1-8-0.

This small book contains a collection of essays on educational subjects for teachers and students, prepared on various occasions by Mr. Corrie Gordon, Lecturer, Teachers' College, Saidapet. The topics discussed in this book deal mainly with education for children, the Kindergarten, moral teaching, physical training and other instructive subjects.

President Wilson. (Speeches on World's Freedom). Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1.

This book which contains a valuable collection of speeches delivered on various occasions by President Wilson, has a foreword by Dr. S. Subramania Aiyar and a life sketch by Mr. K. Vyasa Rao. President Wilson has won international reputation as a preacher of political morality and liberty, and a collection of the thoughts of such a great man cannot but be a document of the highest human interest.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS. By Sir Arunachalam Kt., M.A., The Ceylon Reform League, Colombo.

SHORT STORIES. By Mrs. Ghosal, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIC INDIAN DIRECTORY: Delhi. Edited by Narayan Prasad, B.A., The Encyclo-pædic Indian Directory Co., Allahabad.

GUTTILA: THE DIVINE MINSTREL. By Lucy & Gordon Pearce, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE NEXT WAR: WILSON AND ANTI-WILSONISM. By Sir Charles Walston, University Press, Cambridge.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY: AN ADDRESS. By Lord Haldane, Headby Bros. Ltd., London.

ODE TO TRUTH. By James H. Cousins, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

PROGRESSIVE INDIA. By Akshaya K. Ghose, S. C. Sanial & Co., 26, Shampuker St., Calcutta.

THE GOSPEL OF GRACE VOL I. By N. Swaminatha, Post Box 28, Madras.

IF ZOROASTER WENT TO BERLIN. By Maneck Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc., Poona.

NATIONAL EDUCATION. By V. B. Metta, B.A., (contd.) Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.

SHRI RUPKALA. By A. B. Narayan Sinha. The Khadga Vilas Press, Bankipore.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 23. The opening of the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Drugs Exhibition in Calcutta by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay.
- Jan. 24. It is announced that the strike situation in Bombay has much improved.
- The Supreme Inter-allied War Council meets to-day.
- Jan. 25. The public sitting of the Peace Conference begins to-day. Terms of draft resolutions of the League of Nations are also issued. President Wilson's Address to Peace Conference.
- Jan. 26. Babu Surendranath Bannerjee unveils the portrait of Dadabhai Naoroji in Bombay.
- Jan. 27. It is finally announced that the Bombay Labour strikes have ended.
- Jan. 28. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered a public lecture in Bombay on "The work before us."
- Jan. 29. The All-India Ayurvedic Conference concludes its sessions to-day.
- Jan. 30. Mr. Justice Seshagiri Aiyar unveils the portrait of Sir P. C. Ray in the Christian College Hall.
- A public meeting is held in Madras to-day to protest against the "Black Bills."
- Jan. 31. The Sheriff's public meeting is held to-day at Calcutta to congratulate Lord Sinha on his appointment.
- Feb. 1. A public meeting is held at Calcutta to-day to protest against Rowlett Bills under the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq's presidency.
- Feb. 2. Bombay protests against Rowlett Bills under the presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
- Feb. 3. Calcutta Town Hall meeting is held to-day to protest against the Rowlett Bills.
- Feb. 4. The new House of Commons assembled to-day.
- Feb. 5. His Excellency the Viceroy speaks to-day at the review of the Nepalese troops.
- Feb. 6. Imperial Legislative Council meets to-day at Delhi. The Viceroy opens the session with a speech. Sir William Vincent introduces the Rowlett Bills. Hon. Mr. Patel's amendment and non-official opposition.
- Feb. 7. Discussion on the Hon. Mr. Patel's amendment in the Imperial Legislative Council.
- Feb. 8. An outburst of Mopla fanaticism in Malabar is reported.
- Feb. 9. Benares protests against the Hon. Mr. Patel's Marriage Bill to-day.
- Feb. 10. The Second Session of the Veni Par-gana Conference is held at Yotmal.
- Feb. 11. The Parliament opens to-day with a speech from His Majesty the King. The Premier delivers an important address in the House of Commons.
Lord Sinha has been sworn in as a P.C.
- Feb. 12. Nawab Syyed Muhammad died to-day.
- Feb. 13. Protest meeting in Bombay against the Rowlett Bills.
- Feb. 14. A public meeting is held in Madras to-day to protest against the I. C. S. Memorandum and H. E. the Viceroy's speech.
- Feb. 15. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal opens the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Conference to-day.
H. E. the Viceroy speaks at the State Banquet held at Kapurthala to day.
- Feb. 16. H. E. the Viceroy opens the "Jubilee Hall" to day at Kapurthala.
- Feb. 17. A debate on Indian affairs in the Parliament takes place to-day.
- Feb. 18. Sensational Meeting of the Cape Town Assembly.
- Feb. 19. M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, is shot at five times to-day, though the wounds are not dangerous.

Literary

A Visit to John Morley

Mr. James Milne has been to see Lord Morley (John Morley), and tells us about it in a very interesting number of his *Book Monthly*.

"We shall get no more books from our most illustrious man of English letters, our greatest book-man," says Mr. Milne. "'Not a word,' says Lord Morley, 'not a word; I have finished.'

"His unwritten books are recited to him, that 'Chatham,' that 'Cavour,' perhaps others of an empty, bewitching shelf. He only shakes his head, a little sadly, because with a die cast.

"Quite recently somebody wrote from as far away as Kansas to the effect, 'Your chapter so-and-so in "Rousseau"—was it the "Rousseau"?—"made life a different thing for me—thank you!' Possibly that might encourage even an author who has put off his armour to sit down and cut slices out of his books for a volume of 'Selections.'

"Saving that, and may be a word on the time of day, such as no eminent man can be sure of refusing, we had better assume that Lord Morley's 'So to my home in the falling daylight' is his word of literary farewell.

"Who has not read that lovely passage in the 'Recollections'; who, though it is only a year old in print, has not put it in the archives of affection as one of the noblest passages in English literature? It is the deliverance of a pilgrim, rich in mind and heart, a pilgrim who has set his feet in precipitous places, and has stoutly come through them. It is the farewell of a pilgrim scholar who has had entrance to the 'ancient courts of the men of old,' to the council chambers of modern statesmen, and in both spheres has left a name that will live in honour.

"As commoner or peer he has hitched his wagon to a star, and by that comradeship he abides in the Indian summer of his life—a spirit

whose lamp age does not dim, only refines. His speech, measured in note and word, is a melodious token of this, and who would not be a listener? There is the stateliness of the sonnet in his talk, as, again, that is present in his writings.

"He may write little more and speak only in whispers, for he has earned rest, but the charm of his personality and the radiance of his pen are ours to have and to hold. Merely to be in his presence for an hour is to come away saying of him, as he says of Edmund Burke, that he had 'the sacred gift of inspiring men to use a grave diligence in caring for high things and in making their lives at once rich and austere.'"

Mysticism in Modern Art

Under the above title, Mr. W. P. Price-Heywood has contributed a very instructive article to the current number of *The Theosophist*, in which he discusses mysticism as one of the subtlest and most unique forces behind Art. The task of the mystic, he points out, is to pierce through outer appearances to the very soul of things, while that of the artist is to bring back and reproduce on canvas, with messy oil-paints, some glimpses of the spiritual vision and do so with such skill and feeling that the ordinary picture-goer will understand his meaning. The essential difference is shown between the great masters of the East and the West.

The East is idealistic and mystical, the West realistic and practical. The Westerner demands that the paintings he sees shall be as "true to life" as possible; to him every picture must tell a story. The Western painter, over-engrossed in his technique, is apt to forget that the aim of art is not slavishly to duplicate the actual (photography does that quite well enough), but to give a hint and promise of that ideal life of which the actual is but a shadow. The great masters of the East, on the other hand, never forgot the value of suggestion. How shall the soul of the artist communicate his ideas, his emotions, his aspirations, to the mind and the soul of the onlooker?—that is the problem they had ever before them. At the same time they knew that the understanding of art had to be based on mutual concession. The Eastern approaches a great work of art with a reverence which in the west is seldom paid. Our habit of lounging and yawning through art galleries would be sacrilege to him. "Approach a great painting," said an Eastern Master, "as thou wouldest approach a great prince."

Educational

Poetry-Teaching in Schools

In the January number of *Indian Education*, Mr. V. H. Mehta writes a very thoughtful and informing article on the right and intelligent methods of teaching poetry in Indian Schools. While admitting that English is a language foreign to teachers, he laments over the general apathy of teachers who either have no true ear for good poetry or have become time-honoured victims to pedagogic theory of teaching—parsing, analysing and paraphrasing for the purpose of examination. Those who have got true educational interests at heart must try to remove the defects they invariably find in such methods of teaching. Mr. V. H. Mehta puts in a very strong plea for the better teaching of poetry in schools and finally for the strengthening and enriching of the child's imagination which plays so important a part in the battle of life. To stimulate imagination is to set free in the child the perennial springs of poetic beauty. The first point the writer emphasises on the true teaching of poetry is about the proper appeal that should be made to the imagination and to the emotions of the child. The next point is that "the ideas need to be understood and so understood that the pupil is able to visualise it. To help such an understanding the teacher should first fix the attention of the learners upon the idea not upon mere words." Then follows a practical advice as to how poetry should be taught by teachers, and the writer strongly deprecates the ideas of memorising and such other tame methods that stunt the imagination. He, in fine, speaks of the value of poetry in the following pretty words:

One of the values of poetry is that it furnishes the reader with a choice vocabulary and a delicacy of expression which unconsciously become a part of the language of the reader. If we examine the language of good writers, what do we find? How much of the masters enters into their vocabulary? In our own

limited spheres what do we do? We quote and quote unconsciously. The language of the authors we master becomes part of ourselves and without knowing it we reproduce him after. This is an ideal worth achieving and the ideal which the teacher of poetry ought to keep before himself. No amount of unintelligent memorising will help the attainment of this ideal. A little more intelligent appreciation of poetry than is ordinarily made possible in the class rooms of our schools will insure its attainment.

Mr. Fisher's Witty Advice to Teachers

Mr. Fisher, the Education Minister, put Fourteen Points on holidays before a meeting of teachers :

1. Plan your holidays carefully, but be ready to abandon your plans on the slightest provocation.
2. Never go north when you can go south.
3. A change of work is in itself a holiday.
4. Never drive when you can walk, and never walk when you can ride.
5. Take short cuts if you will, but remember that there is seldom time for them.
6. A good holiday is like eternity; there is no reckoning of time.
7. One of the best fruits of a holiday is a new friendship.
8. Stay where you are happy.
9. Soak yourself in the atmosphere of a new place before you study the details.
10. The best holiday is that which contains the largest amount of new experience.
11. Holidays come up for judgment before the next term's work.
12. In the choice of holiday books act on the principle that one of the main uses of leisure is to feed the imagination.
13. The principal experts in the art of taking holidays are painters, naturalists, travellers, and historians; the worst person to consult is a golfer.
14. On occasions a very good holiday can be taken at home—if you change the hour of breakfast.

Wide vivacious, desultory reading of all kinds of books, continued Mr. Fisher, was the finest way of quickening the imagination. Quantity was almost as valuable as quality.

Legal

Legal Education in England

The Incorporated Law Society in England is pressing for the creation of a Minister of Justice whose duty it will be, amongst other things, to reform the procedure of the Law Courts with a view to make it more popular, take to the reconstruction of the administrative work connected with Law Courts, as also the reconstitution of the legal profession by means of a more efficient system of legal education and training and to remove the present distinctions existing between the different classes of the legal profession. Opinion regarding the creation of a Ministry of Justice may differ but there seems to be little difference of opinion as to the need for a more thorough and rational system of legal education than at present prevails in England. Mr. Arthur Sharpe, Vice-President and Chairman of the Examination Committee of the Law Society, who is in favour of the establishment of a Ministry of Justice, says that a law student's education should be both scientific and technical in order to entitle him to practise. He says: "Once admitted as a student of the law, the question of legal education proper becomes all-important. And here I may observe that it must open the division of the subject which, to adopt the terminology of other subjects, I may call preliminary or scientific and applied or technical. It is open to discussion whether these two branches should be studied simultaneously or in sequence, but for my part I have no doubt that the preliminary law should precede and be studied apart from the technical, which is best acquired in practice. It should certainly be the duty of the new Ministry of Justice to see that they are both properly taught and studied and that a fair knowledge of both has been acquired before a student undertakes to practise on his own account."—*Calcutta Weekly Notes.*

Inquiry into German Culpability

Since its appointment two months ago, the British Committee of Enquiry, of which Sir John MacDonnell is Chairman, into the breaches of the laws of war has done a great deal of work through sub-committees appointed to deal with these breaches under various heads. Thus, the sub-committee on Law has already submitted an interim report on the jurisdiction of the tribunal to be established and kindred matters. It has also submitted a special report conveying the unanimous conclusion that it is desirable to take proceedings against the ex-Kaiser. Mr. Justice Petersen, the well-known criminal barrister and Mr. C. F. Gill have also been consulted.

The work of a second committee has been very heavy as it has had to deal with the ill-treatment of prisoners, their employment behind the enemy firing-line, the employment of illegal methods of warfare, the abuse of the Red Cross flag, the bombardment of hospitals and the execution of Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt. A hundred thousand cases of ill-treatment of prisoners have already been investigated, but at least 150,000 more remain.

A third sub-committee has had to deal with offences at sea and in the air, including the destruction of merchantmen, the firing on ships' crews after the destruction of their vessels and the sinking of hospital-ships.

A fourth sub-committee examined the indiscriminate bombardment of towns and wilful and reckless destruction of hospitals.

All the committees have still a large mass of evidence to examine before issuing final reports dealing with the charges to be preferred and the degree of responsibility attaching *prima facie* to individuals. Although the final conclusions may not therefore be reached for some months, the present interim report says it must not be assumed that practical steps have not been taken to secure the arrest of the offenders.

Medical

All-India Ayurvedic Conference

The All-India Ayurvedic Conference under the presidentship of Pandit Umacharan Kaviratna of Benares held its sitting at Delhi on the last week of January. Nearly 200 Vaidyas from all parts of India attended. Hazi-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a speech in Urdu and dwelt upon the superiority of Ayurveda and Tabbi. Pandit Gopiram of Delhi proposed and Vaidyaratna Pandit Jogendranath Sen and Vidyaratna Pandit Gopalacharlu of Madras seconded and supported the election of the President who began his address in Sanskrit, but being asked by the delegates, continued in Hindi. The President expressed condolence at the untimely death of Prince John and expressed joy at the Allied victory. He discoursed on the superiority of Ayurveda and urged the audience for preparing educated Vaidyas. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya delivered a speech on the necessity of establishing Ayurvedic colleges all over India saying that Ayurveda is scientific and the best suited to the people of India. He announced that he contemplated to utilize the one lakh of rupees he received from a Marwari friend in Calcutta for the establishment of an Ayurvedic college and an Ayurvedic botanical garden under the auspices of the Hindu University. Resolutions were passed condoling the death of Prince John, Maharajas Rewa, Dongarpur, Khairagarh etc., praying for separate representation of Ayurveda in Councils and equal treatment with allopathy, thanking the Excise Commissioner, Bengal, for exempting Ayurvedic Asavas and Aviashtas and asking for complete exemption of all bona-fide Ayurvedic preparations from the operations of the Excise Acts all over India.

Sub-Asst. Surgeons' Conference

The Annual Conference of Sub-Assistant Surgeons met at Calcutta on 23rd Dec. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Exhibition which formed part of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association held at the Campbell Medical School. Dr. J. N. Maitra, Secretary of the Sanitary and Scientific Branch of the Association, read an address, in the course of which he pointed out the need for such Exhibitions. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay said in reply:

I too am glad that you have been given the chance of playing a useful part amid the stern and terrible realities of the past few years; and I congratulate you upon the manner in which you have risen to the occasion. I can speak for Bengal only; and so far as Bengal is concerned, out of a total cadre of 302 Sub-Assistant Surgeons, 83 have volunteered for military service, 51 for service in India and 32 for service overseas. It is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to remind you that your opportunities of rendering valuable service overseas have not come to an end with the cessation of hostilities.

He then spoke of the gigantic task of reconstruction and the wide field for medical and sanitary work. Knowledge and wealth are needed to solve the problems of medical relief. The third weapon with which to combat the forces of disease is an army of trained men. Steps have been taken to create an adequate supply of Sub-Assistant Surgeons, while a substantial increase of pay has been sanctioned them.

There are other respects in which I personally should like to see alterations made in the conditions of your service. For example, I shall like to see a course of post-graduate teaching take the place of the periodic grade examinations which you have to submit to under your present conditions of service. A small and very tentative beginning has been made in the right direction by the institution of a small class of post-graduate teaching in this school. I hope that this may prove to be the beginning of greater things.

The proceedings of the Conference were not open to the press. The Hon. Major-General W. H. B. Robinson, Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal and the patron of the Calcutta Branch Association, presided and there was a large attendance of members.

Science

Science and the Future

The main capital of the modern world consists of scientific knowledge. When we compile our War losses, let us not forget that our greatest asset, the store of knowledge science has collected is still intact. Without the aid science gives to agriculture the earth even now could not support its population. Lecturing on "Science and the Future," Mr. A. A. Campbell Swinton made these and the following statements: "It had been estimated that the total population the earth could maintain would be reached about 2100 A.D. If once the stage were reached in which population increased more rapidly than means of sustenance, then neither League of Nations nor anything else would prevent conflicts between peoples struggling in dire necessity. The main resource when coal was exhausted would have to be the enormous flood of solar radiant energy that was falling on the earth. The problem was, how could this be utilised? The direct transformation of radiant energy into chemical or even into electrical energy was by no means impossible. The former transformation was already effected, inefficiently, by plants, and on a small scale in photographic processes, where light caused chemical reduction; Becquerel and Minchin had shown how radiant energy could be transformed into electrical. Perhaps in photo-electric chemistry we had the most important problem the science of the future had got to solve."

Physiological Effects of Cheerfulness

The good physiological effects of cheerfulness and confidence are ascribed to the fact that emotional conditions, such as fear, worry, etc., excite internal bodily reactions and accelerate the secretion of harmful products, which inflame already pathological conditions of the vital organs.

The "Schematograph"

The Popular Science Siftings publishes the following description of a machine designed to reveal the defects of the body:

"The schematograph is merely a means of registering in outline form the natural figure in various poses, all calculated to show the ordinary defects coming from faulty posture. The whole idea of the machine is to show the subject, graphically, the physical defects as indicated by his or her posture."

The device is as follows: An oblong box, about the size of a large camera, the bottom sides and ends made of wood, but the top with a sliding cover made of ground glass, a triple lens mounted in the front is an important feature of this machine. Inside this box, at the end opposite the lens, a reflecting mirror is mounted at an angle of forty-five degrees. The purpose of this mirror is to catch the rays from the image on the lens and reflect them to the ground glass cover above, where they can be observed by the operator. The "operating room" is long and narrow. A black screen about seven feet high stands against the wall at one end. Some twelve feet from the screen hangs a thick black curtain. Behind this the operator is posted, only the lens of the camera protruding through the curtain. This arrangement serves the double purpose of shutting off all rays of light and in securing complete privacy to the subject. To make a schematogram, as the tracing is called, the subject undresses and mounts a miniature model's throne in front of the screen. The operator focuses the machine, with the lens directed about at the subject's waistline. Just above and in front of the subject, two powerful electric lights are switched on to make the outline as clear as possible. On the ground glass at the top of the machine is clearly visible the image of the white figure, standing out against the dark screen. If the image is satisfactory, the operator lays a thin sheet of paper over the glass and traces the outline; and if it is not, images are taken from various poses to locate the defects.

The Use of Sea-Weed

During the last few years Swedish sea-weed has been coveted by the Germans who make it into fodder and also use it as a source of valuable chemical products. From a series of careful experiments carried out in Stockholm the dry distillation of 1 kilo. of dried sea-weed has produced the following:—illuminating gas 30—32 litres; carbon 43 per cent.; distillates (acetic acid, methylated spirit, formic acid, acetone, etc.,) 35 percent.; salts (sodium sulphate, potassium sulphate, potassium chloride) 14 per cent.; and in addition iodine, homene, a very aromatic tar product, and carbolic tar, an excellent preservative of timber.

Personal

Lord Sinha's Appointment

I

Mr. P. C. Lyon writes to the "Times":—

The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under Secretary of State for India will be welcomed by all who are looking for a genuine advance towards Self Government in India. It will be in the memory of your readers that it was Sir Satyendra who, as president of the Indian National Congress in 1915, pressed for a declaration of the policy and ultimate aims of England's Rule in India on the lines of the one actually made in Parliament some 18 months later. He has always been a sturdy advocate of progress in our administration, and his appointment will be of welcome assistance to the Moderate Party, who are putting up a plucky fight at this moment against the extreme Home Rule faction. Signs have not been wanting that the Moderates had some fear lest the attacks made in reactionary quarters upon the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme might result in a whittling away of the reforms contained in it; but they will realize now that, whatever modifications may be found necessary in the details of the Scheme to facilitate its working and secure its main objects, the required changes will not be allowed to impair the responsibility and power which are to be entrusted by the Scheme to Indian hands.

II .

Mr. J. D. Anderson writes in the "Times":—

As an old Bengal civilian, Mr. P. C. Lyon might have noted the remarkable part that is being played in recent Indian developments by Bengalis. The first two Indian members of His Majesty's Privy Council, Mr. Ameer Ali and Sir S. P. Sinha, are both Bengalis. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is another. The one Indian who has a worldwide literary reputation is Sir Rabindranath Tagore, another Native of Calcutta. And now, to the gratification of all who know and love Bengal, Sir S. P. Sinha is promoted to the Upper House of the Empire. It was a Bengali, Sir Rabindranath's elder brother, who was the first Indians to enter the I.C.S. Another, the late Romesh Chandra Dutta, was the first to administer an Indian Division. Such successes mark more than intellectual distinction, and imply qualities of courageous industry and integrity not common anywhere. Surely our comment on Sir S. P. Sinha's elevation should be, "Well done, Bengal!"

III

The Parliamentary correspondent of the "Times" writes :—

Sir S. P. Sinha, the new Under-Secretary for India, who is to be made a peer will be the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Lords. Two Indians—the late Mr. Dadaboy Naoroji and Sir M. M. Bhownagree—have sat in the House of Commons; but nothing has come of suggestions put forward from time to time for Indian princes and nobles to be made peers of the realm. While Lord (then Mr.) Morley was in the House of Commons and Secretary of State for India his successive lieutenants were in the same Chamber; but there are obvious advantages in the more usual practice of the Under-Secretary being in "another place." These are especially strong at a time when a measure for Indian constitutional reform is in preparation and will run the gauntlet of criticism in the Lords from peers who have held high administrative office in India. Indian gratification at the appointment has been voiced by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Member of the Indian Council, in a telegram sent to the Prime Minister.

All India rejoices and thanks you for Sinha's appointment. You have appealed to the imagination of India and done what the greatest Moghul Emperor Akbar did in the 16th century. I join my personal thanks.

Political

India Office Reform

In accordance with the proposal made in paragraph 293 of the Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the following committee has been appointed to enquire into the organisation of the India Office and the relations between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India : The Marquis of Crewe, Chairman ; H. H. the Aga Khan, the Viscount Esher, the Lord Inchape, Mr. B. N. Basu, Sir J. R. Brunyate, Lt.-Col. Godfrey Collins, Mr. Harry Gosling, Professor A. B. Keith, Edinburgh University, Mr. Evelyn Murray, Secretary to the Post Office.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows : To advise what changes should be made in (A) the existing system of Home Administration of Indian affairs and (B) the existing relations between the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India both generally and with reference to the relaxation of the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction and control.

2. To examine in particular (A) the Constitutional powers of the Council of India, its relations to the Secretary of State as affecting his responsibility to Parliament and otherwise, and the financial and administrative control exercised by the Council. (B) The composition of the Council, the qualifications, method of appointment and term of office of its members and the number of Indian members. (C) The working of the Council in relation to office procedure. (D) The general departmental procedure of the India Office. (E) The organisation of the India Office establishment and question of modifying the system of its recruitment so as to provide for (1) the interchange of appointments with Indian services and (2) the throwing open of a proportion of the appointments to Indians.

3. To advise whether any of the charges on account of the India Office and if so what charges should be placed along with the Secretary of State's salary upon the estimates.

4. To advise how effect should be given by legislation or otherwise to the committee's recommendations.

5. To enquire into and report upon any other matters cognate or relevant to the above which it may consider expedient to take into consideration. The committee will have regard generally to the proposals made in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the Reform of the Government of India and Provincial Governments and in particular to the recommendations contained in the paragraphs 290 to 295 of the Report.

London Chamber on Indian Reform

The Council of the London Chamber of Commerce after discussion, declined to express any opinion on the questions referred to in the resolution of the East India Section last month, that the report on Indian Reforms did not sufficiently recognise the social, religious and ethical obstacles to the growth of purely Indian enterprise, the achievements of British merchants in building up India's prosperity, excellent relations between British merchants and the hereditary trading classes of India, and that it did not safeguard important commercial interests against the theories of doctrinaire economists, and the attacks of irresponsible antagonists of British enterprise.

The Future of Luxemburg

The question of Luxemburg is attracting considerable attention. The Grand Duchess is undesirable, and will probably leave the country soon. A considerable section of the population desires association with France, while others again incline to Belgium. The general opinion prevails that autonomy will be preserved after the Government has been changed.

General

The Ahmadiyya Congress

At the anniversary of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishat Islam on the 26th December in Lahore, Shaikh Mahomed Ismail Sahib, Proprietor of the Flour Mills, Lyallpur, presided. After the recitation of the holy Quran to the men, Mudassar Shah made an interesting speech. He was followed by Moulvi Ghulam Rasul, of Kabul, who spoke in Persian. He narrated the history of the development of the Ahmadiyya movement in Afghanistan, after the death of Sahibzada Abdul Latif. He also pointed out that the people of the country never heard of the novel doctrines invented by Mirza Mahmood Ahmad, the present head of the Gadian section from the Sahibzada Sahib, and that these were denounced by the Ahmadedees of Afghanistan.

Moulvi Muhamadazi then delivered a learned lecture on "Islam and the Causes of its Rise and Fall."

He was then followed by Moulvi Sadruddin who spoke on the way of success and explained how it was achieved in the times of the Holy Prophet.

Lord Haldane and the Future

Viscount Haldane, presiding at a lecture on 'The Possible Industrial Development of India,' at the National Liberal Club by Mr. Dickinson, said: Before the war we were taking things easily. There were those who dreaded Germany in peace more than Germany in conflict, because with their industry, with their science, and with their practical methods there was at least a very serious risk of penetrating the whole world in a peaceful fashion, as to which we should have taken no exception, and Germany, without firing a bullet, would have attained her object. Then it was

that she committed the most tremendous moral and intellectual blunder that a nation could ever be guilty of. She threw away her chance, and had resorted to us our opportunity. (Cheers.) We had got to take that opportunity, and we should not take it if we remained sleepily, in the old tracks. We had got to adopt new methods. Labour was setting up a new claim—that it was not capital that made wealth, but labour. As a matter of fact, it was neither the one nor the other. It was direction which guided both capital and labour, and we wanted to substitute for the present aristocracy of wealth an aristocracy of talent—the talent which arose out of the educated hand and brain. If they could only make use of that vast untapped reservoir of the children of the working classes, insufficiently educated to-day and to whom opportunities of advancement were denied, what an opening, what a prospect it gave them for the future. They must show Labour that they cared not only for the body, but also for the soul, by giving them equality in a spiritual as well as in a material sense. Until Liberals learnt that lesson, they would never get back their position as the leaders of the progressive movement in this country.

Newspaper Men and the War

A striking fact in connection with recruiting is mentioned in a speech by Sir Auckland Geddes. Of ten thousand men and boys employed in London newspaper offices, five thousand joined the Army and at the moment when the Armistice was signed there were not thirty men fit for general service in all the London newspaper offices. That was a record, said Sir Auckland Geddes, which placed the Press at the head of every trade group in the matter of recruiting.

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ARYAN RULE IN INDIA

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE KUMARASWAMY SASTRI.

WORD Acton in one of his delightful letters to Mary Gladstone observes: "The great object in trying to understand history political, religious, literary or scientific is to get behind men and grasp ideas. Ideas have a radiation and development, an ancestry and posterity of their own, in which men play the part of God-fathers and God-mothers rather than of legitimate parents." To those who have studied the various books on Indian history that have appeared from time to time these remarks would appeal with great force. Events have been chronicled with painstaking fidelity and each period of the Nation's history has been dealt with as if it had very little relation to the past and a very problematical influence on the future. The rise and fall of great dynasties and the ebb and flow of the great waves of religious and political thought, the greatness of certain epochs and the stagnation and retrogression of others, have been treated as if capable of explanation without much reference to the laws of evolution, of thought and action which play so important a part in the shaping of the destinies of nations. Kings and Emperors, saints and sages, poets and warriors float before our vision not as links of a great chain but as isolated phenomena floating in an unending procession out of gloom, like travellers pressed by a breath of destiny.

It is therefore refreshing to turn to the *History of Aryan Rule in India*,* by Mr. Havell, where the learned author has tried to "get behind men and grasp ideas," and to show how and by what means Aryan leaven fermented and Aryan culture renewed itself at certain epochs.

To trace the history of the Aryans from the time of their first migration into India to the period when the hoary structure of Aryan State craft and culture was shaken to its foundation by the children of an alien faith, and to pick up the threads of the various under-currents that during a long and chequered history have mainly contributed to the building up of a civilisation and the formation of ideals, so characteristic of the Aryan dominion in India is no easy task requiring as it does not only great learning, industry and research but rare insight and sympathy. To this has to be added the difficulties of compressing the vast material and the divergent views on it into a handy and readable volume. If these difficulties are borne in mind, there can be little doubt that the work before us is one which reflects great credit on the author and lays a deep debt of gratitude on the student of Indian History.

The opening chapters take us to the dim antiquity of centuries when a young and gifted nation

* *The History of Aryan Rule in India*. By Mr. E. B. Havell, George G. Harrap & Co., London.

poured through the passes of the Himalayas and began to colonise the fertile places watered by the Indus and the Ganges. Ancient History as the term is understood in dealing with Europe appears very modern when dealing with the rise of Aryan civilisation and the progress of Aryan conquest. Vista after vista opens before us in unending panorama of thought and action, and while time has efaced detail and distance lends enchantment, the student of History has always the bed rock of the Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads to fall back upon both to build the structure and correct its proportions. The estimate of the worth of ancient Aryan culture and its influence on the Non-Aryan tribes must necessarily vary with the degree of knowledge one has of this ancient and vast literature and his sympathy with those ideas which the ancient thought were of enduring strength and greatness. Their idea of "Dharma," a word which, while it conveys a world of meaning to the Hindu, is often vague when tried to be translated as "Duty," no doubt varied from time to time, but throughout all their history it has certain fixed values which remained unalterable and which for good or evil shaped the destinies of the Aryan world. Under these circumstances, it cannot be wondered that divergent estimates have been formed of the nature and character of the ancient Aryan civilisation and the influence it had on the destinies of India. The views of Professor Max Muller, Vincent Smith, Weber and several other well-known writers are sometimes not supported by the evidence afforded by the study of Vedic literature and are not easily reconcilable, and several generalisations are only true if applied to certain epochs of their development. For example, the view of Professor Max Muller in his history of ancient Sanskrit literature that Greece and India represent two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man, that, while to the Greek existence is full of life and reality; to the

Hindu it is a dream and an illusion and that, while the Greek is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas, the Hindu enters the world as a stranger his thoughts being all directed to another world, can hardly be justified except when we consider the period when, after long ages of war, conquest and civilization, the Aryan mind was directed to introspection. The satiety of conquest and the attainment of what one considers desirable to have in nations and individuals often resulted in the question so eloquently put by the psalmist: "What shall it profit and what shall a man or a nation give in exchange for his soul?" That this question was put by Aryans long before Greece was born is due not so much to a difference in temperaments but to the fact that Aryan civilization was hoary when Greece was only beginning to awake to a sense of national consciousness. The same experiences are undergone by different individuals and if one gives expression to them earlier, it is because time has dispelled illusions and changed the estimate of the relative power of each of the influences that moulded the past as he goes through successive stages in life's experience. In fact, the progress and evolution of the Greek intellect and philosophy present some remarkable parallels to Indian thought. It is no doubt true that to the Greek in the Golden Age of his history existence was full of life and reality and that he was prepared to sacrifice everything to his passion for liberty. But can it be said that the same is not true of the Aryan settlers of India during several centuries? The hymns of the Rig Veda which present a faithful picture of the lives and aspirations of the Aryan conquerors of India abound in expressions of the joy of life and devotion to the sacred land of India. The consciousness of intellectual and moral superiority and the lust for conquest in a great many prayers in the Riks are hardly those of persons who look upon existence as an evil, the present world as an

illusion and whose entire aspirations point heavenward. I shall quote a few Riks from 12 various mandalas. "Let those enemies be asleep and oh hero let the friend be awake, oh Indra of extensive bounty and quickly make us worthy of esteem in point of cows and horses, bright riches and thousandfold wealth." "Destroy all misery and slay him who does us harm." "Ushas conduct better all the gods for drinking Soma. Set on us strength which would lead to good exploits and which would evoke admiration and was for us kine and steeds." "Be thou oh Indra, the dispeller of our poverty with kine and gifts of steeds. Procuring the annihilation of Dasyas at the hands of Indra through the glistening draughts of Soma we liberated from our enemies shall be amply supplied with sustenance. With wealth and sustenance we shall be filled, aye, with powers bright and extremely delightful, we shall be blessed with that favour of those whereby the power of our heroes will obtain scope wherever the gift of kine is prominent and which also bestows horses." "Set on us, oh Maruts, a highly commendable power, brilliant, unsurpassed in battles bringing wealth worthy of praise and encompassing the world may bring up progeny of a hundred winter's life. Set on us, Maruts, fortune which is stable, which abounds in heroes, which tires the enemies out, which is to be measured by hundreds and thousands and which is ever increasing. Only a hundred years are with us, Oh Gods, within which time you bring old age to our bodies and during which short space those who today are sons have to become fathers to-morrow. Do not therefore cut short our life in the middle of its course." "Perform, oh hero, with our warlike soldiers whatever heroic deeds thou hast to achieve. Long have the godless enemies been puffed up with arrogance. Slay them and bring to us the wealth they have usurped." "May we be masters of all sorts of wealth and endowed with manly spirit and impatient for glorious deeds. May

we vanquish the unbelievers who may attack us with armed force." "Oh Indra, make us a gift of immense riches coveted by all. Grant a life of one hundred years and give us ever abiding good warriors."

Such prayers run through several of the mandalas of the Rig Veda and may be taken to represent the hopes and aspirations of generations of Aryan settlers.

Running through hymns like these there run like golden threads prayers to deliver men from evil and which recognise the existence of a Supreme Being to whose eternal laws it is the duty of man to conform. "Deliver me from sin as from a rope and let us obtain thy path of righteousness" cries the sage and there is many a prayer to keep the Aryan on the straight path. This world was to the ancient Aryans the best of worlds and there is little to support the view that it is the duty of man to renounce the good that the Gods in their bounty give. Death is not considered as a deliverance from evil but as an event which the Gods ought to avert before the "hundred winters" allotted to man. "May the thread not be torn while I am weaving my prayer, may the form of my pious work not decay before its season" is not the prayer of one weary of life.

It is when we come to the Upanishadic period (between which and the Riks several centuries must have elapsed) that Vedic outlook on life begins to undergo a change. Conquest of the fairest part of India and subjugation of foes internal and external gave the Aryan intellect free scope for speculation which seems to have been ingrained in its nature. The eternal questions "whence wherefore and whither" were asked and were attempted to be answered with the result that standing between two immensities the mind thought very little of the brief space allotted to man wherein to work out his destiny. "Look back how it was with those who came before, look forward how it will be with those who came

hereafter. A mortal ripens like corn, like corn he springs up again" says the Kathopanishad. "Regret and desire were as it were found equally vain in this world of impermanency for all joy was but the beginning of an experience that must have its end in pain." The result was that the *summum bonum* was considered to be a state of mind which was unaffected by "the pairs of opposites." It is a fascinating study—the philosophy of the Upanishads and the causes which led to so great a change in the outlook on life—but one which is hardly possible to treat with any adequacy in the pages of a magazine. But it is well to recognise the fallacy of thinkers that Aryans were, from the beginning of time, dreamers and pessimists.

The study of Greek thought and philosophy affords some very striking points of similarity. To the Homeric heroes, life was a very enjoyable thing and death had no compensations. The bravest of the warriors looked upon the life beyond with a shudder and prayed for long life and material prosperity in this world. The optimism of the Platonic School with its central thought of the *realization* of a divine purpose gave little scope for pessimism. As has been well observed, the philosophy of Plato centres round "the Supreme Goodness by the light of which all the processes of the natural world, all the functions of man on the State are to be interpreted." It is to the speculation of later philosophers that we have to attribute the tendency to glory in the insignificance of man and to view with rapture the prospect of self loss in the bosom of universal nature. Plato's confident and trustful idealism gradually gave place to speculation where the evil in life was recognised and the Gods were represented as sipping their nectar careless of mankind or who when they deigned to interest themselves in mundane affairs thought of men less for their welfare than for their chastisement.

I am afraid I have digressed considerably but

the digression is necessary to show the soundness of the view which Mr. Havell has taken in his estimate of early Aryan culture and civilization which is more sympathetic and which accounts for a great deal of what would be otherwise inexplicable in early Indian history. The author is perfectly right when he rejects the theory that "the Aryans when first known to history were some barbaric tribes who borrowed their civilization from the more cultured races they conquered both in India and Europe." That they had attained to a fairly high degree of civilization when they entered India is fairly evident from a perusal of the Vedas. Full of life and action, with a mind eager and responsive with just that amount of introspection that was necessary to keep them in the right path, they began their wonderful career in India and as the centuries unfolded themselves they built up a great civilization. It would be idle to deny that close association with the people they conquered did exercise a certain amount of influence on Aryan thought and ideals, but as the author rightly points out, "it was their own creative genius which gave the matter new higher forms and inspired it with deeper thoughts." In the long course of history, it is wonderful how little Aryan theories of life and conduct were affected or changed by the condition of the people they found themselves amongst and how on the contrary the handful of conquerors gradually imposed their culture on the subject races.

The evolution of caste was the means of the race preservation and culture which we find so characteristic of Aryan civilization in India. Whether the ideas of caste were founded on the colour bar or the differences in occupation of the various Aryan conquerors there can be little doubt that it came into prominence very early in the development of the race. The famous hymn in the Purusha Sukta shows not only that there was a sharp distinction between the various castes but

also a clear superiority of one caste over another symbolised with reference to the various portions of the body of the Creator from which they are said to have sprung. Two central ideas run through the history of the development of the caste system. One is the sharp line drawn between the Aryans and the aborigines and the other is the importance given to the main occupations which demanded the energies of the handful of people whose destiny it was to subjugate a vast country. As rightly observed by the author, "the instinct of race preservation together with a profound conviction of divine guidance formed the basic principles of the code of laws and social customs which became part of the sacred literature of Hinduism. The distinction between Aryan and Non-Aryans was never lost sight of and was the pivot on which the whole social system turned. Within the Aryan fold however, there existed at first a great deal of elasticity and "the rigidity and exclusiveness of the caste system as we knew it was largely the product of medieval conditions." It is doubtful however if the author is right in his conclusion that the rigidity did not "exist in the time of Buddha and for many centuries afterwards." The solution of the problem will depend upon the antiquity to be ascribed to the Smritis and earlier Grehya Sutras and it would be dangerous to speculate till we have some reliable dates to fix their date. Between the Brahmana and the Kshatriya castes the struggle for supremacy was long and bitter but the controversy seems to have ended in favour of the Brahmana before Buddha began to preach.

The first eight chapters of the book carry us from the dim antiquity of the past to about the second or third century of the Christian era. The survey of so vast a field within so short a compass must necessarily be confined to the more important landmarks in the history of thought and action, and it is not possible that there can be

complete agreement on matters relating to which the data are so meagre. So far as the material progress of the Aryans is concerned, the various stages by which they conquered the continent and imposed their civilization on it are fairly clear. The struggle for supremacy was long and not often easy, but there can be little doubt that India was 'Aryanized' centuries before the Christian era. The struggle while it lasted and the peace which came after conquest had however a profound effect on the polity, the religion and the arts, and no history of ancient India can be adequate or correct which does not appreciate in its true bearings the change in the values.

As regards Aryan ideals of Government and the State, Aryan ideals hardened almost as soon as the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges were conquered. Conquest led to "the gradual consolidation of the small tribal confederations which characterised the Vedic period into considerable states ruled by hereditary dynasties." The divine right of Kings was tempered by the obligation of the King to govern with the advice of his ministers learned in the Dharma and the checks were more moral than by any counterbalancing machinery in the State. It is difficult to agree with the author when he states that "in the Aryan polity the divine right of Kings was never recognised as a personal attribute of the Monarch belonging to himself and his family" and that "he had no right except that which was conferred on him by Aryan law and he could be fined or be deposed by the General Assembly of the freemen or by the Council of ministers if he neglected his duties as King or offended against that law." The Puranas and Epics instance very many bad Kings but there is hardly a case where he was fined, much less deposed by the General Assembly and the theory that the King was an *amsa* of Vishnu is hardly reconcilable with the theory that the divine right was not a personal attribute. Nor is it clear whether confederacies of tribes governed not

by a single ruler but by a council of noble families were contemplated in the scheme of Government evolved by the Aryan settlers. If the Dharma Sutras, Epics and the Puranas afford any guide to the theory of the State as understood by the Aryans, the normal condition contemplated was Kingship associated with advisers whose advice at least in theory was binding on the King. The origin of Kingship as given in the Mata Bharata and the woeful picture given in the Ramayana of a country without a King do not support the ideas of republics being contemplated by the Aryan law-givers. In the Ramayana it is stated : " No country can be wealthy without a King nor can the people of a kingless country be virtuous. Money lenders do not lend money in a state of anarchy. Wealth is not protected nor do traders sleep fearlessly with open doors. Brave men do not learn the use of arms nor do traders go to trade in foreign places through fear of robbers. The conduct of people cannot be good without a King. In a kingless country learned men do not go about without fear discussing various subjects. A kingless country is like a waterless river, a waterless lake, a forest without verdure as a herd of cows without a cow herd. The King looks after the people as the eye looks after the body. The darkness of ignorance spreads over the people if there is no king." In social and domestic affairs, we find an immense gulf between the early Aryan settlers and the Aryans about the time when Buddha began his mission. Luxury had given peace and the simplicity of the early conquerors and trade and arts had reached a stage of high development. We find in the epics descriptions of large towns and glowing accounts of the luxury of the citizens, and there can be little doubt that, so far as material progress was concerned, India in the second century B.C was far ahead of any other country in the world.

It is however in religion and in the outlook on life that we find that there has been the most

wonderful development. What the outlook of the early Aryans was I have attempted to show by extracts from the Rig Veda. It was a simple and joyous faith in the protective power of the Gods whose rewards and punishment were supposed to follow the prayers and sacrifice and gifts of persons who have not strayed from the path of rectitude. "The creator having in older times created men together with the sacrifice said, ' Propagate with this may it be the giver to you of the things you desire.' Please the Gods with this and may the God please you. Pleasing each other you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifice the Gods will give you the enjoyments you desire " says the Geeta and this affords the keynote to the elaborate system of sacrifices so minutely outlined in the Brahmanas. Success and happiness in this life were to be got only by propitiating the Gods and by doing nothing which would be "Un-Aryan." Thus there arose two main ideas, ritual and adherence to what was considered as one's Dharma and this runs like a thread throughout all subsequent developments up to a certain stage when success was necessary to enable the Aryans to conquer the Dasyas : all thought was concentrated on how to please the Gods to obtain their help and vanquish the enemies of the Aryans. Elaborate ritual was thought the only efficient way, the greater the gift the greater being the reward. "Therefore the all comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifices" (Geeta.) Right conduct was not lost sight of but the strenuous life of the early Aryans gave little room for serious lapses from virtue.

Gradually a change came over the relative values attached to sacrifice and conduct. The pantheism of the Vedas gave place early to the idea of one Supreme Being, the creator of the world through whose might and wisdom it was created was being protected and would ultimately be

destroyed. "Some men under a delusion speak of nature, others speak of time as the cause of everything but it is the greatness of God by which this world is made to turn. It is at the command of Him who always covers this world, the knower, the time of time, who assumes qualities and all knowledge. It is at His command that this creation unfolds itself which is called earth, water, fire, "air and ether" says the Swetasvataropanishad and instances may be multiplied from the Upanishads. Instead of sacrifices, knowledge of the supreme Isvara is represented as the only path to salvation. "A man who knows Him truly passes over death. There is no other path to attain Salvation," says the same Upanishad.

Speaking of the Upanishads, Professor Max Muller, in his Hibbert Lectures, observes : "Lastly came the Upanishads and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances, to condemn every sacrificed act which has for its motive a desire, a hope of reward, to deny if not the existence at least the exceptional and exalted character of the Devas, and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self and finding rest there where alone rest can be found". This seems also to be the teaching of the Bhagavat Gita in many places.

Small wonder it is that in this reaction against the efficacy of sacrifices there arose thinkers who went to the extreme length of denying an even an intelligent first cause. The Lokayakes and the Charvakas presented to the world a purely materialistic theory. They accepted no other evidence than perception and recognised only four elements—fire, air, earth and water and considered sensation and perception as the result of the union of the elements existing only so long as the union lasts. To them the soul does not exist as

a separate entity being so to say only a function of matter, and as a necessary consequence there is no heaven or hell and no use of any sacrifices to unseen powers. Mr. C. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar in his notes to the Ramayana well summarises these teachings : "Heaven and Hell, Bondage and Liberation in this world and the next, Body and Soul, caste and orders, these are not and exist only in the imagination of fools. The Agnihotra, the study of the Vedas, the bamboo staff and orange robes of the Sanyasis, the sacred ashes and other stock in trade of the sanctimonious hypocrites are but means of livelihood for helpless fools. If the animal sacrificed in the Jyotistoma goes to heaven, the sacrificer can very easily secure the worlds of bliss for his father and mother, wife, child and kinsmen and friend by making them take the place of the sheep, goat and cow or the horse slain in the Yagas. If the food given to the Brahmanas in the Sradha goes to satisfy the hunger and wants of his ancestors in the far-off worlds, travellers to distant countries need not trouble themselves about their meals, dress or other comforts for these are ever at their disposal if some one takes care to provide a Brahmana at home with these things."

In the Ramayana, we find the sage Jabali consoling Rama with these theories and Rama gravely refuting them. It does not appear that these theories of life and matter ever made any great headway amongst the masses, but there can be little doubt that a deep wave of scepticism as to the efficacy of sacrifices was early influencing speculations as to the future. Between these extreme views there were the agnostics who refused to dogmatise about the existence of a Supreme Being and the Sankhya System of Philosophy passes by the question of the existence and attributes of a Supreme Being. In the well-known Sutra 92 "Eswarasiddtreh," it is not proved that there is a Lord (Isvara) of the Sankhya aphorisms of Kapila and the reasons given in the subsequent

Sutras explain the position taken up by the Sankhya System.

It is necessary to bear in mind these influences and speculations to appreciate the role that Buddha played in the history of thought and to appreciate his influence on the history of Hinduism. It is no doubt true that he represented the extreme part of the reaction against the ritualism of the Vedas and the Purva Mimamsa, but that was only one phase of his teachings. With a great deal of Hinduism as current in his time, Buddha did not concern himself and to him they were unessential to the attainment of Nirvana. When pressed by his favourite disciple Ananda as to the existence of the Supreme Being he evaded giving any definite answer. To him each man was the master of his own destiny and rituals were useless if freedom from the cycle of births and death was the *summum bonum*. There was no panacea of human ills of external application, no efficacy in what may be called the homeopathic treatment of Sin. "No use in making happiness and agreeable feeling the formal constituent of virtue or in seeking to deduce the laws of conduct from the laws of comfort." The aim of all the teachers of Indian philosophy is to save mankind from pain and so each system propounded its own cure. The aim of Buddha was the same as that of the other sages but his means differed in this—that he resolutely set his face against any means except through the eradication of desire which, according to him, was the cause of all evil.

The teaching of Buddha exercised a profound influence on the tribes of India and in so many directions was its potency manifested that the history of the country for the next thousand years is closely bound up with the rise, progress and decline of Buddhism. The growth of Buddhism marks the close of an age and it will be convenient to stop at this point with the following eloquent tribute to the memory of Buddha by Heine:

"Twenty four hundred years ago out of solitary meditation upon the pain and the mystery of being the mind of an Indian pilgrim brought forth the highest truth ever taught to man, and in an era barren of service anticipated the utmost knowledge of our present evolutional philosophy regarding the secret unity of life, the endless illusion of matter and of mind and the birth and death of the universe. He spoke and returned to his dust and the people worshipped the prints of his dead feet because of the love he had taught them. Thereafter waxed and waved the name of Alexander, the power of Rome and the might of Islam—Nations rose and vanished, cities grew and were not. The children of another civilization vaster than Rome begirdled the earth with conquest and founded far off empires and came at last to rule on the land of that pilgrim's birth. And those rich in the wisdom of four and twenty centuries wondered at the beauty of his message and caused all that he had said and done to be written down anew in language unborn at the time when he lived and taught. Still burn his footprints in the East and still the great west marvelling follows their gleam to seek supreme enlightenment. Even thus of old Milinda followed the way to the house of Nagasena at first only to question after the subtle manner of the Greeks yet later to accept with noble reverence the nobler method of the master".

THE LIFE & TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

BY

ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA.

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INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

BY
PROF. BRIJ NARAIN, M.A.

In this article the probable effects of a preferential tariff upon India's export trade and Indian currency and finance are chiefly considered.

India has a very large export trade with foreign countries. The table given below shows the exports of Indian merchandise in 1913-14.

Exports.	Amount.
	£
To the United Kingdom	... 38,236,780
To other British Possessions	... 23,072,192
To Foreign Countries	... 101,492,027
Total	... 162,800,999

But of exports to other British possessions over 4 millions sterling worth were to the Straits Settlements and over 5 millions sterling worth were to Hong-Kong. A considerable proportion of the exports to the Straits Settlements and almost the whole of the exports to Hong-Kong are really destined for China and Japan. We may therefore add 6 millions sterling to the exports to the foreign countries and deduct this amount from the exports to other British possessions. The figures thus adjusted are:—

Exports.	Amount.
	£
To the United Kingdom	... 38,236,780
To other British possessions	... 17,072,192
To Foreign countries	... 107,492,027
Total	... 162,800,999

United Kingdom thus took 23.5 per cent of our exports, other British possessions 10.5 per cent and foreign countries 66 per cent. Foreign countries are our largest and most important customers.

One of the principal objects of a preferential

tariff is to deprive foreign countries of a great part of their share in India's import trade. A preferential tariff would fail to achieve its purpose if it did not bring about this result. Will foreign countries retaliate and have they the power to retaliate?

They have no such power, says the advocate of preferential tariffs. Our exports to foreign countries consist of raw materials which are essential to their industries. They will cripple their own industries, if they tax imports from India. Much as they may like to retaliate, "in many important branches of commerce, outside nations will be forced to come to India whether (for political reasons) they wish to or not in order to obtain the raw materials and other products necessary to keep their own peoples occupied and their own industries prosperous," says Mr. M. D. P. Webb who is so willing to offer India as a sacrifice at the altar of Imperialism. Sir Ropar Lethbridge is equally positive. It is not easy for any country to tax imports from India. It is an "impossible task". Among all our customers, he says "there is not one that could by any possibility attempt to retaliate on India except at the gravest peril to its own industries, and there is not a single one that is in the least likely to attempt the impossible task." (The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference).

The question may be considered from another point of view. Under Imperial Preference, the Indian peoples will grow prosperous, with the result that "so far from selling less to the foreigner in these prosperous circumstances, they are certain to sell much more".

That is all very well, but the question is not whether we shall be able and willing to sell much more to the foreigner, but whether the foreigner will be willing to buy much more from us.

Optimists like Mr. Webb and Sir Roper Lethbridge may be referred to the study of the question of preferential tariffs by Lord Curzon's Government in 1903. According to Sir E. F. G. Law, India's position as an exporter of raw materials is one of considerable defensive strength, "but this is not the case with every country nor by any means with regard to all classes of produce exported." On the whole, therefore, "it is more in the interest of India to leave matters as they are than to embark on a new fiscal policy," unless it can be shown that a preferential tariff will secure "very great advantages" for our exports to the British Empire. Sir E. F. G. Law had stated the chief objection to a preferential tariff fairly clearly, but the Government of India thought that he had possibly "underrated both the powers of retaliation which foreign countries possess and also their readiness to use it." India has a monopoly of Jute, *till*, lac, teak wood, myrobolams and *Mohwa* and a less complete monopoly of some other articles. "With regard however to the greater portion of our exports," they said "they compete successfully in foreign markets by reason of their cheapness rather than of their quality or kind. We cannot feel confident that the conditions and requirements of foreign industries have yet been ascertained with the precision and fullness necessary to make them a sufficiently broad and stable basis on which to rest a fiscal policy of very problematical value to India, whilst the consequences of failure might result in irreparable disaster.

The views of the Government of India on the question of preferential tariffs were published in 1904. Sir Roper Lethbridge's "India and Imperial Preference" appeared in 1907; Mr. Webb's "India and the Empire" in 1908; and Sir Roper Lethbridge's "The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference" in 1913. As both these writers confidently assert that foreign nations have not the power of taxing imports

from India, it may be supposed that they have investigated the conditions and requirements of foreign industries with respect to the supply of raw materials from India more fully than the Government of India could do in 1904. But not the slightest evidence of an investigation of this nature is found in their books.

Foreign nations would be unable to retaliate on India if she was the only country in the world which supplied them with raw materials for their industries. It is certainly true that we have a monopoly of certain articles. But the total value of the exports of these articles in 1913-14 was only £ 17,150,394 or 17 per cent of the total exports of Indian merchandise to foreign countries.

	Exports	Amount. £
Opium	...	931,772
Lac	...	897,636
Til	...	1,762,031
Mowa	...	363,617
Myrobolams	...	231,948
Indigo	...	98,875
Jute Raw	...	12,709,748
Teak Wood	...	154,767
Total		<u>17,150,394</u>

In the case of rice, hides and skins, oil seeds, spices and chemicals and drugs, our monopoly is less complete, while in the case of other articles of export we have no monopoly at all.

At the most, foreign nations are forced to buy from us less than 20 per cent of our total export of all articles to them. That is about the extent of their dependence upon us.

(If we include the exports of jute manufactures the percentage increases to 31, but we should not forget that before the War Germany was levying heavy duties on imports of jute manufacture

which shows that our jute manufactures were not indispensable to her).

It thus appears that foreign countries possess the power of retaliation.

Without crippling their own industries or ruining themselves, they may limit their purchases of those raw materials from India of which she has a monopoly and impose heavy duties on other goods for which India is not the only source of supply. They may thus do our export trade much harm. The onus of proving that they will not in any circumstances do so, rests on the advocates of Imperial Preference.

Lastly in 1913-14, we exported to foreign countries articles wholly or mainly manufactured of the value of about £ 21,051,000. The chief articles of export were chemicals, drugs and medicines worth £ 1,000,000; dyes and colours, excluding indigo, worth £ 319,000, hides and skins, tanned and dressed, and leather worth £ 351,000; metals, iron and steel, and manufactures thereof, worth £ 246,000; yarn and textile fabrics, including jute manufactures, worth

£17,880,000. The total value of the export of manufactured articles from India is not negligible. We take pride in this fact and consider it to be a sign of the economic transition in India. The further development of our manufacturing industries will give our people increased employment; it will give them higher wages and it will be a means of diminishing the numbers dependent upon agriculture. But if a preferential tariff is adopted, the export of manufactured articles to foreign countries will be seriously affected. We have a monopoly of certain classes of raw produce and the foreigner may not be able to tax their imports. But he can easily retaliate on India by taxing imports of manufactured articles.

Connected with the question of retaliation is that of the indebtedness of India to the British Empire. The imports from the British Empire annually exceed the exports to the British Empire and the export to foreign countries annually exceed the imports from foreign countries. This is shown by the following table :

	1909—10 £	1910—11 £	1911—12 £	1912—13 £	1913—14 £
Imports from the British Empire.	55,000,000	59,000,000	63,000,000	74,000,000	85,000,000
Exports to the British Empire.	52,000,000	57,000,000	61,000,000	65,000,000	61,000,000
Excess of imports over exports.	3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	9,000,000	24,000,000

	1909—10 £	1910—11 £	1911—12 £	1912—13 £	1913—14 £
Export to foreign countries	70,000,000	79,000,000	86,000,000	95,000,000	101,000,000
Imports from foreign countries.	23,000,000	26,000,000	28,000,000	32,000,000	36,000,000
Excess of exports over Imports.	47,000,000	53,000,000	58,000,000	63,000,000	65,000,000

In 1913-14, our trade with the British Empire gave us an adverse balance of 24 millions sterling, which sum does not include the Home charges which in that year amounted to £ 20 millions. As far as our commercial and financial relations with the British Empire are concerned, we are always a debtor country and our indebtedness has increased in recent years. Even the dullest intellect will perceive that it is upon exports to foreign countries that we depend for discharging our obligations to the British Empire and that, if owing to a change in our fiscal policy our exports to foreign countries should dwindle, we shall cease to be a solvent country. It is therefore absolutely necessary for India, under the circumstances, to develop her export trade with foreign countries as much as possible.

From the subject of India's indebtedness to the British Empire, we pass by a natural transition to that of currency and exchange. Our currency system is the gold exchange system in which the internal currency consists of token coins convertible into gold at a more or less constant rate for purposes of international payments. The maintenance of the gold exchange system depends upon stability in the value of the rupee, which in its turn depends upon a favourable balance of trade. It has been shown above that foreign countries possess the power to retaliate. If, as the result of the tariff wars in which India would most certainly become involved as soon as she adopted a preferential tariff, the balance of trade turned against India, her currency system would be thrown into confusion. The Government of India realised the danger which the proposed change in her fiscal policy would involve. "The national solvency of India," they wrote in 1903, "depends upon the preservation of an excess of exports over imports equal to the amount of the Home charges, that is, upon maintaining a favourable balance of trade." It is therefore a vital object with us to stimulate our exports by

every means in our power, to seek new market and develop old ones and to remove all obstacles which stand in the way of growing external demand. If, then, notwithstanding the safeguards which we possess, we should unhappily be drawn into tariff wars with powerful countries, it can not be doubted that, whichever way the ultimate victory might incline, our export trade would, for the time being, be injuriously affected. Such a result would be fraught with the gravest consequences. Imperial Preference would involve India in tariff wars with foreign nations, and the set-back to our trade, our revenues and our credit would immensely outweigh any benefit that we might reasonably expect from the most unconditional surrender of our opponents in the war of tariffs. We cannot sufficiently impress this danger on your attention. Even if the chances of success were greater than we conceive them to be, we hold that the certain cost of the war and the severe penalties of defeat would be too heavy a price to pay." (Letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India dated the 22nd of October 1903.)

Sir Roper Lethbridge, on the other hand, maintains that Imperial Preference, so far from endangering the financial stability of India, would increase it. It may be interesting to learn how Sir Roper proves his extraordinary thesis. The financial stability of India depends upon the maintenance of a favourable balance of trade. This Sir Roper recognises. But one of the causes of a favourable balance of trade in the case of India at the present time is a very large export trade with foreign nations. Every year we sell more raw materials to foreign nations than to the British Empire, which is positively wicked. The export of raw produce to foreign countries should cease, for it is a source of weakness to our financial system. We cannot depend upon the foreigner who in making his fiscal arrangements keeps

his own interests in view and not those of India. Suppose the foreigner restricted his demand for our commodities. What will be the result? The balance of trade will turn against India, the exchange value of the rupee will fall and India will be plunged into financial chaos. Let us therefore be wise before it is too late and develop our export trade with the British Empire. But the British Empire takes from us goods, raw and manufactured, worth only £ 55,000,000 while the export to foreign countries amounts to £ 107,000,000 (1913-14). One would think that the fact that our exports to the British Empire were only 34 per cent of total exports in 1913-14 showed that foreign nations wanted our produce more and paid us a better price for it, whether they were interested in the financial stability of India or not. One would also like to ask whether the countries which constitute the British Empire would be willing to buy Indian produce in excess of their requirements just to make our finances stable or to please us.

One wonders if Sir Roper is aware that, by declaring that our export trade to foreign protected countries is "obviously and undeniably at the mercy of their protectionist tariffs," he convicts himself of self-contradiction or something very like it. The fear that these protectionist countries will retaliate on India, says Sir Roper, is groundless, "for the protectionist foreigner must have Indian raw materials or cripple his own industry." This means that the protectionist foreigner cannot do without our raw materials and there is no immediate danger of India losing her profitable trade with him. If that is so, then the financial system of India is stable enough so far as its stability depends upon the preservation of a substantial excess of exports to foreign countries over imports. But, 'No' says Sir Roper; we cannot depend upon the foreigner which means that the foreigner can restrict his demand for our raw materials.

And thus you may kill two birds with one stone. Is it required to prove that our export trade with foreign countries will not suffer under Imperial Preference? Then say that the foreigner is no more able to tax our imports than Great Britain is able to tax the raw cotton for her cotton industry or the raw wool for her woollen manufacture. Is it required to prove that the export of the bulk of our produce to foreign countries endangers the financial stability of India? Then say that our exports are "obviously and undeniably at the mercy of their protectionist tariffs."

In the end, a few words may be said about India's trade with the self-governing colonies of Great-Britain.

"The recognition of India as a sovereign State" is the title of an interesting chapter in Sir Roper Lethbridge's book, 'India and Imperial Preference.' India, he says, cannot be asked to become a member of the proposed Imperial federation except as a sovereign State ruled by the King-Emperor. This would involve a recognition of the rights of Indians as citizens of the Empire. Possessing those rights, an Indian would claim in all parts of the Empire the same privileges as any other member of the Empire. Indians do not at present enjoy these privileges in the self-governing colonies of Great Britain.

The anti-Indian attitude of these colonies is to be regretted, but race prejudices, we are told, die hard in a democracy and, further, the British colonist cannot be dragooned into goodness. In order to raise our political status, let us appeal to his self-interest. The Colonies might be pleased to reconsider our case if we offered them a valuable and tangible concession in the form of a trade preference in our markets. What we have been unable to get by political agitation and representations through the Imperial Government, we may easily secure by means of Imperial Preference. "If I were an Indian delegate and entered the Imperial Conference with a mandate to

offer Indian trade preference in return for British and Colonial trade preference plus equal treatment for British Indian subjects in all parts of the Empire," says Sir Roper Lethbridge, "I should do so with the fullest confidence of success."

One almost wishes that it were possible for India to make a tempting offer to the colonies. But the share of Great Britain's self-governing colonies in India's import trade is so small as to be negligible. The total value of the imports from Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is less than one million pounds. In 1913-14, the total value of im-

ports from Cape Colony was £ 222, New Zealand £ 198, Canada about £ 6000, Transvaal £ 7000, Natal £ 148,000, Australia £ 611,000. The imports from Australia are not negligible but about 39 per cent of the imports consist of horses of which Australia is already the largest exporter to India. She has little to gain by preference in this respect; the imports from other self-governing colonies are so small that preference is out of the question. If the recognition of India as a "Sovereign State" depends upon her ability to offer to the colonies material and valuable trade concession, India will have to wait long for that recognition.

THE INDIAN RAIYAT*

BY

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

In his remarkable victory speech to the Houses of Parliament and the Empire, the King spoke thus:—"Now that the clouds of war are being swept from the sky, new tasks arise before us. We see more clearly some duties that have been neglected, some weaknesses that may retard our onward march."

These words of the King apply more appropriately to India than to any other part of the Empire, for here, the neglected duty, the failure to provide a banking system for the people, more than any other cause, has brought their onward march to a standstill.

Progress of a kind there has been, but how have the people progressed? Railways have stretched out in all directions; have the lives of the people stretched out? Jute mill dividends have expanded; have the lives of the workers

kept pace? Bombay is a thriving city; do the people thrive in the chawls?

And what of the rural population? Does it march onward, or stagnate? The MacLagan Committee answer the question in these words: "The chief object of co-operation in India was to deal with the stagnation of the lower classes, more especially of the agriculturists who constitute the bulk of the population. It was found in many parts of India, as in most European countries, that in spite of the rapid growth of commerce and improvements in communications, the economic condition of the peasants had not been progressing as it should have done, that indebtedness instead of decreasing had tended to increase, that usury was still rampant, that agricultural methods had not improved, and, that the old unsatisfactory features of a backward rural economy seemed destined persistently to remain."

Gentlemen, this is a serious indictment of a

*A Paper read at the Bengal Co-operative Conference on 15th February, 1919.

hundred years of British rule, but unfortunately it is true, and my own personal knowledge and observation confirm it. Six or seven months ago, a missionary friend in the Deccan wrote to me to say that there influenza was a greater scourge than the plague, and that of ten couples married by him earlier in the year, only two remained complete. He was doing what he could with his small staff, to help the people, but what can one man do among a million? Two months later he wrote to say that the cotton crop had been almost destroyed by untimely rains. Another two months passed and he wrote to say that the jowari crop, the food crop of man and beast, have failed for want of rain, and the people were selling their cattle from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per head. There was no fodder to buy and no money to buy it. The people's harvest this year consists of the skins of their cattle. The cattle go, the people remain—to stagnate?

Another friend in the United Provinces wrote me the other day to say that "the people around here are dying like flies, and nobody cares" and it would matter little if they did, for no money means no doctors, no help of any kind.

India, with her huge population, may be described, aptly, as the minus quantity of the Empire—minus education, minus doctors and medicine, minus sanitation; and in this year of scarcity, minus food, minus water, minus clothes, minus oil, and all else that make the wheel of life turn smoothly.

Now all these minus quantities, the water, the food, the cloth, the oil, sanitation, doctors, medicine, education, are traceable chiefly to that other great minus, money—that vacuum in the body politic—the banking system which is not. In my school days I learnt that nature abhors a vacuum; so does Satan, and he fills it with the mahajani.

Whose duty is it to provide a banking system

for the people? It is the duty of the Government of India. Why?

1. Because it is the duty of Government to protect the people from oppression.
 2. Because it is the duty of Government to destroy a system of finance—the 'mahajani'—which brings discredit on British rule, and dishonour to the British flag; and which sterilises the beneficent work of the Government.
 3. Because no one else can provide the credit money required by 315 millions of people.
 4. Because the Government currency note is the only possible form of credit money, and the only one which the people know and trust.
 5. Because the trade balance on which the currency system turns, centres in the hands of Government, and will provide the capital required.
 6. Because, if it is the duty of Government to provide a railway system which removes the surplus crops of the people, it is equally the duty of Government to provide a banking system which will bring back the price.
 7. Because, without a banking system which will develop the money power of the country, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, or any other, becomes a dead letter, and the new Legislative Council a farce.
- These seven are only half of my fourteen points: the others ought not to be wanted.
- A banking system to finance 300 millions of people implies two things; on the one hand, ample resources to lend, and on the other, ample credit on which to borrow. Let me say a word or two regarding the resources available. In Europe the banks depend on deposits for their resources, but in India the resources of the masses being nil, their deposits are nil. I might also point out that deposit banking never develops properly until metallic money has been replaced by paper: therefore, if India is ever to develop a large system of deposit banking, the one-rupee note must oust

the silver rupee. Why deposit banking follows the development of the paper currency is easily explained. Silver money keeps, if hoarded, paper money perishes. To save its life the owner of the currency note is forced to bank it, and, if the Government has the courage of its convictions, it will push the one-rupee note all it can. If it does, I have little doubt that ere long, the damp and the midew and the white ant, to say nothing of the dacoit, will do more to develop deposit banking in India, than the Government has done in the last hundred years.

If, however, India is soon to begin her onward march, it would be well not to wait for deposits. Where then shall we find the resources to finance 300 millions of people? We shall find them in the trade balance and the paper currency and gold standard reserves of the Government. These reserves could be made to yield another three hundred crores of good credit money which only awaits the creation of a banking channel through which it can flow out to fertilise the country, and set India agoing on her onward march. At the Co-operative Conference in Simla, I drew attention to the unfairness, to put it mildly, of investing India's money reserves in England and elsewhere, while India is starving for money; and I was glad to see that the Indian merchants of Bombay drew Sir James Meston's attention to the same matter the other day. I hope India's publicists will keep an eye on these reserves, and see that India's money is used for India's good; for the loss to India by the present system of investing the money outside of the country, runs to hundreds of crores in the course of a few years.

So much for the resources available. What about the credit of the three hundred millions who are eager to borrow? What is it worth? An acre or two of impoverished land, a pair of lean cattle, an eight-anna plough, a drycow,

a two-rupee goat, represent the assets of the borrower; who will trust him? The function of a bank is to monetise trust or credit, but if the credit is not there, the bank is powerless to monetise it. The development of trust or credit is, therefore, one of the chief tasks awaiting the attention of Government. Credit or trust is the key to industry as to all others, but trust does not grow afoot in a night like the bamboo in June. It is a delicate plant of slow growth. It requires for its cultivation carefully trained gardeners, thousands of them, and the sooner they set to work the better, if the three hundred millions are to begin their onward march within a reasonable time.

The Raiyat is a small man, but multiply him by 300 millions, organise his credit and his energy, and he becomes a giant, able to move the world. Finance the raiyat and he will finance the Government and the new industrial development, the Municipalities, the City Improvement Schemes, the District Boards, and everything else requiring money. Leave him as he is and India will remain what she is, a land of waste and want. The politician clamours for the power of the purse, but there is no power in it; it is as flat as the floor on which I stand, and only the raiyat can fill it. Finance the raiyat, take up the neglected duty, and India will march onwards at the head of the Empire, instead of hanging back in the rear where she now is.

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SEDITION AND ANARCHISM IN INDIA

BY

PROF. S. C. RAY, M.A.

ALL the great political writers of the world, although they may differ in many important points of political theory, are, nevertheless, agreed in this fundamental principle of human psychology, *viz.*, that individuals have always tried to live peacefully in society in response to their natural desire to maintain what they consider to be their natural rights. The state is, accordingly, the ultimate form of evolution of the primitive society of "political animals" bound together by social necessities and interdependence and desirous of living in friendship and association and in the freedom of realising their highest ideals. Social order or peace is seldom disturbed unless either the economic interests of one class come into conflict with those of others living in the same or different states, or their rights are encroached upon by the executive in the exercise of their legal and discretionary powers. Commerce and Industry which was, at one time, believed to be the bond of peace and brotherhood among nations, have now become the fruitful cause of political and economic unrest throughout the civilised world, because civilisation has now come to be identified with head-long industrial and commercial progress and has ceased to be associated with the moral, intellectual, spiritual and artistic development of man. It has assumed, for good or ill, an extremely aggressive attitude, because all political power is associated with it, and it has as its aider and abettor an equally aggressive partner, *viz.*, a sense of social supremacy. The causes of disturbance of the social order are, therefore, in the ultimate analysis, threefold: (1) economic conflict (2) social or racial diversity, and (3) abuse of executive power.

The remedy for the third cause is provided in every state by the establishment of constitutions limiting the executive powers, and regulating the relation between the people and Govern-

ment, and the legal relation between man and man. I am not concerned with this. My object in this article is to analyse how far economic and racial causes are responsible for the social disorder which every sober and right-thinking man deplores, specially because no remedy has yet been devised for these causes.

Human beings in India, as elsewhere, do not differ fundamentally in their desire to live amicably in society and to live in a way which conduces best to their happiness and well-being. What this happiness or well-being implies, depends upon the conception of it entertained by particular groups of human beings. This conception may be shaken or modified by external influences in certain respects, but in its essentials it remains unshaken and resists all outside attempts at encroachment or violation. It is in this way that conflict and discord arise. It is difficult to conceive that men having created society by their social instincts should themselves attempt to disturb its tranquillity unless they are compelled to do so by pressure of circumstances. There is, however, a limitation placed upon these circumstances by the nature of man.

We, in this country, have been accustomed to a paternal government which has given us, while we were ignorant of anything else but our elementary necessities, certain opportunities and blessings which were greatly appreciated. I need not stop to describe them. In certain matters of detail or minor importance, where we came into contact with foreigners, we have had no causes of grievance or conflict. But after the elementary necessities had been satisfied, relations between the two communities began to be deep and complex, and interests developed which threatened to be clashing or antagonistic. And it is in such matters that our nature began to revolt in certain fundamental points.

Fifty or sixty years ago when education had not been so widely diffused as now, when world intercourse had not influenced the lives of Indians, widened their horizon, and broadened their outlook, when the educated community had not come into touch with the realities of public life, and the aims, aspirations and ideals of the great society outside—the people depended more on public power for the realisation of their political life than now. Indeed, political consciousness had not then been aroused ; and self-reliance and self-respect which are the twin brothers in political evolution had not then been born. Government, on its side was accustomed to paternalism ; the people, on their side, were habituated to a mode of political obedience quite out of harmony with a period of political adolescence. The people began to realise that the system of irresponsible government established in the country was not favourable to the development of self-respect and self-reliance and it was coming into conflict with its new and advanced conception of social well-being. If India had remained isolated from the rest of the world, it is quite possible she would have remained contented with her own lot. But coming into close association with a nation whose mission was to uplift her people and to assimilate her civilisation to that of the West, she began to think herself whether she would allow this assimilation to be effected to the complete effacement of her nationality. Herein arose a conflict between the two nations, of which we are now reaping the fruits.

This conflict, as I have indicated above, had its origin in either economic or racial causes. The economic causes are identified with the interests of trade and commerce, which are given undue prominence owing to the fact that the traders have been the founders of the Indian Empire. But it is forgotten that other men are necessary to preserve an Empire than those who founded it. The interests, rights and immemorial sanctities of

the Indian people have, as I showed in a previous article, been subordinated to the interests of trade and commerce. In the social sphere, considerations of racial superiority and British supremacy are the predominant elements. The Government refused to concede to popular demands either by changing the system of government or by allowing the conduct of the executive to be changed in their relations with the people, lest such a change might be interpreted as weakness in maintaining British prestige ; they began by differentiating between Europeans and Indians in all transactions where they feared that equal treatment would shake the foundations of that prestige. The Government was naturally supported by the whole European community, who became nervous over any attempt at government to give equality to all, irrespective of race or colour. Thus political cleavage reacted on social cleavage and *vise versa*. The situation may be illustrated by a few specific and glaring instances in which the differentiation was accentuated. It will not be difficult for the reader to judge in each case whether the cause is social (or racial) or economic :

(1) In the carrying of arms, Eurasians are classed with Europeans. In many other respects, they are classed as Indians.

(2) In cases of assault or murder of Indians by Europeans, the latter do not, in the opinion of right-thinking Indians, receive just punishment.

(3) The European and Indian services are graded on different principles. In the former, the number of posts in each grade diminishes as the salaries diminish ; in the latter, the case is quite the reverse, affording less opportunities of quick promotion.

(4) Appointments to the high offices have not always been made on the ground of fitness, but on political considerations. And attempts have been made by high officials to explain away the statutory abolition of racial disabilities.

(5) Honours and distinctions have been bestowed on the undeserving and the obsequious i.e., on persons who have distinguished themselves not in the service of the public but in what is narrowly called "public service."

(6) Greater respect and consideration are shown in private and public places to the meanest European and Eurasian than to respectable Indians. Indians have complained that the criterion of respectability is a particular form of dress, and neither birth nor social position. This is foreign to the Indian idea of respectability.

(7) In public offices, the well-paid posts have been given to Europeans and Eurasians, many of whom are inferior in ability and education to their Indian subordinates. This feeling of bitterness has been aggravated by the distribution of offices in proportion to the population of the different communities irrespective of merit.

(8) Indian public opinion is usually subordinated to European public opinion; and even where there is no conflict between these two opinions, the former is treated with contempt. The statements of Europeans are more trusted than those of Indians and the result is that honest and truthful Indians have recourse to tricks, meanness and lies. This moral differentiation has wrought a revolution in the character of Indians; for "political despotism yields a harvest of deceit, evasions and trickery."

(9) In the case of wrongs done by Europeans to Indians, they mostly remain unredressed (1) because petty wrongs are never brought before Courts of Law and (2) serious wrongs are not adequately compensated. In hospitals, in railway trains and platforms, on public roads, in places of public recreation, events happen which lend colour to the dangerous doctrine that "Europeans can do no wrong."

(10) Criticism of government measures is misunderstood as contempt of government. As this is one of the few constitutional means left to

the people to ventilate their grievances, the suppression of this means is naturally taken, rightly or wrongly, to be the grossest abuse of executive power.

(11) Government officials have frequently preached co-operation with Indian non-officials in administration. But this "co-operation," in actual practice, has been one-sided, and the opinions of responsible Indians have been swamped by the opinion of an isolated officer.

(12) In every country, with a semblance of constitutional government, the opinion of the numerical majority is respected and followed. But in India the "ruling majority" has taken the place of the numerical majority and the result is that the opinion of the real majority is disregarded.

(13) Our sentiments have been cut to the quick by the European community without the government raising its little finger to repair the injury. Witness the sewage, dirt, refuse and other impurities which are daily discharged by the jute mills into the sacred river Hooghly which has thereby been converted into a huge sewer for the benefit of commerce. This injury is submitted to by the people with a galling sense of restraint and patience. How many thousands of people thus feel their insignificance before a few magnates of commerce and industry!

(14) The notorious corruption and oppression of the Police has not yet been eradicated. And the people may be excused if they believe that the government is at the mercy of the Police.

(15) Whenever measures have been introduced in India in the interest of Europeans, they have been defended on the ground of western precedents. But when Indians have demanded certain reforms on western models, they have been told that whatever is good or suitable for one country is not good or suitable for another.

(16) It is now generally admitted that the average European in this country is not superior to the best type of Indian. The difference bet-

ween the two is gradually vanishing. But this fact has not removed the prejudice of government against Indians.

(17) Europeans (mostly belonging to the commercial community) are greater breakers of law than Indians of similar position. If confronted by the guardians of law, they get off with impunity by bullying them.

(18) The bye-laws of railways, tramways and other private undertakings are framed with an eye to the greater comfort and convenience of the European than the Indian. This is possible because the management of such undertakings is in the hands of Europeans.

(19) The Anglo-Indian press has been loud and strong in their vilification and abuse of Indians and in exciting racial feeling. But the government has made no attempt to stop this.

(20) The unrestricted practice of cow-killing in India has wounded the feelings of the majority of Indians. I have been assured on high authority that cow-killing is not sanctioned by Mahomedan law and it is quite possible to prohibit the practice without shocking the religious susceptibilities of our brother community. But the Europeans themselves are sinners in this respect.

They are unable, for the sake of appeasing the Hindu sentiment, to set an example of self-sacrifice to the Mahomedan subjects by foregoing beef-diet and resorting to mutton or goat meat. "I cannot," wrote Zeller to Goethe, "conceive how any right deed can be performed without sacrifice". If the Europeans had considered this "right", I am sure they would have made this sacrifice.

It is these and such-like grievances, having their root in racial or economic causes, which lie at the bottom of the present discontents and which are responsible for the "sedition and anarchy" that are alleged to be rampant in the whole country. If the causes are carefully analysed, it will be found that the responsibility must

be fixed, in the last resort, (1) on government, (2) on the European community. And yet, by a curious irony of fate, it is these two bodies that are emphatic in their denunciation of these two crimes, and emphatic in their determination to enforce the most drastic measures for their repression. The Report of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee is replete with passages* which prove *prima facie* that repression has preceded and is the cause of anarchism.

These passages in the Report convincingly prove that the young men were goaded to desperation by certain measures which were disliked by the people. Except in the case of their association with the German plot, which may now be said to be finally crushed, there was no idea to overthrow government, but there was undoubtedly a firm resolve to make the administration impossible as a protest against its methods. The suggestion that their aim was to overthrow the "established government" of this country appears to me to be a pure fiction. Their efforts were directed not against "established government" but against its methods, and against individual agents of government. Overthrowing the *methods* of government is not synonymous with overthrowing the government itself. In any other State where foreign rule does not prevail, the methods adopted by these youths would not, in theory, be interpreted as *seditions*.

(*) (i) Mr. Rand, who had become *unpopular* owing to his being the officer charged with the enforcement &c (p. 3)

(ii) Among those who united to excuse the murder and to praise the bomb as a weapon of offence against *unpopular officials* was Tilak (p. 6.)

(iii) In the year 1897 the Poona-ites were subjected to *oppression* at the time of the plague (p. 7.)

(iv) The disorder which prevails owing to the pride of military strength (p. 7.)

(v) Destroy the government because it is foreign and *oppressive* (p. 8.)

(vi) Protest against the *inhuman* transportations and hangings of Indian youths (p. 9.)

(vii) The collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not far off (p. 11.)

although they were certainly *violent*; for the right of resisting the government in extreme cases of political discontent is recognised in abstract political theory, and in no country except in India would such a right be construed as an attempt against the *State*, although it is undoubtedly an attempt against the *constitution*. The young men were, rightly or wrongly, smarting under the impression that the people were not treated with justice and consideration either by the rulers or by the members of the ruling race. Impulsive or impressionable nature is quick to take revenge. The form which this revenge took, in the absence of a constitutional remedy, was *Swaraj i.e.*, government by themselves without the association of alien rulers. This was not a goal but an ideal—impracticable and imaginary. But like all ideals it sprang from the perception of an actual evil. An English political writer says: "Representative institutions, petitions, public meetings, a free press are various means through which the people can assert itself. When refused these means, and when yet sufficiently vigorous to use them, it will assert itself by armed rebellion or, if that is not possible, by secret conspiracies and assassinations. . . . Political assassination is a clumsy and ineffective method of moving a vote of censure on the government in countries where the opposition has no constitutional means of expression. . . . Statesmanship has been defined as the art of avoiding revolutions; and this is so far true that the wise statesman will make revolution impossible by making it unnecessary, or certain of failure because not supported by the General Will."

A revolution, of course, is impossible in India, but the 'anarchism' is its substitute. If we survey the whole situation impartially, we have no difficulty in discovering that even "anarchism" has been magnified into something which it is not. Anarchism is the extreme form of individualism, and means the abolition of all govern-

ment, the suspension of all sovereign power and the establishment of a form of individual rule. The more rigid and mechanical the autocratic power of government, the closer does this individualism resemble anarchism, because autocracy resents every form of resistance or restraint, however legitimate and constitutional. What is called "anarchism" in India would never be called "anarchism" in England; indeed, anarchism cannot exist in the latter country. Anarchism is incompatible with the social nature of man which implies mutual dependence and mutual service. If this inter-dependence is assumed, anarchism, which implies absolute individual freedom, cannot exist in a well-ordered society. Anarchism is the product of those countries where the "government" is divorced from the "State". It is pre-eminently a protest against autocratic rule; and in a democracy, it would be an anomaly, an exotic. 'Anarchy' has become a by-word in this country, because the political status of India is singularly anomalous; it is not a "State" in the strict political sense of the term; it is, however, theoretically a democracy because the executive are responsible to a remote and indifferent democratic Parliament; but it is practically an irresponsible autocracy. The political principles applicable to a "State" have been tried and applied in this country by administrators accustomed to the institutions of a free country. But India was unprepared for their reception and culture; and it happened that while the Englishmen were enjoying the fullest amount of freedom which they had carried with them from home, India suffered from the most flagrant inconsistency, namely the incongruous combination of the theoretical principles of liberty with the actual subjection of the people. The solution of this acute political problem has baffled some of the greatest of Indian statesmen imbued with the highest political sagacity and sympathy for the people. Such failures may in part be attri-

buted to the opposition of the European community, whose vested interests in the country were too strong to give way to Indian interests. The European community in the preservation of these vested interests—which I repeat are economic and racial—have not felt the slightest compunction in rousing the bitter feelings of the Indians. By their insults and rudeness, by their imperious and over-bearing attitude, by their assertion of racial superiority and reminder of Indian inferiority in all their relations with Indians, by their encroachment upon the civilisation and traditions of India, and lastly by the desecration of our sacred rights and sentiments—they have goaded a few people—happily not all—to desperate remedies because all other remedies had failed. The situation has been accentuated by government sitting with folded hands and looking listlessly upon the situation, unwilling or unable to repair the wrong which the people suffered at the hands of their European fellow-subjects. The Anglo-Indian Press fanned the flame by their cowardly, mean and scurrilous attacks upon Indians for their "aspirations" to a position of equality in an Empire of justice. This equality of course did not mean equality in political privileges—but ordinary equality in the eyes of law and equal opportunities to develop their capacity. The government which now accuses Indians of sedition and of exciting ill-feeling between one race and another looked with perfect unconcern upon a similar action on the part of the Europeans. It is not now fair to the Indian community to say that they are the authors of the sedition, whereas the real authors are the Europeans, who, having done the mischief, now try to shield themselves under the protection of government. What has the government done to stop the wrongs committed by Europeans against Indians? What has it done by way of warning them to restrain from indulging in speeches, writings and action which, every states-

man could see, were pregnant with seeds of discontent and disaffection? What law did the government enact to remedy a state of lawlessness which, as it was unchecked, was to lead to worse and more serious lawlessness in the future? Did the government in the early stage of this ferment realise that there really existed a state of lawlessness in the country which should have been nipped in the bud? Did not the government display a lamentable lack of statesmanship and knowledge of national psychology in not appreciating the critical nature of the situation which events were slowly evolving? If anarchy is identified with lawlessness, the European community in this country are guilty of sowing the seeds of anarchism of which the whole country is now reaping the fruits. Those who have broken the 'law' of the country (I do not mean statutory law alone) by injuring the feelings of the people, their deep seated prejudices, their dearest and most cherished institutions by means of physical and moral coercion are anarchists of a worse and more cowardly type than the men, who, because they have had no constitutional remedy available to them, were forced, by pressure of circumstances, to have recourse to unconstitutional and violent methods.

A jealous and nervous desire to preserve the economic interests of the European community and to maintain the racial (as distinct from British) supremacy are the insecure pillars on which the government is supported. This fact has shaken the confidence of the Indians in its foundation on justice. They are under the impression, right or wrong, that the obstacle to the highest life of man here is the distribution of "partial justice" in cases of conflict between an Indian and a European in the law courts, in public offices, in the field of commerce and industry, in social functions and generally in their daily intercourse in life. "The essence of justice," says a great political thinker, "is that different individuals

are not to be treated differently except on grounds of universal application, and that the most prominent element in justice, as ordinarily conceived, is a kind of equality i.e., impartiality in the observance or enforcement of certain general rules allotting *good* or *evil* to individuals." This "universal justice" has been replaced by "partial justice"; and the change has been brought about by racial and economic causes.

The remedy for this state of things is "Self-Government." The Government of India has hitherto been a personal government, fluctuating in policy, fluctuating in political wisdom, fluctuating in methods, fluctuating in the appreciation of national psychology and fluctuating in its analysis of the lessons of experience. These fluctuations have been attributable to the personal factor in government. There has therefore been an antithesis between a varying and unstable element represented in the chief Magistrate and a stable though slowly evolving element represented in the nation. The psychology of the former has been changing and fickle; that of the latter, though changing, was a change of organic and steady growth from its primitive to its fully developed state, which, according to Aristotle, is called its "nature." It is difficult to reconcile these two elements politically:—one personal and the other organic in Indian society. An unstable element is unfitted, by the inconstancy of its nature, to govern a slowly evolving society containing in itself the elements of organic growth and stability. The combination is a psychological incongruity, but it has been maintained and preserved by artificial means which have proved disagreeable to both. The remedy therefore lies in placing the government, as far as the traditions, habits and sentiments of the people are concerned, in the hands of the stable element in society, viz., the people. Self-Government, though it may not please and appease the Europeans, will certainly please and appease the Indians. It is not to be

taken narrowly as a concession to political agitation, but as a concession to popular sentiments or general will, an affront to which leads to disaffection. It will facilitate and smooth the way to the steady evolution of the vital and stable element in society, unobstructed by the jarring elements that oppose it. It may not create a system of government that is efficient from the point of view of expert or the British administrator; but it will, if the European element is adaptable and flexible, bring about an adjustment between the conflicting sentiments and antithetic geniuses of the two nations. No government measures, no criticism or abuse by the Anglo-Indian Press, no vilification and insult by the European community, no threats nor acts of repression by government abuse of power can remove or cure the natural "defects of virtue" of a nation. Our nature hankers after ideals which we cannot realise; our nature repels certain foreign ideals which are forced upon us against our will. The European makes certain demands upon our nature which it is impossible for us to satisfy; we make certain demands upon the Europeans which they feel unable to satisfy. The former, on our part, is not an evidence of inefficiency. There can be no question of inefficiency in the management of affairs which are our own, or in the mismanagement, in the opinion of others, of affairs which are against our genius: there is no justification for abuse if we manage our own matters badly; there is no object in criticism if we understand a question in a different light from others. Such questions arise when there is a conflict of interests, or conflict of spirit, or conflict of views or conflict of power between us and the Europeans. In such cases, we are not competent to pass a free verdict. We are forbidden from saying that a certain thing is good or bad for us. We accept the verdict of another because we are under the incubus of moral or intellectual serfdom engendered by poli-

tical subjection. We say in cowardice of conscience what we ought not to say otherwise.

The remedy proposed by government for the suppression of sedition and anarchism may be materially effective; but it lacks moral force or sanction. And "the less the moral strength of any law, the greater the physical strength which government must exercise to enforce it." The analogy between anarchic India and the sick man demanding treatment by a specialist is amusing though not instructive. I wonder if it was meant seriously. It is specious reasoning to argue that the remedy for a sick man is the medical treatment, however drastic, prescribed by the specialist. But medical treatment alone is not effective. A man suffering from cholera stands little chance of being cured by external or internal application of "specialist" medicines if at the same time he is fed on ground-nuts, gram or Indian corn. He must be fed on barley water before the medicines can be expected to take effect.

The whole substance of my argument is that a repressive bill alone is not adequate; and that simultaneously with measures for effectually dealing with sedition, measures should be taken for rooting out its ultimate causes. *Cessante causa cessant effectus.*

We do not want responsible government of the Australian or South-African type where the basest commercial instincts of the British race find free play; where the native and oriental immigrant population are exploited to a merciless extent in the interest of commerce and industry; where God's great gift to man, *viz.*, freedom, is relentlessly used for the restriction of freedom, and abused in the persecution, exclusion and even extinction of the natives; where the government may be identified with a vast industrial and commercial organisation tending to "substitute interests for principles as the guiding star of political life"; and where the population is subjected to the most degrading disabilities in order that the white population may thrive and prosper

—a population which cares a two-pence for the reputation and fair name of the mother country. We hate such a system of responsible government: we hate it as an ideal; we hate it as a reality. We want a government which shall be responsible not to the interests of race or commerce but to righteousness and humanity, to justice and brotherhood—not partial or imperfect justice, but impartial and universal justice to black and white, to the Hindu or the Mussalman, to the Jew or the Christian, to the high and the low, to the rich and the poor.

I may possibly be accused, in writing this article, of ridiculing and contemning the Government of India and the European community. I emphatically, and without any tinge of hypocrisy, deny this charge. My chief object has been to diagnose the political situation of India from a psychological point of view; and if, in discussing the situation, I have made certain reflections, they are not meant in any way to wound the feelings of the European community, but to emphasise and give point to my theory. It is my desire, and it should be the desire of all who take an interest in the well-being of India, that all communities should live in a spirit of cosmopolitan brotherhood and not as distinct and isolated entities. The State may be composed of diverse elements: but organically it is one whole. It should be the aim of all citizens, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees etc., to live a life of universal brotherhood in the service of the State; and not of one community or class to dominate over all the rest; to make the task of administration smooth, and pleasant; to point out, in a friendly spirit, its defects and dangers; to advise how they can be removed. In the attainment of this aim, the psychological factor is often ignored; and the personal factor is idolised. My purpose throughout has been to enforce recognition of national psychology in framing measures intended for the promotion of social order and well-being.

The Extinction of the Liquor Traffic in America

BY

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

INDIA, as to the rest of the world, the American decision to abolish the liquor traffic from every square inch of American soil is a startling politico-social development. No other nation has had the courage to take such drastic action. Even under the stress of war, European peoples contented themselves with stopping the consumption of certain forms of liquor, such as vodka in Russia and absinthe in France, lowering the percentage of alcohol in intoxicating beverages, and curtailing the hours during which liquor could be bought. The American refusal to compromise with liquor in any way, therefore, is an epoch-making event in the world's history.

The legislative decree by which the American will to suppress the liquor traffic will be enforced has taken the shape of an amendment to the United States Constitution. The Congress passed it on December 17, 1917, and specified that it must be ratified by the legislatures of the requisite two-thirds of the States composing the Union within a period of seven years.

Within 13 months the amendment, which prohibits the manufacture, importation, exportation and sale of alcoholic liquors of all kinds anywhere in the United States except for purely medicinal and industrial purposes had been ratified by 36 of the 48 States comprising the American Union. On January 16, 1919, the House of Representatives and Senate formally announced the ratification of the amendment.

It matters comparatively little whether traffic in liquor ceases within a few weeks or within a few months. The main thing is that the victory has been won—won by constitutional agitation. People in America, and outsiders who closely follow American events are greatly surprised at the rapidity with which the

prohibition movement gained support during the last few years.

Agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic began in America 80 years ago. As long ago as 1846, a law to prohibit liquor was passed in the State of Maine. Five years later, a much more drastic Act was passed providing for the confiscation and destruction of intoxicating liquor, and has been in force ever since, with the exception of the years 1856 and 1857. The States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut followed the example of Maine.

Similar attempts were made in the States of New York and Indiana, but failed. Prohibitory laws were passed in both States, but were declared unconstitutional.

In 1869, the prohibition party was formed to carry on organized agitation for prohibition, as it was felt that the liquor interests constituted a tremendous disrupting force in American politics, and unorganized opposition had little chance against such a wealthy and resourceful combine. Though the leaders of the party had right on their side, and though they were zealous and determined men, they appeared to accomplish but little for many years. They did, indeed, convert many individuals to their cause, and here and there a State went "dry" (prohibitionist.) But until quite recently the movement did not capture the American imagination, and remained more or less inert.

When I first went to the United States about fifteen years ago, all sorts of jokes were cracked at the expense of prohibitionists. Talk of fifteen years! Less than half a dozen years ago, when Mr. William Jennings Bryan gave his first official dinner as Secretary of State in Dr. Wilson's first Cabinet and astounded the Washington world by substituting unfermented grape juice

and other "soft" drinks for the usual wines and spirits, he was lampooned by caricaturists and writers in newspapers, large and small all over the United States.

In the early days of my sojourn in the United States, I used to hear all sorts of stories about the irregularities that occurred in prohibition States. I was told, for instance, of a "dry" town in Louisiana where one of the doctors has his consulting room in a chemist's shop. Day-long men streamed into his office and described their imaginary symptoms, and he solemnly provided them with prescriptions for liquor which the chemist immediately filled. They drank a "dose" on the spot, and carried the rest away for consumption outside. I was also told of "dry" towns where railway trains came in loaded with jugs, bottles, cases and barrels, shipped by express companies from "wet" areas to private individuals who waited on the station platform to claim them.

I saw, with my own eyes, enough to confirm my suspicion that all was not right in prohibition districts. For instance, in a "dry" town in the State of Iowa where I lived for several months, I used to see many evidences of the surreptitious consumption of liquor. Empty whiskey and beer bottles lay hidden in bushes, hedges and alleys, where they had been thrown after their contents had been stealthily imbibed.

When I asked prohibition leaders for an explanation, they told me that, though irregularities were grossly exaggerated by the partisans of the liquor interests, yet it was quite true that some did occur. They ascribed them partly to the laxity of officials charged by the State or County with enforcing the prohibitory laws, who winked at such practices and often enriched themselves by helping topers to evade the law. But much of the mischief, they averred, was caused by the peculiar conditions regarding inter-State commerce prevailing in the United States. So long as there was not a specific law prohibiting the

shipment of liquor into "dry" States, irregularities would continue, and they therefore were bending all their efforts to secure such an enactment. As I shall show later, they succeeded in that object in 1913.

I had not been in the United States long when I began to notice that the attitude of the American people towards drink was changing. Some of the young men who, not so very long before, had indulged in jokes about people who were "on the water wagon" and drinking "buttermilk," I found, were not so facetious on the subject as they used to be. Upon probing the matter, I discovered that these young men had learned that they could not afford to crack jokes, because their bosses had made up their minds that they would have no employees who drink liquor, no matter how moderately, and since they valued their positions, abstinence from liquor had ceased to be a joke so far as they were concerned.

At first I was inclined to believe that the employers who thus frowned upon liquor were exceptional, but I soon changed my mind. I heard again and again, of instances of employees being sacked because they would not or could not give up drink, and of others who failed to get into large works and offices because they were suspected of drinking. I noticed that Americans who controlled railway employees, electricians and other workmen who used delicate tools, and bank clerks, were particularly relentless in closing the doors of their works and offices to persons who drank, no matter how moderately.

A man who might, by any chance, have been drinking, the railway companies declared, ought not to be trusted with the lives of hundreds of men, women, and children. The bank directorates felt that they could not depend upon the honesty of a drinking man, who might at any time be led into temptation that would make him an enemy to society. Managers of workshops knew, from actual experience, that it was a physical

impossibility for a man who drank to have a steady hand, and his fumbling with tools would result in actual monetary loss to them.

The women members of workers' families, I found again and again, appreciated the teetotal policy even more than the men did. This is not to be wondered at, for the men who worked under abstinence from liquor enforced by their employers returned to their homes as soon as they finished work, bringing their money with them intact, instead of hurrying off to a liquor shop to have a drink or drinks and coming home with lightened purse, and, more often than not, drunk.

The southern States of the American Union which have a large negro population, the coloured people, in some districts, outnumbering the whites by four to one, adopted prohibition because liquor led to inter-racial fights and to murders, rapes, and other crimes. The leaders of the negro community were even more anxious than the white man to protect their people from the ravages of alcohol. Thus it came to pass that far-sighted persons of both races espoused the cause of prohibition. Indeed, until quite recently most of the prohibition territory was in the south.

The prohibitionists found that they were able to gather under their banner many diverse interests, all enthusiastically contributing towards the success of the cause, as soon as they began to ask for the suppression of alcohol, because it lowered efficiency, bred crime and destroyed homes and wealth instead of continuing to carry on merely a moral crusade. Industrialists and commercialists, theologians, ethicists, moralists, men of science, and sociologists worked side by side, each giving his best to bring about the desired end.

The momentum gained from this conjoint effort galvanized the movement. By the exercise of local option and the passage of special State laws, county after county and State after State banned liquor.

Persons who painted a black picture of financi-

al ruin resulting from the closing down of brewing and distilling establishments have been proved to be scare-mongers. In "dry" States, breweries and distilleries have, with little confusion or loss of time, been transformed into factories for the production of malted milk, vinegar, unfermented grape juice, and similar harmless articles, and, under the new regime, continue to pay large dividends. Drink shops (saloons) were rapidly turned into shops for selling harmless goods and proved successful.

One of the strongest arguments employed by the anti-prohibitionists was that the State would suffer seriously by losing the excise revenue that the liquor traffic had brought in. But these critics forgot—perhaps conveniently—that, freed from the curse of drink, the capacity of the people to bear taxation would increase, as would also their purchasing power, so that revenue from other departments would expand, and more than offset the loss of excise.

Wherever alcohol has been banished in America, poverty and dependence upon charity have been reduced, homes show signs of affluence, the deposits in banks, especially savings banks, have risen and facilities for education have increased. In every such place crime shows remarkable diminution. Convictions for disorderly conduct, vagrancy, assault and battery, and even more serious crimes such as rape and murder, have greatly decreased. For instance, I was told sometime ago that for two weeks after Helena, Arkansas, went "dry" there was not a single arrest. The business men of Little Rock, another Arkansas city, declare that their business has benefited from prohibition, and they would not change back to the old order of things if permitted to do so.

In 1913, the prohibitionists won a tremendous victory when the Webb-Kenyon law was passed prohibiting the importation from one State into another of liquor "intended to be received, possessed, or in any manner used" in violation of any

law of the State into which it was imported. That measure gave the individual States a powerful instrument to make prohibition effective within their confines. But the United States Supreme Court is the final arbiter in America, and the law remained practically inoperative until three years later when that body decided that it was constitutional.

By that time (the end of 1916) 25 States had gone "dry." Putting such portions of "wet" States as had gone "dry" under local option, together with the "dry" states more than 85 percent of the total area of the country, containing more than 60 per cent of the people of the United States has subscribed to the principle of prohibition.

The war gave the movement an added impetus. American captains of industry saw how the consumption of liquor had been cut down in various European countries in order to increase the output of war-materials, and many of those who had refused to take any interest in the prohibition movement became its active supporters. But for

such conversions to the cause it would have been difficult to secure the passage of the amendment for nation-wide prohibition passed by the United States Congress of December 17, 1917.

During the later stages of the struggle, and after the signing of the armistice, another factor came into operation that greatly helped the cause. Everyone interested in the preservation of peace and order realised that the liquor shop was the place where not only crime was born, and political corruption bred, but also that it was the hatching ground of revolutionary plots. Many powerful persons who had, in the past, sneered at prohibitionists as "cranks" but who were afraid of "Bolshevism, forgot their prejudices as soon as they realized this danger.

If the American earnestness in regard to ridding the nation of the evils of drink continues as it gives promise of doing, there is every reason to hope that the passage of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution has really sounded the death knell of the liquor traffic in the United States.

FROM VIENNA TO PARIS—1815 TO 1919

BY
MR. G. SRINIVASA AIYAR.

HISTORIANS of the Nineteenth Century preferred to date its birth at the fall of Napoleon in 1815. For about quarter of a century Europe had been shaken to the very foundations of its polity; and on the fall of Napoleon, the political architects planned the reconstruction of Europe in the Congress of Vienna. In their anxiety to repress revolutionary and republican movements, the despotic monarchs and reactionary politicians of the Vienna Congress sought to restore the old European polity of Empire and absolutism. The political history of the nineteenth century

Europe has been a story of repeated efforts to remodel the political design of Vienna to satisfy the demands of democracy and nationality, and has culminated in the collapse of the continental empires and the triumph of the democracies of the West. The Peace Conference has met in Paris to record the progress and achievement of democracy during a century and to plan the political reconstruction of the world on the basis of self-determination. From the Congress of Vienna to the Paris Conference—has been the progress of the century. 'From Vienna to Paris' sums up the progress of the world from

despotism to democracy; from absolute empire to popular republic; from the repression of nationality to the triumph of nationality, leading to the peace of the world. The Congress of Vienna restored and perpetuated old despotic systems of Government on the continent; strengthened the empires and tightened their hold on subject peoples; and suppressed the forces of nationality which had done their work with the fall of Napoleon. The Paris Conference seals the doom of despotism and empire, stimulates and fosters democratic forces and guarantees the rights and liberties of nations. The very change in the venue of the Congress indicates the difference in character between the settlement of 1815 and that of 1919. The Capital of the oldest Imperial Dynasty in Europe, the stronghold of reactionary despotism and the seat of the Government of an empire over oppressed nationalities, Vienna was the select sacred spot dedicated to the old order; nor can a more congenial birth-place be chosen for the new order of popular liberty, national rights, and international peace, than Paris—the heart of the Republic, the capital of France and the mother-city of Western arts and civilisation.

It is interesting to note a similarity of aims in the two settlements separated by a century—correction of the offender against peace and establishment of universal peace. In 1815 France was reduced to her pre-war size; and to cure her of her violent distempers, her political regimen was prescribed by the allied powers; in 1919 the Central powers are to be reduced in size and in strength, and they are ordering their constitution at the bidding of the Associated Powers. As in 1815, the losses, the miseries and the sufferings of the war have led men to devise means and machinery to maintain permanent peace.

More striking than the similarity of arms is the difference in methods and machinery between the settlements of Vienna and of Paris. The politi-

cal regimen prescribed for France in 1815 was reversion to Bourbon monarchy; and Europe was to be made safe for absolutism and empire by crushing the liberal and national movements in Italy Hungary and Poland. In 1919 the Germans are gathering materials for the construction of a socialist republic from the debris of a fallen empire; independent national states with popular governments born of self-determination rise up in Central Europe; France and Italy come by their own and get back the severed parts of their mutilated body; and the heroic soul of Belgium shines in the red glory of war to illustrate the triumph of justice, liberty and right: the world is to be made safe for peace and democracy. The international machinery devised by the political architects of a century ago for the establishment of European peace and order was the Holy Alliance—an unholy combine of the despots of the continent to kill liberty and progress; the peace of Europe was to be vested in the custody of the despots. The international machinery sought to be set up in 1919 for the preservation of the peace of the world is a League of Nations, a body of representatives of the nations; the peace of the world is to be the business of the peoples. 'From the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations' sums up the onward march of the world in the century.

DEATH IS EVERYWHERE

BY CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

Death, death is everywhere. Where'er we tread,
We stir the dust of myriads long since dead.
Our food and drink, of life the staff and stay
Are but the finished products of decay.
Our marble halls, with all their quarried stones—
What are they but the bleached and whitened bones
Of countless generations, piled on high,
Hecatomb upon hecatomb to the sky.
Barrows the dead have built themselves?—The Earth
Is one o'erflowing cemetery,—its girth
One seamless zone of graves. There's not a rod
Upon its surface that cries not to God
For some life sacrificed. We mortals are
But mites and midges on a moss-grown star,
Frail ephemeralies that breed and crawl
Among the middens of this festering ball.

Science Progress,

INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY
MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

THE world is ripe for a new social programme. The War, with its unparalleled carnage and bloodshed, has materially altered the map of Europe, and it has similarly altered the map of men's minds. The great world-war has swept away old crusted conventions which cobwebbed the mind, and false foundations of social science upon which men laboured vainly to build Utopia. Now that a new mentality has been created, all these things must be reassessed at new values. All the great problems call for a broader view, a larger concept, and a more general action with the dawn of this newer social consciousness. We are coming to realise, indeed, that we cannot severally play our part as citizens of our respective countries if we forget that we are also citizens of the world. This new spirit is arising everywhere, founding a New Era of international relationship, and the thrills of international goodwill are even now stealing across a war-weary world.

Never before, however, has there been such hopefulness. The world may seem in disruption, and be hungry and sick, burdened with debt, and afflicted by the weight of its new problems. Nevertheless, the power of organised human resources has been amazingly shown, both for the arts of war and peace. The uprisings of the European peoples, and the political advances of organised democracy, open up an entirely new prospect for the employment of these illimitable resources. The cynic, of course, will say that the better world to come lacks nothing for its construction except the better men. The spirit of the masses, with all its faults, however, is a more fraternal spirit than any previously abroad on the earth, and undoubtedly this spirit is almost daily making history for itself.

For four years the evil shadow of War has

spoiled our outlook. Now that peace has dawned, we look with faith to the future, trusting that the terrible lessons of the catastrophe will not have been learned in vain. If the result of the terrible carnage and desolation is the birth of a real League of Nations—not one built on words, but on the desire to do what is right and just to all, irrespective of race or creed—then the War will not have proved ineffectual. For helpful co-operation in the task of making this world safe for the common people by whom it is inhabited is, after all, the all-important duty.

This great crisis, therefore, seems to be the great opportunity for which we have prayed. The old world is a ruin; a new world must be built. In former days, our home was indeed our world; in these days the world must be our home. Co-operation alone offers to the world a complete philosophy of life and a working model of a noble and enduring civilisation. The peace of the world entirely depends upon the universal application of these principles. For there is no choice except that which lies between co-operation and chaos, between associated freedom and Imperial despotism.

If Wordsworth could write one hundred years ago, as he saw the beginning of a new day of hope and liberty

"Bliss were it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young, 'twere very heaven"

with what added meaning may we quote these words as we herald the New Age! Let us not forget, however, that the foundations of the New World have been well and truly laid by myriads of heroic men and women, and that this task must be approached with the spirit of sincerity. Peace has her tasks not less arduous than those of War, and this present occasion is a time for the casting away of all those sordid desires which

are incompatible with the grand purpose of rebuilding human society on a stable foundation of mutual aid and wholesome rivalry.

Let us welcome the disappearance of racial, class and sex distinctions. For there are battles other than inter-racial. There are wars in social, mental and religious realms. In the religious world, few things have been more pitiful, more humiliating than sectarian squabbles and differences over long-drawn-out controversies. Men will become more and more impatient in the future over the relatively frivolous issues which have distressed and divided the religious world; the core of the world's new creed will be:

"For the love of God is broader
Than the measure of man's mind."

The work of reconstruction calls for a continuance of the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-restraint,

and a realisation of a great end, which have stilled the cries of faction during the war and inspired all with a common aim. We shall certainly miss the central spiritual lesson of Germany's downfall if in our schemes of reconstruction we fail to realise that religion and morality, faith and idealism, are the only foundations on which national stability and progress can endure.

The fortunes of mankind, as never before, are now in the hands of the democracy. The select classes of mankind, in fact, are no longer its governors. For the real strain of four year's unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed, as President Wilson has so ably reminded us, has come where the eye of Government could not reach, but where nevertheless the heart of humanity beats. We are bidden by these people to see that this strain does not come again.

BISMARCK

BY MR. K. M. PANIKKAR

MR. GRANT ROBERTSON has produced a timely book.* The present is a time when as a result of the prejudices generated by the War, the world in general has lost the right perspective concerning the German Empire. The utter disgust and repugnance with which civilized humanity has viewed the barbarous conduct of the German War-Lords has had the effect of war retrospectively distorting historic judgments. The opinion has often been expressed of late, even in quarters which ought to have known better, that the real source of the European conflagration was the refoundation of the German Empire in 1871. It has been widely held that the real originator of the war is not really the autocracy of the present day Germany but the man of blood and iron who founded the German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia

and on the ruins of Napoleonic France. Mr. Robertson, though he claims that his is by no means a war-production, is a firm believer in this theory and has in the book under review produced a historical justification for it.

There are very few among English historians who could claim the same intimate knowledge of German character and psychology as Mr. Robertson. He shares with Sir A. Ward the honour of being the most profound student of German institution in England. The reading public in general and historical scholarship in particular should be thankful to Mr. Robertson in having so utilised his knowledge of the German people and their history in the 19th century as to produce this handy but authoritative volume on Bismarck.

"The life and times of Bismarck" is one of the most complicated studies in historical biographies. To a great extent from 1866 and wholly from

* *Bismarck*: By Grant Robertson, M.A., C.U.O. Fellow of all Souls, Constable & Co., London.

1871, the history of secular Europe is dominated by the personality of this single individual. To write the life of Bismarck from the time of the Schleswig Holstein question to his dismissal in 1890 is to write the history of European Diplomacy in the latter half of the 19th century. The proper grouping of historical facts, the correct analysis of the interplay of complicated factors, the close study of the sensitiveness of national opinion in every country, during a period of 30 years, cannot be lightly undertaken or easily realised. This difficult task Mr. Grant Robertson has successfully fulfilled.

It is impossible to go into detail, but Mr. Robertson comes to a conclusion different from that held by most historians on one of the most critical events in the German history of the 19th century. The Frankfurt Parliament of 1848—the great convention on which the hopes of the liberals in Germany rested—ended in an absolute failure. The opinion generally held which seems to us to be entirely wrong, is that the Frankfurt Parliament failed because of the academic amateurism of its authors who wasted their time in threshing out fundamental rights. Mr. Robertson holds the view that such criticism is really amateur and ignorant of what revolution by liberal methods from an old to a new system implies. 'The scheme of 1848' was, as Mr. Robertson remarks, 'a noble and imaginative effort in constructive statesmanship which bore the stamp of an inspiring belief in the capacity of the race for achieving salvation when men build upon the uplands and not the lowlands of human endeavour. Had the unification of 1848 been given a fair trial, it would have moulded the German mind and directed German destinies and ambition into paths of self-development of incalculable benefits to Germany and the world. Its failure was a tragedy for German and European civilisation.'

The remarkable feature of the solution of 1848 was, he says, 'the rapidity with which in the

smoke and dust of bewildering revolution, the liberal majority hammered out by argument and under conditions of Government by public meeting a scheme of unification that probed deeper and was more complete than the constitution of 1867.' Historical hypothetics is perhaps the most useless form of speculation, and it may be permitted for us to doubt if the historical evolution of Europe in general and Germany in particular would have followed any very different course had the scheme of 1848 been worked out and a unification of Germany based on it achieved.

Mr. Robertson's object in this book has been to study the effect of Bismarck's achievement on the history of the 19th century rather than to write a biography of the great chancellor. Therefore, naturally enough, the picture of Bismarck is very incomplete, and we see very little of that disease peculiar to biographers which Macaulay has called *Lies Boswilliana*. All the same, Mr. Robertson is one who appreciates the great merits of the Iron-Chancellor. Indeed, it is impossible for any one to withhold a great amount of genuine appreciation for this Brandenbrug junker. For after all, from the historical point of view, a man can be judged only from his achievement and the amount of dynamic force that his personality generates in its relation to the general current of events. In this sense, post-Napoleonic 19th century cannot boast of a greater man than Otto Von Bismarck who raised Prussia from the humiliation of Olmutz to the hegemony of the continent, upset the time-honoured balance of power which lay in an *entente* between England and Austria against France, humbled the pride of Napoleon and was the virtual dictator of European affairs for nigh 20 years. The age of which he was the founder has closed with the collapse of Imperial Germany; but his historical greatness remains embodied in the policy of Europe during the last 50 years.

THE Rowlatt Bills AND SATYAGRAHA

The passing of the Rowlatt Bills in the teeth of the opposition of an overwhelming public opinion is yet another proof of the persistent obstinacy of the bureaucracy. Never was public opinion in India more unanimous and pronounced than in the unequivocal denunciation of what is popularly known as the "Black Bills." Men of all shades of political opinion all over the country have protested against the measure with a warmth of feeling that is not likely to subside till it is rescinded. The indecent haste in which it was rushed through the House at a midnight sitting should have almost exasperated the non-official members who have with one voice condemned the obstinacy of the Government in terms as eloquent as convincing. While sympathising with the Government in their anxiety to give no quarter to anarchists and to nip revolutionary plots in the bud, the wisdom of enacting such a drastic measure especially at a time when public opinion in India is focussed on the best means of successfully working out the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms is questionable in the extreme. In this matter the non-official members of the Viceregal Council have left no stone unturned. They have with remarkable ability and conscientiousness voiced the just resentment and indignation of the people at the way their will has been flouted by the bureaucracy. This only strengthens the need for a reform of the constitution in such a way that the will of the people may prevail. But that is another story. After all the 150 amendments with which non-official members tried to improve the Bill and the ultimate modifications it has undergone it still remains as vicious and objectionable as ever. No wonder that finding all manner of opposition fruitless, Mr. Gandhi has as a last recourse resorted to Satyagraha as the only remedy for such bureaucratic obstinacy. We have too bitter memories of the way in which the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act have been put into force to believe that the new legislation will not be taken advantage of by the Executive to give vent to petty acts of despotism. And a man of Mr. Gandhi's judgment and experience will not lightly undertake this extreme measure unless he has been convinced of its compelling need. With the greatest respect for his sincerity, his saintly disposition and his lofty sense of public duty we still believe that all means of remedy are not exhausted and that there are yet other courses open which should be tried before resorting to Satyagraha. It is unfortunate that the grace associated with the reform proposals should thus be nullified by the deepening shadows of the Rowlatt Acts. We still hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that something will yet be done to avert an unnecessary exasperation of public feeling at a time when more than ever there is an urgent need for co-operation and harmony between the people and the Government.—*Ed. I. R.*

i. Mr. Gandhi's Manifesto.

In commanding the Satyagraha pledge Mr. Gandhi wrote to the press:—The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many sleepless nights over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position, but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary Bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through the narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the report that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger. The Committee utterly ignore the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon this vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name, but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements, and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture, and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills.

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body. It needs, therefore, to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous, hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian covenanters, by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government, towards which they bear no ill-will, and provide to the believers in the efficacy of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances with an infallible remedy, and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it, I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods.

The Pledge.

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

ii. Mr. Gandhi's Message at Allahabad.

There is no conception of defeat in Satyagraha. A Satyagrahi fights even unto death. It is thus not an easy thing for everybody to enter upon it. It therefore behoves a Satyagrahi to be tolerant of those who do not join him. In reading reports of Satyagraha meetings I often notice that ridicule is poured upon those who do not join our movement. This is entirely against the spirit of the pledge. In Satyagraha we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering i.e., by love. The process whereby we hope to reach our goal is by so conducting ourselves as gradually and in an unperceived manner to disarm all opposition. Opponents as a rule expect irritation even violence from one another when both parties are equally matched. But when Satyagraha comes into play the expectation is transformed into agreeable surprise in the mind of the party towards whom Satyagraha is addressed till at last he relents and recalls the act which necessitated Satyagraha. I venture to promise that if we act up to our pledge day after day, the atmosphere around us will be purified and those who differ from us from honest motives, as I verily believe they do, will perceive that their alarm was unjustified. The violationists wherever they may be, will realize that they have in Satyagraha a far more potent instrument for achieving reform than violence whether secret or open, and that it gives them enough work for their inexhaustible energy. And the Government will have no case left in defence of their measures if as a result of our activity the cult of violence is notably on the wane if it has not entirely died out. I hope therefore that at Satyagraha meetings we shall have no cries of shame, and no language betraying irritation or impatience either against the Government or our countrymen who differ from us and some of whom have for years been devoting themselves to the country's cause according to the best of their ability.

iii. The Moderates' Manifesto.

The Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and other prominent Moderate leaders have issued the following Manifesto :

"While strongly condemning the Rowlatt Bills as drastic and unnecessary, and while we think we must oppose them to the end, we disapprove of the passive resistance movement started as a protest against them and dissociate ourselves from it in the best interests of the country, especially in view of the Reforms Proposals which are about to be laid before Parliament in the form of a bill."

iv. A Madras Manifesto.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and twenty seven leading men of Madras issued the following manifesto on the 18th March :—

The only course immediately open to us to get rid of the legislation is to secure, if possible, its

disallowance by the Crown. In this view we are sending to the Secretary of State the following cable, praying the Crown to disallow the legislation.

"Rowlatt legislation hurried through Council without adequate opportunity for public criticism against unanimous opposition Indian Members. Country absolutely peaceful. No need for legislation. Present powers ample for all unexpected emergencies. Country greatly agitated. Atmosphere created prejudicial to successful working reforms and to effective co-operation between people and Government."

Whilst, however, strongly disapproving of the Rowlatt legislation and the manner of its passage through the Imperial Legislative Council, and whilst recognising the need for continuous agitation to secure its repeal, we consider the movement in favour of Passive Resistance highly inexpedient and injurious to the best interests of the country.

LORD WILLINGDON ON BRITAIN & INDIA

The following is a summary of Lord Willingdon's recent speech in London :—

Debates in Parliament in past years had been marked by sparse attendance and apathetic interest. This had a very bad effect on public opinion in India. It was extremely difficult for those who were administering or endeavouring to administer that country to assure Indians that the Mother of Parliaments was alive to its responsibilities in regard to the affairs of the Indian Empire. He expressed the earnest hope that in the new Parliament this sense of responsibility towards India would develop, and that honourable Members would appreciate to the full the fact that political reform of a very serious kind was absolutely necessary in India at the present time. He thought that those of them who had administered India had in the past made too much of "efficiency": they had been too keen about keeping the administration efficient and had not sufficiently realised that they must give Indians some responsibility in their local affairs. He

hoped very much that before many weeks were over his right hon'ble friend would be in a position to introduce a Bill in conformity with the 1917 declaration of policy and which would utterly overthrow all refuge for the extreme politicians who were always affirming that the brutal bureaucrat was keeping all good things to himself and not giving anything to the aspiring Indian.

For many years a great many people in this country were anxious in respect to Indian unrest. The Germans thought, five years ago, that India would be an extremely fruitful field for their nefarious operations. He was thankful and delighted to say that they were extremely disappointed at the result. It should never be forgotten that India had stood staunch and steadfast to the British Empire for long years, and never so staunch and steadfast as during more than four years of grave peril (Cheers). They might fairly say that India had done her part right well throughout the war and had assisted in winning the great victory of the Allies, "I

would trust India," he went on to say, "I would treat her generously, I would show her that we believe in her high destiny and look upon her as a sister nation amongst the great dominions under the Crown, I would take risks in legislation for India—a progressive policy must mean taking some risks—and above all things I would give up what has seemed like our policy in the past—the policy of doing as little as we possibly could, except as a concession to agitation."

By way of explaining this point, Lord Willingdon said in 1915 some of the authorities in India were very strongly of opinion that some declaration of the goal of our policy in India as that of responsible government, should be made, partly that they might be in a position to deal adequately with, and answer, any political agitation that might arise. They were informed, however, that any proclamation of that sort was impossible and undesirable in the circumstances. What happened? The Home Rule League started, very well organised, very well run and very active. So strenuous were its labours that it gained many adherents. At last, on the 20th August, 1917, the declaration of policy came, and, subsequently his Right Hon'ble friend went out to India and took the most tremendous trouble to find out the true facts of the political situation. But the Extremists argued that these concessions had been dragged out of an unwilling Government by their political agitation. We needed to show, and he felt sure we should show in the future that we were really willing and anxious to help forward India for India's good, and to get out of the minds of Indians once for all that the country was being regulated for the benefit and advantage of these islands. (Cheers.)

"There is one reform about which I feel very strongly indeed which, I think, would make an enormous difference in the general position between Briton and Indian in India. I refer to the social relations between the two races in that

country, I know that this is a very difficult subject to talk about—a thorny, prickly subject not very suitable for an after-dinner speech. But after nearly six years in India, I feel so strongly that 50 per cent. of the bitterness and ill-feeling would disappear altogether if we could improve our social relations with Indians, that I am bound to say one or two words on the topic. In my experience (and I think gentlemen who have lived in India will agree with me) the Indian is the quickest person in realising the English gentlemen when he meets him that I know of. I would like to urge in the strongest possible fashion on any young Englishman proceeding to India, whether for the civilian services, the army, or business, that he should always deal with the same courtesy and the same good feeling with the Indian as I am glad to know he treats the Indian when he comes on a visit to our country." (Cheers).

After remarking that though Governor-designate of Madras, he was prepared to take the risk of speaking frankly on the reform question, Lord Willingdon laid down the proposition that no attention should be paid to the noisy clamour of agitators and extremists. He thought there had been too great a tendency to try to make terms with the extremist in the past. (Hear, hear.) They, who lived in the centres of political thought, knew very well that the Extremist agitator wished to get rid of British control. He might, he often did, by specious camouflage begin his speech by saying "God Save the King" and end it in the same way, but there was generally some very undesirable stuff in the middle. (Laughter.) What he wanted was democracy of his particular pattern without any control which was quite impossible if India was to make real progress. It was our duty in India to give every encouragement to reasonable men and also to those ruling Princes who had shown such splendid loyalty for many long years past (cheers) and

their subjects; but we should have nothing to do with the extremist agitation going on India at the present time. *We should give the warmest encouragement and support to the Moderate Indian.* Many of these, he knew, were very anxious to get responsible government as soon as they could, and in that sense most of them were Home Rulers—as he himself would be if he were in India—but they wished to remain in the British Empire and under the guidance of that Empire. They realised to the full that they needed a considerable amount of training before they achieved the great end in view. He had been captain of good many cricket elevens in his day; and he had always found that in order to win a match it was best to have a team which was absolutely united and playing entirely together in order to achieve the end that they wished for. It was his earnest hope that, when this Reform Bill was passed, he would find a team in Madras that was united and not divided.

THE URGENCY OF DECENTRALISATION

Coming to another point, Lord Willingdon declared that a bed rock principle of the reforms must be decentralisation (*Hear, hear*). They must have provincial autonomy, as far as it could be, extended both in their administration and in finance. He did not think it was sufficiently understood in England that there was scarcely a province of India proper under a local Government that did not contain a population of some 20,000,000 persons, and that some provinces had populations equal to that of the United Kingdom; and yet they lived under an extremely centralised administration. The Local Governments had to make references to Simla or Delhi on most trivial matters. This was a fruitful cause of friction, and handicapped to a very considerable degree the development of the provinces. He felt that a Governor should run his province in his own way in regard to local affairs, subject only to an annual audit by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. His own ultimate outlook, though he perhaps cast his vision too far ahead, would be a federation of

States in the Indian Empire that were self-governed in local affairs, and responsible in Imperial matters through the agency of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and, above them all, an Imperial Council dealing with Imperial matters.

Finally, Lord Willingdon spoke of the relation of the great services to reform. He had had peculiar opportunities of learning to appreciate most warmly the zeal and devotion of the services in Bombay. But he wanted to be perfectly honest in his views with regard to the future. There were many, too many people, who were inclined to look upon the question of reform from the point of view of how it was going to affect the great services. After all they were part of the machine and the real question was that of securing the greatest benefit for the great country of India. If they found that certain alterations had to be made in the machine, alterations affecting the services, they must not allow this to prevent the onward march. It was a fact recognised by the great service in very large degree that India had arrived at such a stage of development that she was ready for a considerable grant of responsible government at the present time. When she arrived finally at her goal of responsible government, this would be the consummation of the work of one of the most magnificent services by which any country had been administered, or which had ever been conceived. That was the way he would look at the question. He was perfectly certain that no Government would allow any member of any of those great services to be a loser if by any chance his services were curtailed owing to India having arrived at responsible government.

The views I give are those of one who takes the deepest possible interest in India and has a real affection for her people. I would deal generously with India; and I believe from the bottom of my heart that, if we do this, India will repay the British Empire a hundred fold.

SIR JAMES MESTON'S TASK

BY

MR. R. W. BROCK

(*Editor, Madras Times.*)

A financial statement occupying thirty pages of the Gazette of India, representing many months' work and study, and forming the combined effort of the entire staff of the Finance Department of the Government of India, with its specially trained personnel and unique sources of information, is not easy to criticise. That is, perhaps, a singular admission; it, nevertheless, is the plain fact. And experience indicates that, in practice, outside criticism exerts very little effect on official financial policy. Whether that be due to mere bureaucratic obstinacy; whether Press criticisms are usually ill-informed; whether the non-official criticisms in the Viceroy's Council are as futile, is little to the point. In his first financial statement, Sir James Meston has challenged non-official opinion at every turn. He certainly flouted commercial opinion, British and Indian, in taxing excess profits, for a more thoroughly unanimous and whole-hearted condemnation of any measure of taxation has not been known in this country in recent years. But Sir James Meston has gone his own road, ignoring opposition almost completely. He has made minor concessions, but his main proposals remain intact. I am bound to admit, too, that he has flouted popular opinion in minimising outlay on education and sanitation, etc. He has done so, no doubt, to permit of the more urgent outlay on railway improvement, but undoubtedly on this side he has disappointed public expectations. Similarly, regarding irrigation. And by so acting, the finance member has unfortunately made railway improvement politically unpopular. It is regrettable that so many Indian politicians and publicists decry outlay on railways. They possibly realise its necessity but deem other outlay more urgent.

That is an understandable position, and, when normal conditions return, will probably find expression, quite rightly, in demands that revenue allotments for railway purposes should cease; in other words, railway outlay should rely wholly on loan income, preferably on rupee loans raised either direct by the State, or by the Railway Co.'s or by utilising both methods of finance concurrently. Adoption of this plan would incidentally lead to considerable increases in 'social reform' outlay, and for political reasons, as well as on the merits of the issue, it is the right policy for the commercial community to support such outlay, and, even to take the lead in urging its necessity. On the other hand, it is but fair that Indian politicians and publicists should be ready to recognise frankly these two important points: (a) railways, while needing considerable outlay, are yielding constantly higher revenues thus helping to keep down taxation (b) no real economic development can occur, unless railway improvement is liberally financed. These two facts are irrefutable, yet a denial of them runs through, and invalidates, a very large portion, especially of newspaper criticism of railway outlay.

After all, what are we aiming at? Primarily, at increased revenues. These larger revenues, however, cannot come to any extent from existing wealth; they must therefore be levied from new wealth; in other words, they can come only as the sequel to a vigorous policy of economic development. And what, in practice, does economic development mean? It means, as regards agriculture, heavier and more profitable crops, causing increased outward traffic, and swelling exports; it means, again, larger imports, in response to the increased purchasing power to which agricultural

improvement must give rise. Or again, it means movement of the heavy new traffic associated with industries, such as those now arising at Sakchi. It means, once again, new ports. It means, perhaps, sooner or later, the growth of an Indian mercantile marine. In any event, you get increased railway traffic. Surely this is uncontested. And then as regards the heavy grant this year, let us not overlook its origin. For my sins, I spent $5\frac{1}{2}$ years as assistant editor of "Capital", admittedly a business journal in close contact with commercial interests. The point I wish to make is, that in all those years, I do not recollect a single month, I do not recollect a single industry, without its complaint of inadequate transport. With that fact constantly forced on my attention, it is inevitable I should deem Sir James Meston's financial arrangement not merely unavoidable but intensely desirable. Many Indian critics, I am aware, take a different view, but they are rarely business men. So, with Mr. Sarma's resolution. It was condemned most vehemently, not by the officials, but by Indian commercial representatives, such as Sir D. E. Wacha, (Bombay) and Mr. Sita Nath Roy (Calcutta). It is idle to assert that these two astute politicians were merely "playing up" to official prejudices or to British commercial interests. They see, on the contrary, that to overtake the enormous arrears of railway outlay is, in Indian commercial interests, essential, a plain business need, in short, a sound and necessary investment. Not only is it necessary to overtake arrears, prices have risen, and this is a source of large outlay in itself.

It is not a wholly happy arrangement, perhaps, that railway directorates are situated out of the country. The objection to this arrangement is not wholly sentimental, and there are tentative indications of a gradual change of policy. I put it thus guardedly, because it would be unfair to hold out expectations unlikely of early

fulfilment. The procedure, I think, will probably be:—issue of railway loans in rupee form; gradual increase in local shareholders in the main railway lines; their rise to predominance; finally, their insistence on local directorates. But this will take time. Meanwhile, no advantage is lost and many advantages are gained, by sinking further sums in an extraordinarily profitable property.

Sir James Meston is too keenly conscious of the imperative need of educational advancement, and of bold measures of health conservation, of industrial development, and of banking extension, to permit of the belief that he is indifferent to or unconscious of the need for long steps forward in these directions, and I take it, he is "keeping something in hand" for next year. His first budget is, indeed quite evidently a transitional measure, and hardly a fair test. As he points out, he could not avoid large grants to railways; military outlay, at this stage, inevitably remains abnormal and uncertain; the currency situation offers points for anxiety; much temporary debt is maturing for discharge, and until the decks are cleared of these impedimenta a peace programme offers difficulties so great as to be temporarily insuperable. That, I take to be the real essence of his message. It is a position, necessarily conducive to impatience. There is so much scope for beneficial outlay; so little money to allot. But first things first. The paraphernalia of war cannot be cast aside in a day; Sir James Meston has consequently only been able to present a Demobilisation Budget. His personal outlook is indicated in the sentences:—"We shall, during the years ahead, have irresistible claims upon us to raise capital for internal development, railways, industries, forests and the like. And again, during the same period we shall have to launch into very heavy expenditure for the education and well-being of the people, without which our political progress would be largely

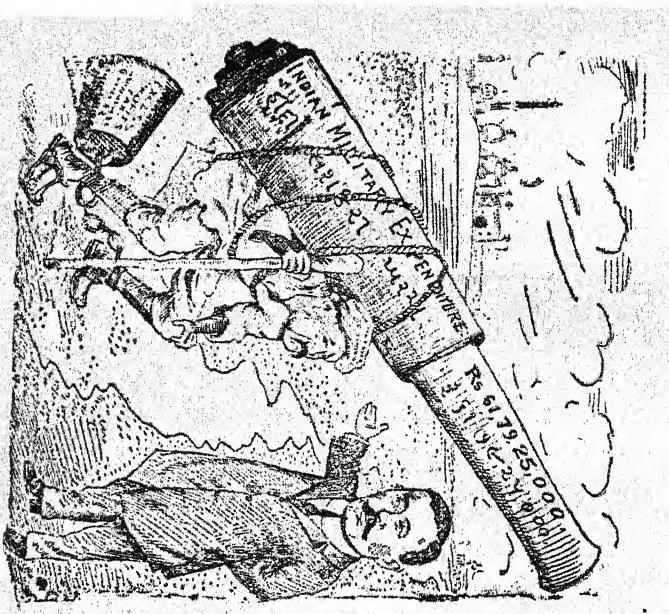
negatory." This is a situation offering scope for all the constructive criticism available in the country, and let it be forthcoming in full measure, but idle carping at outlay on railway improvement will serve no useful purpose, and, in any event, will not divert the course of official policy, now directed at last on the economic side, to the programme "Full steam ahead."

It is wise, as the finance member observes, to face the facts. "We have heavy liabilities hanging over us in several directions; debt of an unproductive character which we ought to dispose of in order to facilitate a remunerative borrowing programme in the near future; a currency position which requires careful handling and at least some withdrawal of our recent emergency issues of paper; and a general consolidation of our position with a view to the development of our national intelligence and earning power. If this teaches us anything, it is that our watchword must be rigid economy, both in the Government and in the lives of individual citizens". Economy, I admit, is a sound principle, rightly interpreted; but in some directions there can be too much economy. Recent financial operations, so out of proportion to previous figures, have somewhat scared the Finance Department, but a return to the old pettifogging ways would be fatal. We do not want economy concerning railways, or education or public health, or economic development, because such parsimony would be not economy, except, of efficiency and intelligence. In most directions the country needs not economy, but lavish outlay which will repay itself tenfold in the higher standard of individual well-being, of economic prosperity, and of political contentment, which such a policy would bring about. It is wise counsel, if you want to get at the root of half India's troubles, to study finance—especially as interpreted at Simla. Unfortunately very few Indian politicians study finance. An exception was Gokhale,

I am loth to add to the immense volume of criticism put forward concerning the Government of India's decision to tax excess profits. It is, to-day, a *fait accompli*, incapable of reversal. It is a pity it did not come sooner, and on a graduated scale, say 20 % in 1916, 30 % in 1917, and 50 % last year. This would have kept share values at moderate levels, whereas by the sudden change of policy—this is the real grievance—share values suffered disastrous collapse after soaring to heights never previously paralleled. The jute mills are well able to pay, their profits were enormous, while their relative competitive position, *Vis à Vis* foreign jute mills, has been strengthened beyond all comparison. I believe they will all "pay up" cheerfully despite a vigorous effort to cajole or bully Sir James Meston into abandoning his scheme. The Finance Member, be it remembered, is an Aberdonian, and looks on his Calcutta-cum-Dundee compatriots as fair game. And as it was largely or at least partly from low prices for raw jute that mill profits were derived, it is not unfair that a percentage of these accumulations should be retained in the country. Calcutta need not complain, nor need Bombay. Madras is paying excess land revenue tax, and will go on doing so, I fear, to avert higher taxation in the two wealthier provinces named. There was an interesting debate on the pros and cons of this subject the other day, in the local Legislative Council, the upshot of which was that Madras continues to pay.

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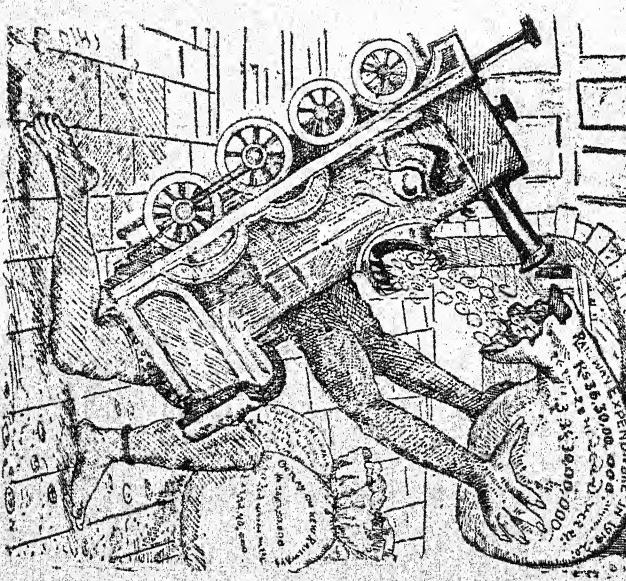


THE INDIANS' BURDEN

TAX-PAYER—It is quite impossible for me to bear this any longer, sir.

FINANCE MEMBER—Never mind, you can break down.

[In the Indian Budget for 1919-20, Sir James Meston, the Finance Member, has made provision of £411,955,000 (Rs. 61,79,25,000) for Military Expenditure during the year.]



THE RAILWAY GOURMAND

GOURMAND—Ha! ha! What a haul for me, when there is starvation all round!

[When Sir James Meston has not made any liberal provision for education, sanitation and industrial progress in the new Budget, he has budgetted for a railway expenditure of £24,200,000, equal to Rs. 36,30,00,000.]



HIS LATE MAJESTY THE AMIR
Of Afghanistan.

THE LATE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

THE news of the death of H. M. the Amir of Afghanistan has been received in India with feelings of profound regret. For the Amir's unswerving loyalty to the British Raj was an asset of considerable value during the four years' crisis that closed only the other day with the conclusion of the armistice with the Central Powers. The circumstances of his death, however, gave occasion to anxious thought. A Delhi communiqué issued on the 24th of February announced that he was killed by shots and stabbed in his tent at Jullunder near Kabul on the morning of the 20th by an "unknown assassin." "The body," said Lord Curzon in reply to a question in the House of Lords, "was taken to Kabul by members of his family. It was not known whether the assassination was due to religious or fanatical reasons, or reasons of politics or domestic intrigue." The Delhi communiqué also announced that Naib-us-Sultannah Nasrullah Khan, brother of the late Amir, has been acknowledged by the Amir's sons and representatives of the people as the Amir of Afghanistan and that he has written to H. E. the Viceroy "expressing his hope for the continuance and strengthening of friendly relations between the Afghan and British Governments." But mid-Asian politics is a vague, uncertain and dangerous thing and no one can say exactly if there is anything behind the latest news that Sirdar Nasrulla Khan Naib-us-Sultannah has renounced his claims to the throne of Afghanistan and has sworn allegiance, with all the civil, military and religious representatives, to Sirdar Amanulla Khan Ain-ud-Daula, who has been proclaimed Amir. Sirdar Amanulla Khan is the third son of His late Majesty Habibulla Khan.

Still amidst all the change of rulers or domestic intrigues, there is no reason to suppose, as Lord Curzon reminded the Lords, that there would be any interruption of the friendly relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan whose

independence the British Government have always desired to maintain.

It is notorious how the Central Powers were making continued endeavours to wean the Amir to their side so as to provoke a disturbance on the Indian frontiers. In this, the Germans counted without their host. For the Amir was a staunch ally of the British and would not be persuaded into a false step. H. E. the viceroy made a happy reference to His Majesty's fidelity to the British cause, in the course of his opening address to the Delhi Conference in April last : —

"In the north there is a bulwark against German intrigues and German machinations. I refer to our staunch friend and ally, his Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. As you are aware, at the outbreak of the war, his Majesty gave his royal word that so long as the independence and integrity of his kingdom were not threatened, he would maintain neutrality. He has kept his royal word unswervingly in spite of every attempt of our enemies to seduce him from his purpose and to embarrass his position, and I do not believe that in the history of this country the relations between any Amir of Afghanistan and any Viceroy of India have been more cordial or mutually confident than they are to-day. But in Afghanistan as in India there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world excitement may be coerced away by any wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship." A German official mission having visited Kabul in furtherance of the nefarious designs on India, the Amir disposed of them thus shrewdly : 'I don't propose to speak to you (his Majesty is reported to have said) 'until I have a Turkish and a German army on my western frontier.' You cannot expect me to begin talking about an alliance with you while I have the Russian army in the north and the British army in the south and you are still many hundreds of miles away.'

In rejecting the German offer in this fashion, the late Amir strictly followed the lead of his father, Abdur Rahman, who throughout his strenuous career continued to act up to the terms of the Anglo-Afghan agreement. But then little was known in those days either of the personal character of the Amir or of his government beyond the fact that Abdur Rahman was a masterful ruler and that the Indian representative at his court, a Mahomedan official, had hardly anything to complain of his intentions towards the British Govern-

ment. Everything was vague and mysterious. And when, on the death of Amir Abdur Rahman, Habibullah ascended the throne, little was known of the new ruler and his sympathies while much anxiety was felt if he should prove a weak tool at the hands of the unscrupulous elements in the Afghan court. But Habibullah was no such weakling, and we have the testimony of his father that he showed marked aptitude for political authority even so early as 1881 when the Amir had to march against Ayub Khan, his dangerous rival, and to quell the rebellion in Herat. Habibullah was scarcely eleven years old at the time. Later on, the heir-apparent acted as regent in Kabul during the campaign of his father against his rebellious cousin, Ishak Khan. Abdur Rahman records in his autobiography:

On my return to Kabul on July 24, I found that during my two years' absence my son, Habibullah Khan, had governed the country so wisely, cleverly, and so entirely in accordance with my wishes, that I conferred two orders upon him, one for his distinguished services in the administration of the Kingdom; the second for having very bravely put a stop to a mutiny which was caused by my own soldiers of the Kandahar Hazara-battalion. He acted most bravely on this occasion riding alone in the midst of the rebellious soldiers without showing any fear of their injuring him.

In fact, for over eight years, the prince was practically associated with the Amir in the task of Government. A Mussalman scholar in close touch with Afghan affairs wrote in 1904 that, on his death-bed, Abdur Rahman had nominated Habibullah Khan as his successor, and this nomination was accepted by all the members of the family, the nobles, the functionaries, and the "mullahs" present. On the day following his death the ceremony of "baist" was performed and the oath of allegiance was formally taken by the people.

We have said that "mid-Asian politics" was a sealed book and the British Government was naturally anxious to come to some definite understanding with the new Amir whose intentions towards his neighbours it was the pith of British policy to decipher. Lord Curzon throughout his regime constantly endeavoured to

bring about the adjustment of many minor points of dispute between "Calcutta and Kabul," which threatened sometimes to aggravate the issues of more important questions. But no good followed till in the autumn of 1904 the Imperial Government decided to despatch a mission headed by Sir Louis Dane. The negotiation lasted over four months and the upshot of it was that the Amir outmatched the mission in diplomacy. The treaty finally settled in March 1905 confirmed the old agreement regarding the Amir's subsidy and powers in respect of the importation of arms while the Amir obtained a distinct advantage by securing an agreement that he should be styled "His Majesty"—a mark of distinction affirming his independence. A further step to facilitate and strengthen the amity between the Amir and the British Government was sought after by an invitation to the Amir to visit the Viceroy in India in January 1907. The Amir was prepared to accept the invitation of the Government of India provided that no discussion of political matters was entered into and that, after the Viceregal Durbar at Agra from January 9 to 16, the Amir should be free to adopt to his own wishes the programme arranged for his entertainment. The stipulation was agreed to. The story of the historic visit of the Amir is well within the recollection of our readers. The Amir reached Landi-Kotal on January 2, and Calcutta on January 28, after witnessing a grand review of some 30,000 troops at Agra, with which he is said to have been much impressed. From Calcutta he proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on February 12. He left by sea on February 25 for Karachi, landing on the 27th, and left Peshawar on his return home on March 7.

The *Indian Review* published at the time a narrative of the tour together with a record of his more important utterances.* It is impossible to

* See Vol. VIII page 198 *Indian Review*, 1907.

quote at length, but we should draw attention to His Majesty's appeal to his co-religionists in India to abstain from cow-slaughter on the Bakrid-day, his appreciation of western learning and his unfailing cordiality to the British. "In Afghanistan," said His Majesty at Aligarh, "I have among my subjects Sunnis, Shias, Hindus and Jews, and I have given to all of them full religious liberty."

Speaking at Patiala he said :—

"If God be willing, we hope to be at Delhi on id-i-Qurban this year. It is our religious duty to perform sacrifice on that day. Though cows, in common with other animals, are sacrificed, our religion does not compel us that the sacrifice must be of cows. On the contrary we may sacrifice camels, goats, etc., instead. We intend not to sacrifice cows on this occasion in consideration of the feeling of the Hindus of India in general and of Delhi in particular. Our visit to India should be an occasion of joy to Hindus and Mussalmans alike, not a cause of pain to the hearts of any. I wish that this intention of ours be made known to the Hindus of Delhi.

No wonder that His Majesty's courteous and generous spirit won for him the appreciation of Hindus all over India.

Many stories were told of the Amir's amiable traits, his shrewdness, his soldierly simplicity, his extraordinary love of adventure and his fondness for children. Of his generous catholicity the following from his own speech will bear eloquent testimony :

"I protect the interests of my Hindu subjects equally with those of Mussalmans. On my way back from the shrine, I just saw a Gurudwara. There are several Gurudwaras in Afghanistan where Fakirs and poor people live. I don't know, but I believe there are poor and needy people in this Gurudwara also. I have therefore ordered, for Rs. 200 to be distributed among them."

On the eve of his departure, His Majesty passed Bombay where he was accorded a fitting welcome. Replying to the toast of his health proposed by H. E. Lord Lamington, His Majesty spoke with enthusiasm :—

"Let me say that at no time will Afghanistan pass from the friendship of India. So long as the Indian Empire desires to keep our friendship, so long will Afghanistan and Britain remain friends.

That was the keynote of the late Amir's policy, and he kept his royal word down to the last day of his death.

"A VINDICATION OF AURANGAZEB": A REPLY BY DR. SADIQ ALI

DAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, M.A., S.B., M.R.S., University of Allahabad, has reviewed my book, "A Vindication of Aurangzeb," in the "Indian Review," October, 1918. Several Indian journals have noticed my book briefly and very favourably, so I feel grateful to these kind reviewers. But I was looking forward to such criticism as might throw some light on additional truths unknown to me and to the general readers and so to correct my errors, and make up any deficiencies found in my book. The aforesaid review occupies about seven columns of the periodical named above, and is scholarly, free from vituperation, and of kindly tone. But the learned critic raises the same objections as have been fully replied to in my book. He does not

find fault with any of the evidences set forth in support of my views, nor does he confute any of my arguments. He simply disagrees with the conclusions and denies them. My kind critic must know that simple negation cannot overthrow a view unless the view is disproved or the antagonistic truth is established. The object of my book was to remove and remedy one of the causes which have been maintaining discord between Hindus and Muslims in India. Living in the same country and under the same benign and liberal government, their interests have become so much interwoven and interdependent that neither community can build its fortune upon the ruins of the other nor can the one retrograde without dragging the other with it. The old-time

order has now entirely changed. Formerly, might solely constituted right, hence despotism, inequality between the rulers and the ruled, and religious and social rancour. The ideals of to-day are liberality, democracy, equality, and brotherly love even among persons of different persuasions. Our forefathers, whether they wronged each other or not, have all gone, long ago, to render their account before the Supreme Judge. Their acts should be considered as things of the past, and we should take the present as it is, and make the best of it. I hope that the leaders and patriots, among both Hindus and Muslims, would join hands with me in the movement that I initiated. If all the sensible people among Hindus and Muslims tried to suppress the religious animosities of the masses, such riots as recently occurred in Calcutta and Katarpur, and have frequently occurred at other times and places, could never occur.

Aurangazeb's history is not viewed from its historical standpoint but from its religious standpoint and it is the latter which produces disorder and animosity among the fellow-citizens of the same country.

I do not like to continue this kind of controversy which I myself wish to put a stop to. The time and energy wasted in performing this work which is useless and even injurious to the public interest, can be turned to very good account if employed in promoting the cause of our national prosperity.

Modern facilities for the swift expression and inter-communication of thought between people, however widely separated by time, space, scale of education, grade of civilisation and form of religion, have rendered it impossible to remain ignorant of what is going on in the outside world, of the possibilities in store for man, and still continue to be satisfied with the old mode of life with its ancient social and political conditions. Now, seeing that the western nations are progressing in

civilisation and prosperity by leaps and bounds, our Indian brethren naturally aspire to similar advance. The liberal and democratic policy of the British Government is instilling liberal ideas in our minds, inspiring us with the hope of success, and encouraging us to follow the example of advancing nations. In such a happy state, it is impossible for us not to yearn after the advantages that others are reaping so plentifully from their well-intentioned and well-directed endeavours. But there is a very heavy and strong chain that not only drags us down but is continually pulling us backwards as well and hindering our advance. This chain is our internal feuds, discord and apathy. Unless we first break this chain, we cannot move a single inch forward. It is for this reason that I beg my readers and such leaders of the nation as my learned critic seems to be, to entirely forget the old disputes and errors which may have existed among our predecessors, and to strive that the masses likewise forget them. Thus we shall make friends with one another and can direct our combined forces and endeavours towards the promotion of the common cause, progress. Both Hindus and Muslims should be careful not to speak, write, or behave in such a way as to hurt each other's feelings. Unless we act upon this rule (one well recognised and followed in the west), we shall never be fit to ameliorate or better our condition. I beg, in conclusion, to bring to the notice of my readers a providential universal and unchangeable rule.

God is good and gracious, He supplies the wants of His creatures and satisfies their desires. As we are too selfish, and every one of us wishes to gain some personal advantage at the expense of his brethren, God knowing all, dispenses both the good and evil things of the world, to all of us that both, our good-will and ill-will, may be equally satisfied. If we love one another and always wish for others what we wish for ourselves, then God, wishing to satisfy our desires will have to do good to all, because He will not find any ill-will demanding satisfaction through the misfortunes of others. The proportion of prosperity of every community, therefore, depends upon the proportion of altruistic ideas and good-will which prevail in that community. For this reason, we should strive to inculcate altruism and promote brotherly love in our community.

SIR P. C. RAY'S ESSAYS & DISCOURSES

BY
PROF. SURYANARAYANA, M.A.

MESSRS. Natesan are noted for their biographical sketches, also for their various collections of essays and addresses by eminent Indians. But it was a happy idea which prompted them to combine in this case* a collection of addresses and a biographical sketch in the same volume. Like other sketches from the same publishers, this one also does full justice to the eminent man whose life is studied. Big names are sometimes to us nothing but abstractions. So and so is a great poet; how many people understand anything definite by it? And yet, here at least is a chance of the man being appreciated, for Poetry is never a sealed book. But the sense of our own unworthiness weighs heavily on us, when the great man happens to be a scientist, for that gateway of knowledge is certainly not open to all. The life of a Scientist is perhaps the most difficult to write, for one has to remove from the minds of the reader the innate prejudice that a scientist is a musty, cranky creature, and show the living man, with the same hopes, passion and ideals as the rest of humanity. Both the biographer and the person who selected the essays seem to have had in view the element of success and we must admit they have both succeeded admirably.

Perhaps; the task was lightened in this case by the remarkable versatility of the subject. That a man of eminence in Chemical Science should at the same time have been an ardent student of History and have produced valuable works in both departments of knowledge must remain a matter for wonder. And yet, perhaps, there is little to wonder at, when one comes to think of it; for both are concrete sciences. A combina-

tion of Pure Mathematics and History would have puzzled us more.

The scope of the book would not allow of any reproduction from the historical works of Dr. Ray. But there are at least three essays "Ancient India," "British India," and "Antiquity of Hindu Chemistry" which exemplify the historical acumen of the Doctor. One of these, "British India," contains some excerpts from "India before and after the Mutiny," a book published by Dr. Ray when a student at Edinburgh.

Dr. Ray's views on Social Reform are brought out in his presidential address at the Indian National Social Conference of 1917. He delivers himself strongly against empty forms and conventions which serve only to clog the wheels of onward-marching Society. Human ingenuity and inventiveness get mis-directed and occupy themselves with laying down precise and unjust rules for meaningless ceremonies. The real and the only object worthy of the human intellect was relegated to the background, forms were multiplied endlessly, and Society stood still or began a downward march. In this connection, we would specially recommend to the reader the essay entitled "The Bengali Brain and its Misuse."

The book under review gives an exhaustive list of the contributions to Chemical Science from Dr. Ray and his pupils. The list is formidable and is followed by something more interesting, an Anglo-Indian's appreciation of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works. Messrs. Natesan have spared no pains in making the book as comprehensive as possible, in its small volume and have had all through in view the object of bringing out the many-sidedness of Dr. Ray's talents and activities. They have achieved this object with no little degree of success.

* *Essays and Discourses* by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray with a Biographical Sketch and Portrait—G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3.

THE LAND OF BURNS

BY

THE LATE PROF. MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

"The lad that was born in Kyle will be remembered to-day in Cologne, in Bagdad, in Jerusalem; wherever there are Scottish troops the immortal memory will be honoured," wrote the 'Glasgow Herald,' on the 25th January, the anniversary of Robert Burns. "At home, the return to old interest, dislocated by four years of war, is being marked by the revival of the custom, now a century old, of celebrating the poet's birthday. If Scott's 'Marmion' and the 'Lady of the Lake' were read in the British lines during the Peninsular War, the poems of Burns have been freely quoted in the trenches in France and in Flanders, and his songs have been sung in the gatherings behind the lines. The hold which Robert Burns possesses over the emotion and the affection of his countrymen rests on too sure a foundation to be disturbed even by the mighty events through which we have passed. The appeal which he makes is an appeal to the things that cannot be shaken even by the convulsions of a new world in the making; while men live and love, they will read and quote the living words which tell of life and of love."

CIRCUMSTANCES compelled me to visit the home-land of Burns in the wrong order, so that I went first to Dumfries, the scene of his declining years and death and afterwards to the region of Ayrshire where he was born and bred. This arrangement of my tour, although it may be called, in the literal sense of the word, preposterous, was not without its advantages, as it left the best to the last and led me from scenes associated with the poet's decay and death to the, region of Scotland that he celebrated in his glorious prime.

Dumfries is a flourishing town beautifully situated on the broad river Nith and well deserves its proud title of Queen of the South. When Burns settled in Dumfries in 1792 as an exciseman on a salary of £ 50, his first home was in a flat in Bank Street above a stamp office and below another flat occupied by a blacksmith. It was a wretched tenement in itself, but a few steps from it would lead the poet to the banks of the Nith where the stream rolls over the dam below the new bridge in an amber flood incrusted with masses of white foam. Thence the poet often strolled a mile or two up the river to Lincluden Abbey, the red sandstone ruin of which crowned with clusters of rowan berries was one of his favourite haunts. In 1793, he moved to another house where there was more room for his family and there he died in 1796. This is now the chief show place in the town and is occupied by the poet's grand daughter, Mrs. Thos. Brown and his great grand daughter, Jean Armour Burns Brown.

It was the latter who showed us over the house, when through a narrow crooked street we had found our way to the door. In her face could be traced a strong likeness to Nasmyth's portrait of the poet. The resemblance was most striking in the eye, which was the most remarkable feature in the countenance of Burns. The house was plain and prosaic, but appeared commodious and comfortable enough to show that during his last years the poet must have been fairly well off. We were shown a few relics in the upper rooms, but they were not of great interest as compared with the fact that we were in the very house in which Burns died conversing with his direct descendant. Close by is St. Michael's Churchyard with a Mausoleum in the form of a Greek Temple, in which Burns is represented by a sculpture of Turnerelli as driving the plough and visited by Coila, the Muse of his native land. In the High St. is an old inn where are shown his punch bowl and ladle and the chair in which he sat carousing with his cronies.

Leaving Dumfries by the Pitpathick railway, we found ourselves, after passing castle-Douglas, in the lonely Moorland of Galloway. It was in this region that Burns composed his immortal war lyric, while riding through a tempest from Kenmure Castle to Gatehouse. "I took him," writes his companion, "to the moor road, where savage and desolate regions extended wide around. The sky was sympathetic with the wretchedness of the soil; it became lowering and dark. The hollow winds sighed, the lightning gleamed, the

thunder rolled. The poet enjoyed the awful scene—he spoke not a word, but seemed rapt in meditation." The result of his meditation was "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled."

The shades of night were falling by the time we reached Ayr, but it was also by the moonbeam's misty light that Burns had his vision of the dusky spectres of the two bridges. So we thought we could not do better than go like him to the river side, when

"The tide-swol'n firth, with sullen sounding roar,
Through the still night dash'd hoarse along the shore:

All else was hushed as Nature's closing e'e,
The silent moon shone high o'er tower and tree."

Burns in prophetic vision heard how the spirit of the Auld Brig taunted that of the New Bridge foretelling the day when with all its "whirls and whirlygigums" it would be swept away by the flooded river. Proud of its antiquity of more than six hundred years, it cried out to its new fangled rival

"This mony a year I've stood the flood an' tide;
And tho' in crazy eild I'm sair for fairn,
I'll be a brig when ye're a shapeless cairn!"

This prophecy was fulfilled just thirty years ago when the new bridge collapsed and had to be pulled down. It has since been rebuilt and now in its turn the Auld Brig is threatened with destruction. We found it propped up with wood work and closed except for pedestrians. Unless patriotic Scotsmen can subscribe enough money for putting it in a thorough state of repair, the ruthless town council of Ayr has resolved to pull it down. Naturally indignant meetings are being held all over the country to protest against the threatened insult to an ancient monument so closely connected with the national bard.

On the following morning, we started along the road traversed by Tam O' Shantie on his famous ride. On the left of the High Street still stands the inn where he drank and cracked jokes with Souter Johnny. The tramcar at first followed the footsteps of Tam's mare, but presently the

new road diverged from the path of the old one so that we went to the left instead of the right of Burns' birth place and Alloway Kirk. In the kirkyard, an old man with a wooden leg was lying in wait for us. He knew all *Tam O'Shanter* by heart and recited fragments of the poem with great gusto and a fine broad Doric accent. He knew all the places passed by Tam on this famous ride and showed us the exact spots

Where in the snaw the chapman smoord.
And past the birks and meikle stane,
Where drunken Charlie brak's neck-bane,
And thro' the whins and by the cairn.
The hunters fand the murder'd bairn,
And near the burn aboon the well,
Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel,"

Then he stumped before us to the window, through which Tam glowl'd into the blazing kirk. Thence he pointed out the very "winnock bunker in the east" where the Devil sat in the shape of a "tousie tyke, black, grim, and large" and
"Screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl"

that the witches and warlocks might dance to the music. There too before us was the holy table on which were spread out "a murderers' banes in gibbet airns" and other gruesome horrors. From the kirk Tam fled to the old bridge over the Doon with the witches in hot pursuit. The Scottish superstition (I do not know whether it is the same in India) was that witches could not cross running water.

"Now do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
And win the keystane o' the brig;
There, at them thou thy tail may toss,
A running stream they dare na cross,
But ere the key-stane she could make,
The fient a tail she had to shake,"

for the foremost of the witches got hold of it, and though Meg carried her master safe over the bridge, she did it at the expense of her gray tail. When all this happened, a tempest was raging and the river was swollen with heavy rain. We saw the river in very different circumstances on a beautiful summer's day. The birds were wantoning through the flowering thorn and the banks and braes o' bonie Doon were blooming fresh and

fair as they appeared to the eyes of the deserted lover in the sweetest and saddest of Burns's love lyrics. Close by rose the lofty monument of the poet surrounded by a garden adorned with many flowers, the scent of which was fresh and fragrant as his memory is in the hearts of his countrymen.

A walk of about half a mile back from the monument in the direction of Ayr brought us to the birth place of Burns. So great is the spirit of heroship and idolatry in the *fervidum ingenium Scotorum* that it is estimated that this literary shrine of the poet of Scotland is visited yearly by about twice as many men and women as go to Stratford-on-Avon to see the birth place of the great dramatist of England and the world.

The cottage which was built of clay by the poet's father's own hands has now been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition. It consists of a kitchen, a sitting room, and a byre under the same thatched roof. In the kitchen is a bed built into the wall, probably the very bed in which the poet was born. In the grounds behind is a museum containing M.S.S. and original editions of his poems, the family bible with entries made in his own hand, and other valuable and interesting mementoes.

From the home of Burns' childhood and boyhood we took the train to the central region of Ayrshire, where he spent the years of his early manhood. We had the advantage of staying at the hospitable mansion of Barskimming. Burns himself was a frequent visitor there and must often have wandered over the beautiful grounds alone or with Sir Thomas Miller.

"Thro' many a wild romantic grove
Near many a hermit-fancied cove
Fit homes for friendships or for love
In musing mood."

Just in front of the house the Aye flows under a picturesque bridge through a deep gorge of red sandstone overshadowed by the many coloured foliage of the trees growing on either bank. Altogether it is the most lovely river scene that

has ever met my eyes in the course of my wanderings over two continents. In a meadow by the side of the river a mile higher up Burns composed the poem entitled "Man was made to Mourn" and a mile lower down, also in the grounds of Barskimming, is the hallowed grove where under the fragrant birch and hawthorn hoar he bade his last farewell to his Highland Mary. My kind hostess drove me in succession to most of the places connected with Burns in the neighbourhood, as for instance to the town of Manchline the scene of the Holy Fair and the home of bonnie Jean. Here too is still to be seen Poosie Nancy's Hestery where the Jolly Beggars "a mery core o'randie, gangrel bodies held the splore" and indulged in wild revelry that rivalled that of the witches in Alloway Kirk. At a mile and a half from Manchline on a hill commanding a wide prospect over land and over sea with the mountains of Arran in the back ground stands Mossiel farm, Burns's home from 1784 to 1786, the most prolific period of his literary life. It was in a field of this farm that his plough share turned up the nest of the field mouse, and crushed among the stone the slender stem of the mountain daisy. Close by the farm is the National Monument to Burns, a high and unsightly sower which disfigures the beautiful landscape.

All through his poetry and his prose correspondence Burns shows how dearly he loved his native land. He is not by any means cosmopolitan in his sentiments like Byron, and Shelley, or Browning.

Burns never visited the continent and never went farther into England than to Carlisle and Newcastle. His patriotism burned with a warmer glow because it was focussed on one small portion of the earth's surface. He might well have said of his the descriptions of scenery in his poems, as Allan Ramsay writes of the Scotch poems collected in his *Evergreen*, that "the groves rise in our own valleys, the rivers flow from our own fountains, and the winds blow upon our own hills."

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Future of Industrial India

Sir P. C. Ray, writing in the current number of *The Modern Review*, offers a searching criticism of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. The special object of the Commission was to suggest methods for the building up of indigenous industries.

The development of Indian industries would not mean that "the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries." "We do not want mere Indian Capital," said H. E. the Viceroy recently, "we want Indian men and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise and equip themselves for a great Industrial regeneration in India." The declared policy of the Government of India is decidedly against the *exploitation* of Indian minerals and her almost inexhaustible resources of raw materials by foreigners, be they British, American, or German. Here Sir P. C. Ray pauses to think of some of the potent causes that brought about the ruin of the staple Industries in India.

The East has been immobile, overt and conservative to the core for centuries. In a manner she was living in peace and repose dreaming dreams or absorbed in meditations on the essence of the Supreme Being. Every village with the graduated hierarchy of the caste regulations was an ideal republic. There was the village artisan and the smith—the barber, the washerman, the priest—the landlord, the tenant—cultivator—the weaver and the small trader and so forth—each doing his allotted duty. But contact with the mobile, progressive and energetic west changed all that. At barely a moment's notice India found herself confronted with a formidable rival. She must run at railway speed or be lost for ever, and thus came a tremendous crash and the collapse of her industries. Here again, Nemesis overtook unhappy India. What was once an apparent source of strength now became the weak point in her armour—I mean the pernicious caste system.

The ruin and downfall of Indian Industries, Sir P. C. Ray remarks, was hastened by the selfish policy of British statesman, who, by the imposition of prohibitive duties, protected the British manufacturer and began to look

upon the vast continent as a field for the supply of raw material required by them. The most fatal mistake has been the hostile attitude of the Government towards elementary mass education. Though we have got an Agricultural Institute at Pusa with all its expensive machinery, it is of no avail to the agricultural population who, steeped in ignorance, are not able "to take advantage or utilise the elaborate scientific researches which lie entombed in the bulletins and transactions of these Institutes". An ignorant people and a costly machinery of scientific experts go ill together.

For the recruitment of the Scientific Services, the Commissioners propose the wholesale importing of experienced men from England. Even when the choice lies between the best brains of India and the mediocres of England in the filling up of the posts of so-called experts, the former get but scanty justice.

Dr. Ray then writes of the serious obstacle that Swadeshi concerns ought to encounter in the matter of marketing the products on the output of their factories.

The damaging evidence of Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy of Bombay, which for obvious reasons the President of the Commission wanted to be heard in camera, but which has leaked out, goes to prove, what is, however, notorious, that the Heads of the big purchasing departments show but scant consideration to the claims of Indians when there are British competitors in the field—it is but natural that they should fraternise with their own countrymen. The excellent intentions of the Government as embodied in Resolutions with sonorous periods get whittled down to precious little in filtering through the official strata.

In a Postscript, Dr. Ray refers with sorrow to the winding up of principal Swadeshi concerns in Calcutta which have been purchased by powerful British companies, partly with threats of overwhelming competition and partly with the offer of a rich bait.

If this is an earnest of what bids fair to become of "a self-contained India," she will soon be reduced to the position of a "human cattle-farm" and a plantation, with her people as coolie and "Babu" labourers; and the "Industrial Commission" had better be called "Foreign Exploitation Commission".

Lord Morley on History

Professor A. F. Pollard, writing in the current number of *History*, the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, says that Lord Morley's characterisation of some of his colleagues is worth more to the historian than reams of laudatory or vituperative journalism. Gradually Lord Morley's absorption in letters gave way to affairs and his interest in politics became more practical and more insular. The *Fortnightly* led on to the *Pall Mall Gazette*; the studies of eighteenth century philosophers were followed by an official biography of Cobden; and first Chamberlain and then Gladstone took the place of Mill and Mazzini, Gambetta and Victor Hugo. 'The Englishmen of Letters' yielded to 'Twelve English Statesmen' and the author of 'compromise' produced an excellent plea for Walpole. Lord Morley does not regret his own progress to politics; and if he had the choice, he would not retrace his political steps and start once more from the point at which he abandoned the single-minded pursuit of letters.

About History he writes in the course of his *Recollections*: "History has advanced with a powerful stride to a commanding place within the last forty or fifty years, and a vigorous contest now stimulates and entertains us as to the true genius of the Historic Muse, or whether she be a Muse at all or only a kitchen drudge; whether a Science reducing great bodies of detail to concentrated and illuminating law, or that very different things, an Epic Art, a source of bright and living popular influence." His antithesis implies the exclusion of either science or art from History, whereas both are indispensable. Latter on he has an excellent remark that 'true history is the art of *rapprochement*—bridging distances of place and circumstance.' This is the comparative method which alone can raise history to the level of literature or philosophy. This is the highest function of history but it is not the only one.

Even the comparative method is worthless unless the comparison is between real phenomena; and we need the most vigorous and scientific research to establish that truth in detail without which our general impressions are invalid and quite fallacious. The specialist bent on contributing to accurate knowledge of detail is making true history, no less than the profoundest dealer in generalisations, though the relative value of his labour may be less. Paleography, diplomatic sigillography, numismatics and other scientific equipments are essential to the discovery of historical truth; but they do not make their votaries historians in the highest sense of the word. But neither does mere literary art make the historian; the sense of how things happen and what men mean is the supreme qualification for the historian.

Lord Morley's opinions on historians form very interesting reading. According to him Froude has no historic sense—no depth of faith in any principle—cynical at bottom and misleading. His 'Notes on Politics and History' gives better his thoughts on history and historians. "The controversies about the artistic, scientific and other possible characteristics of the Historic Muse leave no doubt that she is something of a sphinx and her riddles do not admit of mathematical solutions."

The New Age of Industry and Peace

The Current History (New York) for January publishes Mr. Frederick Harrison's very interesting and thoughtful article on "the Dawn of a New Era," wherein he draws a fascinating picture of a New World, free from barbarism and all these fierce weapons of destruction which Germany forged within her own walls for nearly half a century to imprison humanity at large. Mr. Harrison wonders whether one has realised the enormous changes which this Earth-War has brought about, what a new world we are entering, and what a new epoch of civilisation we have to

make. These years of war, without example in range and in horror, have caused a new, a loftier civilisation to appear, in which militarism and national hostility may be transferred into an age of Industry and Peace. "Take it in all its aspects and its consequences, this new era of which we see the dawn is greater and more blessed than the epoch which Europe began to settle after barbarism, more pure than the advent of the New Learning and the New thought, more wise than the spasmodic revolutions in the times of Danton or Napoleon." Mr. Harrison reviews the progress of civilisation made within his own lifetime and, after making a brief reference to the political history of England, Russia, America, China, Japan, Germany, India, etc., speaks of the weighty task before his people, that of keeping to the ideal of a common faith, of a common spirit, of chivalry, loyalty and honour steadfastly and making it live and grow to Peace among men.

This awful time of bloodshed, ranging from the Arctic circle to the furthest Pacific, has given new meaning to all the forces that have been gathering up for a century, and it has discovered many new forces and brought together former enemies. Only twenty years ago Britain and America, Britain and France, were arm's length. Can Britain, France, the United States, Italy, ever be parted again? Will not the races of Russia, Turkey, of the Central Empires owe their free life to us—now together the vanguard of civilisation?

Four years of superhuman strain have transformed the world. East and West, North and South, have come together as brothers, in ways that they never knew. Humanity has come into its own in Peace and Union! Inventions to use and control the material arth, which were dreamed of for generations, have suddenly become realities.

The barborous blood tax must cease. Nevermore shall the nations have to offer up their sons to Moloch. The hideous waste of labour in engines of destruction—more than half the entire cost of Government—must cease. And with the waste of labour for destruction there must be ended also the waste of labour in debasing luxuries and wanton extravagance.

It will be a new world in this twentieth century. Shall we be new men, new women, worthy to use it rightly?

Education of Indian Labour

In the February number of *East and West*, Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao writes an interesting article on the education of Indian labour in connection with the findings of the Indian Industrial Commission. He states that the Industrial Commission has gone into the question of the resources of the generating power necessary for the growth of industry. "The harvesting of water-power appears, however, to afford a more reliable source of energy." The conditions of labour in India are unsatisfactory and if they want to keep pace with the times, they need training and education. Various recommendations have been made by the Commission and great stress is laid on the extension of universal primary education. This reform, together with others suggested by the Commission will increase the intellectual capacity of Indian workmen, and hence his ability to adjust himself to the altered conditions for which the developments of science, etc., are largely responsible. That the large employers of labour, though conscious of the usefulness of education, have done nothing to provide for the education of labourers is really unfortunate. The real point at issue is whether the State or the organisers of industry should undertake this task. The Industrial Commission solves the problem by suggesting that "it would be unfair and unjust to impose upon employers this duty, which devolves rather upon the State and the local authorities."

The people in the country must be made to understand the importance of education in the industrial life of India. In addition to worldly success and material progress, wide diffusion of education provides that intellectual, moral, and spiritual equipment which enables the workmen to appreciate and take part in the higher activities of life. Every child has a right to claim for an opportunity to develop its latent powers, to enable it to take an 'intelligent and reasoning' interest in things with which it is familiar.

Is it too much to hope for the inauguration of an education policy which adopts a system of education that turns out the children that come under it, 'models of propriety and efficiency'?

The Ideal of Unity in Hindu Philosophy

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D. Litt., writing in the January number of *The Hindustan Review*, discusses in detail the fundamental unity of the entire philosophical and political life of India. The writer begins:—

Paradoxical as it may sound, India has, since the very beginnings of history, been the land of unification. In every department of knowledge and practice it has been the aim of our best men at any rate, to trace harmony amidst disharmony, agreement amidst disagreement, and unity in the midst of diversity. As early as the Rigveda, which, notwithstanding the great difference of opinion that there is in regard to its exact age, is acknowledged to be the oldest systematic record that has been handed down to us by antiquity,—we find the pregnant declaration—*ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*, the one real being the learned describe in manifold ways. In this short aphoristic sentence we find what has been rightly called the grandest and boldest stretch of philosophic generalisation. Coming down to the Upanishads, we find this same idea presented to us in diverse ways; and sought to be brought home to us by means of a series of metaphors and parables.

The advent of the great Shankaracharya, he proceeds to observe, witnessed a radical change in the philosophic outlook inasmuch as he asserted the "unreality" of all things in this world. The one result of this preaching of the negative side of the great Philosophy is an interminable struggle which we find going on in India among the advocates of various faiths and convictions. With a view to help the really earnest student who finds himself puzzled in the whirl of conflicting theories and attractive but evading ideas, Dr. Ganganatha Jha begins to prove that "the unity of the Vedantin is not only purely spiritual, but also strictly logical and scientific." It is pointed out that there is real difference among the theistic philosophers as regards the oft-proved theory of *one* indivisible real essence pervading through all that is, that was, or ever will be, but the difference arises when they come to analyse the nature of the encasements of the underlying reality. To this all-pervading something, the Indian philosophers have given the name of 'Being', a word that best appeals to the humanistic tendencies of man, and

"nothing can appeal to our higher nature which has not a personal or human touch."

After making a passing reference to telepathy, researches in chemistry and physics which definitely prove the unity of all things, he attempts to answer the question—"If it is true that the same consciousness is functioning in all phenomenal existences, whence the diversity"? The answer is:—

At this stage of enquiry the question that suggests itself is—if it is one and the same consciousness functioning in all phenomenal existences, whence the diversity? The presence of diversity cannot be denied what then is it that causes the diversity in the manifestation when that which manifests itself is even one? This diversity we are told is due to the limitations taken by the Consciousness upon itself, for the purposes of manifestation; it needs the limitations, as without these its manifestation would not be possible. For instance, for the purpose of manifesting in the mineral kingdom, the Consciousness has to take upon itself a coating of mineral matter; and so forth in every phase of manifestation: without a vegetable encasement, Consciousness could not manifest itself and function in the vegetable world; and without the animal body it could not be manifested in the animal world. For what, after all, is the 'manifestation of Consciousness' in any phase of phenomenal existence? It is only its appearance in some form in which the distinctive matter of that particular phase constitutes the predominating element; hence the need of the several kinds of forms, the mineral, the vegetable and the animal; in fact, formless manifestation would be a contradiction in terms; there can be no manifestation without some form, however subtle this may be. Metaphysically speaking, Consciousness *per se* is undifferentiable; and yet, without differentiation, no manifestation is possible; and differentiation implies diversity. Consequently, if it has to manifest itself, Consciousness must consent to be crabbled and caged within limitations, and thereby lead to that diversity which thenceforth becomes the ruling principle in all phenomena.

Co-operative Representation

Professor J. C. Coyajee, in a recent issue of *The Bengal Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* puts forward a strong plea for the representation of Co-operative Societies on local and district, boards and other bodies. He observes that Co-operative Societies will supply a new motive power to create an interest in the rural population in the management of their own affairs. He says:—

I would first point out certain inconveniences which have resulted in the conduct of the present system of

district administration which point to the necessity of such Co-operative Representation. The Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha in his admirable speech on the village Self-Government Bill has emphasized these inconveniences. He has pointed out "the need of a new motive power in the country—the interests and influence of the rural population in and on the management of their own affairs". In order "to evoke that interest and engage that influence in the system of Government and to tap the enormous reserves of energy, common-sense and natural shrewdness", we submit that the representation of Co-operative Societies is absolutely necessary since they alone have so far shown a living interest in economic matters and manifested markedly in their work that shrewdness and common sense. Sir S. P. Sinha has noted that villagers have shown in the past their reluctance to serve on the village *Panchayets* and to take a part in the labours of such uninviting character. Here also we can urge that the members of Co-operative Societies have been drilled to the work of management of common business and interests. Sir S. P. Sinha has further discussed the financial difficulty of the work of communal administration; and then again Co-operative Societies are the only bodies in the district who have learnt to look at matters from the correct economic point of view and to solve financial problems. He would leave jurisdiction in petty cases to village Committees; and we find that by common consent our Co-operative *Panchayets* have been settling disputes between members even before legislation conferred such jurisdiction on them formally. Sir S. P. Sinha would reserve for members of his contemplated Circle Boards the work of supervising the function of Village Committees. The members of our Supervisional Unions and the Directors of our Central Banks have already been trained in the performance of similar supervision in the case of primary societies. In a word, every requisite which the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha demands from the members of his Village Committees, Circle Boards and District Boards, is already to be found in the *Panchayets* of our primary societies and in the Boards of Directors of our Central Banks.

A certain proportion of seats on the local bodies might be reserved for candidates chosen by Co-operative Societies—such proportion to depend upon the numerical strength of Co-operators comprised in the local units in question. The reservation of special seats for Co-operative Members is in no measure contravening the true ideal and spirit of democracy. The Co-operative Societies are the most intelligent and organised portion of the agricultural population and Co-operative Representation will only heighten the vote of the best and ablest section of the agriculturists. With the growth of the influence of Legislative Councils, it is necessary that agriculture and co-operation should have representatives therein.

War Indemnity for India

The Editor of *The Wealth of India* (January number) discusses the all important question of indemnity in the War and puts forth a very strong plea for India's share in it inasmuch as she stood shoulder to shoulder with European Nations, pouring forth her blood and money in the cause of righteousness. If distribution of indemnity is to be on the basis of the sacrifices made in winning the war, he asserts that India's claim to a share in it is indisputable. In defence of this plea, ample references are made to the utterances of responsible British statesmen, including Messrs. Asquith, Bonar Law, Lord Haldane, Lord Curzon, Llyod George, who all acknowledged in handsome language the material help that India gave in winning the war, her unflinching loyalty, her great sacrifices in men and money. Even the *Times* had a sympathetic note on India's enormous material assistance in securing the Allies' victory.

The value of the Indian export exceeded one hundred million sterling yearly. The State controlled prices at considerably less than the prevailing price and the rates secured considerable savings in the War bill of the Allies. As India's material resources were organised to supply the equipment of Indian troops and provide the Allies essential requisites for prosecuting the war, the extra equipment supplied reached the value of eighty million pounds. Of essential munition exports, wolfram, (one-third of the world's supply,) manganese ores, mica jute, shellac, saltpetre and hides were purchased by Government at controlled prices, considerably less, three to five times less, than those prevailing in neutral countries. For its own use and that of the Allies, rice, maize, barley, gram, oilseeds, oils and medicinal stuff were exported at controlled prices. Indian hides provided one third of the army boots. Skins were purchased at controlled prices considerably less than elsewhere. Three million tons of wheat were supplied to the Allies, the shipments being made available at considerably less prices than those ruling in the world markets. To meet one year's requirements, forty-one million yards of khaki and hundred and eighty and two million pounds of wool were exported to England. The Tata Iron Works supplied eighteen hundred miles of railway track and two hundred engines. India supplied over six hundred thousand vehicles for various theatres of war. She supplied 883 vessels to Mesopotamia, over 500 anchor boats and electric plants for Basra and Bagdad, worked by Indian operatives and ten million cubic feet of timber.

India's Part in the War

Sir Valentine Chirol writing in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Overseas Club* points out that in any reckoning up of the credit and debit sides of the great war one of the most important assets will be the appreciation of what India means to the Empire and of what the Empire means to India. From the mere military and material point of view, writes Sir Valentine, we shall have to bear in mind "not only the actual part that India has played in the war, but the much larger part she might and would have played if her resources had been more fully developed and more intelligently employed." As it was, he continues:—

Not only did the expeditionary forces she despatched to France in the autumn of 1914 fill a vital gap which, owing to our unpreparedness for a conflict of such magnitude, could not at that time be filled either from the United Kingdom or from the Dominions, but she alone was able to supply and did supply from her much larger reserves, guns and rifles and ammunition and war material of all sorts, without which it would have been difficult for our Army to carry on until British industry had been entirely reorganised for war purposes. At the same time India provided considerable forces for other expeditions to Mesopotamia, East Africa, Egypt and Gallipoli, which it is now rather the fashion to depreciate as mere side-shows, though, in spite of many blunders they helped substantially to accomplish great ends in relieving the Empire from the meance which Turkey's co-operation with the Central Powers involved for the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf, i.e., for the safety of all our Eastern possessions. Recruiting, which has, of late especially, increased by leaps and bounds till it has now exceeded a million men since the beginning of the War, shows how much more effectively we might have drawn on the immense reserves of Indian man-power, had we made an earlier and larger appeal to Indian loyalty. Indian industries of which Agriculture must always remain the greatest, have made no mean contribution to the War, but it might have been infinitely greater had the British rulers of India realised in this respect, as perhaps Lord Dalhousie and Lord Curzon alone seem to have done, the immense potentialities of India, or had they not been hampered by the narrow and often selfish conception of the home interests which prevailed in this country until the Great War came to open our eyes.

But the spirit in which India made all the sacrifices for the cause of the Empire in this war was even more remarkable. Says Sir Valentine:—

More important, however, for the future than any of the material contributions made by India to the War has been the willingness with which they have

been made. The great wave of enthusiasm which swept over India at the outbreak of hostilities was a splendid testimony to the value of the British connection in the eyes of Indians of all creeds and classes and communities. * * * * *

India rallied to the British cause because she learnt to know it was a cause worth fighting for. How did the Empire respond in turn?

For the first time Indian representatives were admitted into the innermost Councils of the Empire. At the War Conferences in London they took their place beside the Ministers of the Crown and of the self-governing Dominions, just as the Indian troops have fought shoulder to shoulder with British and Dominions troops. In both cases better acquaintance has produced a sounder appreciation of common interests and common devotion to the great ideals for which the Empire stands; on the part of Indians a growing desire for the admission of India to full and equal partnership in the Empire; on the part of the Dominions a growing willingness to accept them into partnership; on the part of the British people a growing desire to help India forward on the path of progressive and orderly progress towards the ultimate goal of self-government as an integral part of the British Empire.

Sir Valentine concludes with an appeal to Indians and Britons to show the same capacity to co-operate heartily and courageously in Council as they have shown on many a stricken field of Europe and Asia.

The Settlement of Turkey

One of the most important questions to come up before the Peace Conference is the fate of the Ottoman Empire. It is already probable that the outlying sections of the Empire will be detached from Turkish sovereignty and granted independence. Thus Arabia is practically recognised as an independent Kingdom. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia will also become independent of the Turkish Empire. In the current number of the *Asiatic Review* there is a discussion as to the fate of Thrace in Asia Minor. In a secret treaty which was concluded in April 1915 between England, France, Russia, and Italy, it was agreed that Adalia and the southern half of Asia Minor should be the Italian share of the spoils, and that Russia should take Thrace. Constantinople and the northern half of Asia Minor, and that France and England should be rewarded

with Syria and Mesopotamia. The subsequent collapse of Russia and Armenian's entry into the war may be considered to have rendered this treaty null and void. President Wilson is prepared to support Turkish rule only in so far as it permits of the *unmolested autonomous development* of the other nationalities.

In Asia Minor even according to the Greek census the Turks form seven tenths of the total population, and they outnumber the Greeks alone by four to one and the Greeks and the Armenians together by three to one. But this preponderance of the Turks is smaller in some provinces than in others. The *villiyets* may be divided into two classes—those where the Turks form 75 per cent. or more of the population and those where they form less than 75 per cent. If the law of self-determination is to be applied to Asia Minor, of course, the large Turkish majority would vote for Turkish rule. But what about the 2½ million Indians of Asia Minor? Can Turkish rule be transformed to the extent of bringing it into harmony with modern ideas of popular government? Some propose that outside Powers should establish some sort of control over this reformed Turkish Empire, and then conflicting interests, mutual jealousies, and mazy intrigues will inevitably follow. The maintenance of Turkish rule is by no means a solution which will eliminate future trouble. The only alternative is partition or dismemberment of the Empire. Thrace and Asia Minor might be partitioned between The Greeks and the Turks; to the Greeks the provinces where the Greek element is strongest and *vice versa*. There must be an interchange and inter-migration as to render this partition more acceptable to both sides. Constantinople should not be left under the Turkish rule; the straits must remain a free and neutral international waterway. It cannot be safely put under the control of anyone European power, and it must be for sometime under the protection of the League of Nations.

Materialism or Spirituality?

"Let the critic compare the noble and spiritual life of the ancient Hindus with the meaningless hurry and short-lived evanescence of modern times, and he will find that the history of mankind has been a history of progressive degeneration" writes Mr. Muthukumar, M. A. in the course of an interesting article on "The Spirit of Hindu Institutions" in the January number of *The Young Hindu* of Jaffna (Ceylon). The writer thinks that the advocates of the modern theories of evolution and progress may pretend to be scientific in their ways of thinking. But they can never hide the fact that there is greater misery, vice, and suffering in the world now than in the days when man tried to find the true goal of his life not in the vanity of external things, but in inward realisation of his capacities. The present condition of Indian life divorced from all spiritual ideals sapped the purity of ancient institutions, and the result was decay of all that was best and most sublime in our National life. There are very few Hindus who can understand the spirit of their ancient institutions.

The founders of Hindu institutions were great men who studied life as a whole and understood things in their true perspective. They knew the great secret of life and growth and made the unfoldment of life the chief aim of their institutions. The two chief features of Hindu institutions seem to be (1) the conditions so well devised and arranged as to facilitate the growth of a synthetic mind, and (2) the emphasis laid on the principle of unconscious growth by indirect suggestions and communion of minds with institutions.

After explaining fully what the above principles meant in practice, Mr. V. Muthukumar concludes :

The present state of things in our midst is very discouraging. Most of the people who are entrusted with the work of guiding our destinies do not in the least work for the purity of our institutions. They go with the current and do not have that clarity and depth of vision necessary for leaders of thought and action. All of us are every day being unconsciously vulgarised by coming in contact with the institutions of modern civilisation. Who among us will consecrate his life to cleanse our temples, our schools, and our homes of the existing evils, and defend them against the inroads of alien ideas and ways? Great is our heritage and let us grow to be worthy of it.

Primary Education in India

A writer who signs himself "Q. R." in the *Sind Students' Magazine* gives some interesting figures regarding the progress of Education in this country. The history of the movement for English Education in nineteenth century India is briefly told :—

India saw in the first half of the nineteenth century the extension and consolidation of British Rule, and in the second half two attempts made towards the cause of education. The first was the famous Wood's Despatch in 1854 and the second was the appointment of a Commission to enquire how far the policy laid down in the despatch of 1854 in regard to elementary education had been carried. The Commission made careful inquiries and found that in 1882 there were about 85,000 primary schools in the country recognised by the Department, and there were about 21½ lakhs of pupils attending these schools. In addition to these there were about 3½ lakhs attending unrecognised schools. That means 1.2 per cent of the whole population of India at that time.

Then follows an instructive comparison between different countries of the world and a native state in India itself. The writer's conclusions deserve to be noted :—

Now it has been universally recognised that a certain minimum of general instruction is an obligation which a Government owes to all its subjects. And thus it is that, led by German States, country after country in Europe and America and Japan in the East have adopted the system of free and compulsory education; and we find to-day all the countries in Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey, and the United States of America and Canada and Australia and Japan and several even of the smaller Republics in South America—all having this system in operation. And even within the borders of India, the enlightened and far-seeing Ruler of Baroda, after an experiment of 15 years carried out in one of the Talukas of his state, namely, the Amreli Taluka, has since 1909 extended this system to the whole of his State.

But here in British India education occupies a secondary place. Up to 1910 it had no separate department of its own. In the course of 34 years from 1882 to 1916, the progress in this country is represented by an advance from 1.2 per cent, to nearly 2 per cent of the total population. The expenditure on elementary education per head of the population is highest in the United States of America being no less than 16 s; while in India it is barely one penny. Many are the objections which have been raised against primary compulsory education. Some say that there is plenty of room yet for our voluntary bases and others say that it would cost much. But where there is the will, there is the way.

Canada and India

Writers on constitutional problems have frequently referred to the historic Report prepared by Lord Durham in connection with the grant of self-governing powers to the Dominion of Canada. There are many points of comparison between Canada and India and it is interesting to read Mr. Bernard Houghton's article in *India* on the above subject.

Two differences there are but they are differences entirely in favour of Indian aspirations. Loyalty to England burns with a strong flame in most Indian hearts; in the hearts of the French Canadians of the 'thirties its very ashes were non-existent. Amongst leaders of Indian thought there is a hundred-fold more enlightenment and real statesmanship than were to be found with the French of those days. We have all heard Lord Morley's metaphor on wearing a Canadian fur coat in India. But even Lord Morley has his limitations. As his policy on the Bengal Partition and more than one of his speeches show, in Indian affairs, he has suffered the nobility of his ideals to be warped by the instilled poison of Anglo-Indian sophisms. What the debasing system of tutelage denies to its victims has been very aptly expressed by Lord Elgin in one of his letters. "One thing is, however, indispensable," he wrote, "to the success of this or of any other system of Colonial Government. You must renounce the habit of telling the Colonies that the Colonial is a provisional existence. You must allow them to believe that, without severing the bonds which unite them to Great Britain, they may attain the degree of perfection and of social and political development to which organised communities of free men have a right to aspire." Change "Colonial" for "Indian" and you have the policy which India demands. It is the deprivation of this right which gives birth to the ferment in India, a ferment which will never quiet or slacken until India sees her way clear to the open ground of political freedom. This right to Self-Government is bound up in the minds of all thinking men with the spirit of nationality, as the living body with its beating heart. Events in Europe tell us that it is that spirit which to-day dominates the world and that it will surely break the fettering forces which oppose it.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH LAW AND THE PERSONAL LAW OF INDIANS IN ENGLAND WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MARRIAGE LAW. By Sir Frederic Robertson, Kt., K.B.E., LL.D., ["The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, No. XLI."]

THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND INDIA. By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh ["The Modern Review, March 1919."]

THE REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. By Sir F. S. P. Lely, C.I.E., K.C.I.E., ["The Asiatic Review, January 1919".]

A STATE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA. By B. L. Vajpeee Bhimpuri, M.A., ["The wealth of India, January 1919"]

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Education in India.

We take the following from the Report on Indian Education in 1917-18:-

In the four years of the war there has been an increase in educational expenditure amounting to 180 lakhs a year, the last year's total being about 12 crores of rupees. The number of schools has increased by 4,164 to 196,919, public institutes show a decrease by 4,558 to 159,510, private institutions, a decrease of 394 to 37,409, but pupils have increased by about 969,000. The percentage of those under instruction to the whole population has risen from 3·2 to 4·26. As to the provinces, Bengal has the largest number of school going children and the largest increase in the year. There has been a decrease in the number of pupils in the provinces of the Punjab, Burma and the North-West Frontier Province. Among general matters which occupied the attention of the Department of Public Instruction, the most important were the training and pay of teachers, reforms in which were made possible by the new Imperial grant of Rs. 30 lakhs. A second feature of the year has been the introduction of important changes in the system of the secondary school final examinations. Owing to the war and the consequent dearth of medical men, no great progress was possible in school hygiene. The most fruitful field of advance has been in first-aid classes in several provinces. Nearly the whole of the first-aid class at the Training College at Allahabad passed the examinations and its members rendered valuable aid at the Kumbha Mela to bathers rescued from drowning.

THE YEAR'S PROGRESS

As regards the Universities and colleges the principal event has been the sitting of the Calcutta University Commission. Meanwhile certain developments have taken place in the organisation of instruction for the degrees of M. A. and M.Sc. Assistance was given during the year to

Sir J. C. Bose's Research Institute in Calcutta, and the Government of Bengal sanctioned a lakh towards the acquisition of the land required. The two new Universities at Benares and Patna commenced operation,—that of Mysore had already come into being in 1916. The colleges and their students increased by 6 and 4,297 respectively. As regards secondary education the principal feature has been the institution of school-leaving certificate examinations. The number of pupils rose by 12,225 to 1,198,586. Primary education has expanded on the whole. The average annual increase in pupils during the last 5 years has been 166,117 and during the last year the increase in schools was 5,672 and in pupils 114,011. There was some retardation of progress caused by the difficulties of the year. The remarkable point about the figures under primary education is the increase of schools. Expenditure on primary schools rose by Rs. 17,28,969 to Rs. 3,10,42,514. The principal feature of the year has been the movement in favour of compulsory elementary education. The second important point is the continuance of elementary education. As regards professional and special education, progress was made in the matter of Sanskrit education in Bombay. In the United Provinces, the number of students who presented themselves at the Sanskrit examinations was the largest on record. Efforts have been made in the direction of technical and industrial education. The governing body of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, submitted a scheme, with a view to improving and increasing the output of mechanical engineers and mechanics. Further, the profession of teaching has risen by 480 to 19,876. The total number of teachers in public institutions of all kinds in India is now 292,739 and these trained 95,542 against 280,738 and 88,169 last year.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Swinny on the Reforms.

In the course of his annual address, Mr. S. H. Swinny, the President of the Positivist Society, says:—

In a world organised for peace, complete sovereignty is the simplest mode of self-determination, but in that great Confederation or Alliance, the British Empire, or, as it might more truly be described, the British Commonwealth of Nations, it has been found possible to grant large and in some cases practically full powers of self-development in the parts, while preserving a general though vague unity in the whole; and the good results of that policy are plain to see in the ready and voluntary help extended to the mother-country in her hour of need, not only by Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which had no grievance against her, but by South Africa, eighteen years ago the scene of war and rebellion. And now it is proposed to make in India a further step in the self-government of that great dependency. I am very far from thinking the reform scheme put forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford perfect in all its parts, least of all in its treatment of the central government; yet there are very strong reasons why India, while seeking to amend, should be careful not to reject. In the first place, it makes no professions of finality—on the contrary, it expressly gives opportunity for future expansion. Secondly, the moment is favourable, general gratitude is felt for India's aid in the war, and this feeling will never be stronger than at present when the dangers we have shared together are still fresh in all minds. Thirdly, constitutional reform in India has many enemies; Parliament and the public will be much occupied with the reorganisation necessitated by the war; Mr. Montagu's successor is not likely to follow the same path, if this attempt fails. The present is an opportunity which, if it be rejected, may not return for years.

India and the Philippines: A Parallel

Mr. Gregorio Nieva, Editor of the *Philippine Review*, speaking at a meeting held in honour of Sir William Meyer's visit to the Island, said:—

To a certain extent, there is actually some parallel between Indian and Philippine affairs, particularly as regards the destinies of the two peoples in the Far East. India and the Philippines cannot feel themselves as different peoples because of the place they hold on earth, and because both come under the common term of "Oriental peoples." Their aspirations are very much similar, and, however different one country may physically seem from the other, such dissimilarity dwindles to insignificance in the broadening horizon of the Orient. On the other hand, India has been, during the last century and half, under the *dependency* of a Power that has unfailingly been the mother of small nationalities in Europe, while the Philippines has had the very great fortune of being, during the last two decades, under the *guidance* of that power, now at the head, effectively and whole-heartedly, of world Democracy, and of the new Idea of binding the World together with the bonds of sympathy and friendship—America. Thus you see that there is really some parallel between India and the Philippines as well as between America and Great Britain. And while it is not yet all the parallel we wish it should be, we feel confident their purposes, and their aims, and their motives will at last become all one and the same at one time. * * * During the three distinct stages of our existence under the glorious flag of America that is so nobly leading us to full independent nationhood one under purely American administration, one with the co-operation of the former Philippine Assembly, and one, lastly, under our almost exclusive legislative and administrative responsibility—all three in less than two decades—the commerce and revenues of the Islands have steadily grown up fully in proportion to the growth of our political institutions.

FEUDATORY INDIA

The Travancore Durbar.

The Travancore Dewan's address to the Shri Mulam Popular Assembly indicates the progressive nature of the administration in certain respects. The Durbar has been assisting the backward classes with plots of land for habitation and cultivation. The number of members in the Co-operative Societies increased from about 2,000 to about 2,800, and the paid-up capital of the Societies also rose from Rs. 24,710 to over Rs. 30,000, and the promoters of the Societies are reported to have been willing to supply funds out of the resources at their disposal. "Government are glad to note that the encouragement of small loans, the enforcement of punctuality in repayments and the readiness on the part of the members to a strict adherence to the provisions of the bye-laws were the prominent characteristics" of non-agricultural societies during the year. The first Co-operative Conference was held during the year. One of the progressive features of the year was the thorough reorganisation of the Ayurveda Department.

Passive Resistance in Udaipur.

The *Pratap* publishes accounts of a very appalling nature about Vijoulia, a small jagir in Udaipur State (Rajputana). The people of this jagir, it is said, are subjected to about a hundred taxes over and above the taxes levied on the general population of Udaipur State and the local authorities use all sorts of coercive measures to realize these. Recently on account of conditions caused by high prices the poor people of the jagir found it impossible to pay up the taxes and applied to the authorities to be relieved from them. Instead of giving any heed to their entreaties the authorities doubled the force of their extortion. The consequence was that some 500 arrests were made. His Highness the Maharana was appealed to, and he very generously directed that the matter should be enquired into.

The Mysore University.

The Mysore University, says a writer in the *Hindustan Review*, is the highest and most valuable achievement of the present administration which will endure to the end of Mysore history and tend to alter its phase for its betterment as no other institution would. But we must wait for full results as the Presidency Universities have done for at least half a century.

The next great move is the introduction of the compulsory education in the State, the encouragement of technical education in various ways, the development of female education and the special concessions granted to the education of the backward classes. The results are bound to be slow and the usual complaints about want of openings for the men and women trained will become louder and louder. But the working and the thinking capacity, and even the agitating power of the people will increase when they take full advantage of the facilities now offered.

New Dewan of Cochin.

Rao Bahadur T. Vijiaraghava Chari, who has been appointed Dewan of Cochin, took charge of his office on the 3rd instant.

Mr. Vijiaraghava Chari is one of the senior members of the Madras Provincial Civil Service and has had a varied and successful career. Among numerous appointments he has held successively are those of Revenue officer of the Madras Corporation, Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Settlement Department, Secretary to the Indian Officers' Association, Vice-President of the Madras Government Servants' Co-operative Society and Vice-President of the Madras Social Service League. He has been twice Secretary to the Madras Industrial Exhibition, and was selected for special duty in the Department of Industries in 1918 where he continued up to November.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

The Transvaal Indians.

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Press :

"The cable received by me from Mr. Aswant, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, shows that a revival of "Satyagraha" with all the attendant suffering, is imminent in South Africa. Unless the danger that threatens to overwhelm the Indians of the Transvaal is averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India, and, if necessary, by the public also, the situation warrants a repetition of Lord Hardinge's action and the immediate despatch to South Africa of a mission consisting of a distinguished civilian and an equally distinguished Indian publicist. What is that situation? The Precious and Brass Metal Act referred to in the cable affects the gold area of the Transvaal in the largest part of its Indian population. Krugersdrop is an important town near Johannesburg and contains many Indian merchants, some of them owning stock probably worth three lakhs of rupees. If no relief is provided, it means ruin for the merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold area. The goal of the Union Government seems to be, as has been openly declared by several Union statesmen, to reduce its Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is possible that the Court's interpretation is correct. If so, the Act itself must be changed, and the Indian community must be saved, not merely because of their status as British subjects, but also because of the Passive Resistance Settlement of 1914, which protects vested or existing rights. The judgment is a direct attack upon Indian liberty. In pursuance of the policy referred to by me the Government want further to harass the community throughout the Union by refusing facilities for the conservation of its present Indian population. They cannot remain in it if they may not receive occasional visitors, if on the death of a propertied

man his trusted relatives may not enter the Union in order to administer his affairs. I can understand the dominant community in South Africa not wishing to have an unlimited influx of people alien to them in civilisation, but it is impossible to understand a policy of ruthless extermination side by side with a profession of loyalty to a common Empire. Moreover, this refusal to issue temporary permits is a breach of the Settlement. It has been all along understood that temporary permits would be granted whenever necessity arose. Surely, nobody could question it in the late Mr. Mahomed Isaac's case, quoted by Mr. Aswant in the cablegram. Reference to the late Mr. Gokhale in this connection is a libel on a sacred name. After the termination of the interview, Mr. Gokhale came directly to the hotel where we were staying. I had the privilege of being his Secretary and he related to me the whole of the conversation between the Ministers and himself, and there was not a word about his having consented to a stoppage of temporary permits under any circumstances whatsoever. He had no authority to enter into any agreement. He went only to learn and to plead. Your readers will recall that at the historic meeting held in Bombay upon his return from South Africa, he declared publicly that he had no authority to negotiate a settlement and that he had agreed to nothing. As representing the Indian community I was a party to the settlement of 1914. If any such agreement had been made surely, it would at least have formed part of the many discussions between General Smuts and myself. It is worthy of note that General Smuts is not now in South Africa. If he was asked I doubt not that he would repudiate Col. Shawe's allegation. The cablegram adds that there are many other harassments going on throughout the Union. We are supposed to be on the eve of embarkation upon Reforms that are to eventuate in the near future full responsible government. What answer has India to give to Mr. Aswant's pathetic appeal? The hundred thousand Indians of the Union have a right to look up to the Government of India and the people for protection of their elementary rights.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

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Tata Industrial Bank.

At the first general meeting of the Tata Industrial Bank held at Bombay on Feb. 30, the reply of the Directors up to 31st December last was presented. The profits of the bank in the first few months working on that date amounted to four lakhs sixty thousand rupees on a paid up capital of seventy lakhs and the working capital amounted to over four crores thirty seven lakhs. The chairman of the bank, Sir Dorab Tata, in his speech, said the greater part of the bank's business so far had been ordinary banking business as done by ordinary banks. If the bank has not been able to act up to its name as an industrial bank, it was due to want of necessary men and machinery to scrutinise and report upon industrial propositions as much as to lack of really sound propositions. Now with the end of the war and the return of more normal times he hoped propositions of a more natural and permanent character would be submitted to the bank. He assured shareholders in this connection that the bank on its own part would not merely wait for propositions to turn up, but would also take the initiative itself and find out profitable channels for employment of its resources in industrial investment.

The Trade of India.

The report published by the Department of Statistics, reviewing India's trade in 1917-18, roughly points out future developments and lines on which progress in trade is likely to take. The report says: Three years ago few of us dreamt that India being far distant from the Titanic struggle in Europe would have experienced great changes that have taken place in her commerce and industry. In commerce continuous demands on the part of the Allies stimulated the export of commodities of vital national importance and at the same time altered the direction of trade in the industry. * * * * In the direction of India's trade the effect of the war has been to

increase the trade of India with other parts of the British Empire. A most interesting feature in regard to the direction of trade is the large increase in trade with Japan and United States. When the long list of imports at the present time is examined, the progress in our trade with Japan cannot be termed other than phenomenal. In 1917-18 the total trade with Japan exceeded that with other countries except United Kingdom and was valued at Rs. 52 crores. This was an increase of 400 per cent. in imports and 103 percent. in exports over pre-war average. The value of trade with United States had grown to twice what it was in the pre-war period, being second only to that with Japan. Half of the import trade with United States was made up of iron steel and mineral oil, while the trade with Japan was chiefly in the import of cotton manufactures, matches, silk manufactures and glass-ware and in the export of raw cotton.

Import of Pulses.

The Director of Civil Supplies, Madras, writes:

The Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, informs me that dal and pulses are imported into Calcutta from up-country markets in Bengal, for re-export to this presidency. If you can get into touch with these up-country markets in Bengal and draw supplies direct from them instead of via Calcutta, it would mean considerable saving of railway wagons. I shall in future give preference to applications for priority certificates for pulses direct from up-country markets in Bengal, over applications for pulses from Calcutta.

Cocoanut Industry.

Work in connection with the establishment of the cocoanut industry at Ernakulam is being pushed on with great rapidity. There is some delay in setting up the machinery as nearly 4,000 to 5,000 tons of materials have to arrive from America. The industry is to be mainly built with machinery from America and managed chiefly by Americans.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Indian Agriculture.

Much of the work turned out by the Agricultural Departments in India consists of the prevention of diseases and of scientific research, the results of which are not immediately apparent. Two striking statements relating to the increased money yield of particular crops may, however, be cited from Mr. McKenna's comprehensive report on the progress of agriculture in India in 1917-18 which has just been published. Most of the Indian wheats, the Agricultural Adviser points out, are of low quality and consequently fetch low prices in the markets of the world. The straw is also weak. The object aimed at in the experiments in wheat-breeding accordingly is to combine high grain quality with increased yielding power and a strong straw. In regard to the introduction of the American variety of cotton seed known as 4 in the canal colonies of the Punjab we are told that at a very moderate valuation the extra gain to the Punjab cultivators of this cotton in the present year is at least Rs. 60 lakhs. Work on the evolution of better types still goes on and it is possible that a better variety than 4 will be forthcoming. Results such as these must demonstrate even to the unimaginative what the application of science to agriculture may ultimately mean to India.

Cinemas and Agriculture.

Realising the value of moving pictures as a publicity medium for illustrating the natural resources of the Dominions and the national value of industrial development, the Canadian Government and the Industrial Reconstruction Association are undertaking a comprehensive scheme of moving-picture propaganda. The latter body is issuing an initial half-a-dozen pictures, to be followed by others, as the activities of the Association develop. The first series of pictures will include:—

(a) The Woollen Industry—showing flocks and grazing lands in Western Canada, and tracing

various processes of manufacture to the finished woollen and knitted products.

(b) The Pulp and Paper Industry—depicting first the timber resources of British Columbia and working through various stages of lumbering activity to paper making, book binding, printing, etc.

(c) Grain and Milling—illustrating successive stages of wheat production, sowing, harvesting to elevators. Other pictures will show successive stages of manufacture through the flour mills and shipping for export.

(d) The Iron and Steel Industry—showing the mineral resources of the country and mining process, with shipments of raw material and stages of manufacture.

(e) The Packing Industry—depicting Western stockyards, the raising, etc., of hogs and cattle.

(f) Agricultural Implements—illustrating manufacture, shipment, and operation.

Agricultural Education.

At the Imperial Council the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma asked:—"Was a supplementary grant of £200,000 made for technical and agricultural education during 1918-19? If so, how has this grant been utilised?"

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied:—"The answer is in the affirmative. Out of the total grant of £200,000, £60,000 have been allotted for technical education and £140,000 for agricultural education. The latter amount has also been supplemented by a sum of £120,000 representing the balance available from the profits which accrued from the scheme for the purchase and export of wheat on Government account. The grant for technical education has this year been given for non-recurring objects only and the distribution has been made with reference to schemes which were ready or appeared feasible. The grant for agricultural education was made with the object of starting some of the most urgent schemes for the improvement of agricultural education."

NOTICES OF BOOKS

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The aims of Labour. By the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., Headley Bros, London.

Labour in Great Britain as elsewhere is no longer a negligible factor but one to be reckoned with as a great and compelling force in the polity of the future. Already the ideals of Labour are transcending the merely patriotic and national standpoint. Labour is becoming an international Brotherhood, thanks to the genius of its leaders heralding the advent of a league of peace. In this pamphlet Mr. Henderson, Secretary of the British Labour Party, has touched on some of the most vital problems of labour and the social and political ideals which inspire British labour in particular with the deft and unerring vision of a practical statesman. He writes delightfully of the coming together of a "powerfully organised movement to achieve a new freedom and to establish on this earth, drenched with men's blood, torn with men's struggle wet with human tears, a fairer ideal of life."

Shri Rupkala. By A. B. Narayan Sinha, translator, Patna High Court.

This is a short sketch of the life and activities of His Holiness Shri Vaishnavaratna Swami Shri Sita Ram Sharan Bhagwan Prasadji Rupkala of Ayodhya, by one of his ardent disciples, Mr. Sinha. The book deals with the various stages in the Swamiji's life, such as Vidyarthi, the householder, the Bhakta, the author, etc., and Mr. Sinha also mentions some of his personal reminiscences which form interesting reading.

Indian Directory—Delhi. Edited and compiled by Harnarayan Prasad, B. A. Published by the Encyclopaedic Indian Directory and Co., Allahabad. Price Rupee one.

The publishers of this useful book have collected together in this one volume all information of general interest regarding Delhi. The tourist as well as the student of history and archaeology will find this book immensely helpful.

The Indian Year Book: 1919. Edited by Sir Stanley Reed, Bennett Coleman and Co., Lt., (can be had of G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) Rs. 6.

The wide popularity of this useful book of reference is evidenced by the fact that it is sold out every year within a few months of its publication. And the demand is deservedly increasing. The current number is a distinct improvement on the previous editions. Special attention has been given to questions arising out of the war and the chapter on "India and the War" is an instructive record of our war efforts. Prominence has also been given to leading political questions like the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, the Industrial Commission's reports, and proceedings of the Congress, Moslem League and the Moderate Conference. Another admirable feature is the inclusion of a "Who's Who" which however is rather meagre. There are surprising omissions but we trust subsequent editions will be more full and copious.

The History of a Village Panchayat.

By Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi, M.A., B.L., The Kanara Press, Madras.

Mr. Sundara Reddi describes the constitution of a small village to illustrate the working basis of the Panchayat System and the facts and figures he has collected are so marshalled that a student of politics will find ample food for thought. The Panchayat has withstood the shock of falling dynasties and has preserved the integrity of the village from time immemorial from the fate of more pretentious cities which have shared the vicissitudes of proud capitals. Mr. Reddy's study of this vital unit of the Indian polity is at once thorough and scholarly and is fruitful of many a sound and helpful suggestion for the active politician.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 20. His Majesty the Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan was assassinated at Laghman.
- Feb. 21. The Ninth All-India Vedic and Unani Tebbi Conference opens to-day in Karachi.
- Feb. 22. Lady Chelmsford lunches to-day with Their Majesties the King and Queen at the Buckingham Palace.
- Feb. 23. Public meeting at Bombay to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.
A Reuter's message announces that Mr. Tilak has lost his case.
- Feb. 24. Lord Sinha presides to-day at the Rhodes Lecture by Sir J. D. Rees.
President Wilson arrived at Boston.
- Feb. 25. Lord Ronaldshay presided at the Annual convocation of the East Bengal Saraswat Samaj at Dacca.
Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.
- Feb. 26. Professor Limaye of Fergusson College died to-day at Bandra.
- Feb. 27. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Social Service Exhibition at Dacca.
The Government of Madras forfeited to-day the security of the *Desabhaktan*, a Tamil daily of Madras.
- Feb. 28. Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Press condemning the Rowlatt Bills.
The Inter-Allied Mission of Poland meets the German Representatives to-day to discuss the future of Poland.
- Mar. 1. Sir James Meston presents the Financial Statement for the year 1918-19.
- Mar. 2. A mass meeting is held to-day at Benares to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.
- Mar. 3. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir lunched with Their Majesties the King and Queen.
- Mr. H. N. Apte, ex-President of the Poona Municipality, died to-day.
- Mar. 4. Lord Sinha delivers his maiden speech in the House of Lords.
Mr. Gandhi arrives at Delhi to-day to see the Viceroy in connection with the Black Bills.
- Mar. 5. Mr. Johnson apologises in Court with reference to the case brought against him for throwing the Saraswati image into the dustbin.
- Mar. 6. H. E. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, addresses the students at the Wilson College Annual Day.
- Mar. 7. The Calcutta High Court, Vakils' Association holds a protest meeting against the Rowlatt Bills.
- Mar. 8. Sir William Vincent presents to-day the report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.
- Mar. 9. H. E. the Governor of Bombay opens the Naval Exhibition in Bombay to-day.
- Mar. 10. A public meeting was held under the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay at Calcutta for the purpose of considering steps to be taken to perpetuate the memory of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta.
- Mar. 11. A public meeting of Bombay ladies held to-day at Chinabagh to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.
- Mar. 12. A garden party was given at Metcalfe House, Delhi, by the Maharaja of Darbhanga on behalf of the Landholder's Association in honour of the Viceroy.
- Mar. 13. The All-India Zamindars' Conference meets to-day under the presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga.
- Mar. 14. Admiral and Lady Jellicoe landed at Apollo Bander at 5 this evening.
- March 15. The Madras Teachers' Guild Conference was opened to-day by His Excellency the Governor.
- March 16. The Calcutta Provincial Congress Committee held a Conference to-day and approved of the policy of Passive Resistance.
- March 17. A public meeting was held at Madras to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.
- March 18. Madras Moderates have issued a manifesto against Passive Resistance.
The Rowlatt Bill has been passed into law.
The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma resigns his membership of the Viceregal Council.

Literary

Gandhi's Message to the "Independent."

Mr. Gandhi addressed the following words to the conductors of the new daily organ at Allahabad, *The Independent* :—

"In wishing you success in your new enterprise, I would like to say how I hope your writings would be worthy of the title you have chosen for your journal, and may I further hope that to a robust independence you will add an equal measure of self-restraint and the strictest adherence to truth? Too often in our journals, as in others, do we get fiction instead of fact, and declamation in place of sober reasoning. You would make "The Independent" a power in the land and a means of education for the people by avoiding the errors I have drawn attention to."

The World's Press.

The following shows that the Press in all the civilized countries is free but in India :—

England.—Complete Freedom of the Press.

Scotland.—Press is Free.

Ireland.—Seizure of a newspaper is provided for, but there is nothing like depositing security at the inception of a paper.

U. S. A..—The Constitution of 1867 secures liberty of the Press.

British Colonies.—Press is Free.

Hungary.—The Constitution of 1867 secures liberty of the Press.

Belgium.—By the Belgian Constitution of 7th Feb. 1831 it is declared that the Press is free.

Brazil.—By Art. 179 of 1824 every one is entitled to publish his thoughts.

Argentine Republic.—Liberty of the Press is one of the rights secured by the Constitution.

Chili.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Denmark.—In 1849 the Press was declared free.

France.—With the republic, the Press has been made free.

Germany.—The Law affirms liberty of the Press.

Greece.—Press is Free.

Holland.—Press has been free for very long.

Italy.—By Art. 27 of the Political Code of Sardinia, granted by Charles Robert, on 4th March, 1848, and still in force, the Press is free.

Mexico.—Liberty of writing and publishing is inviolable.

Norway.—Liberty of Press is secured by the Constitution.

Ottoman Empire.—By Art. 12 of the Constitution of 23rd December, 1876, the Press was recognised as free.

Portugal.—Liberty is secured to the Press.

Rumania.—Liberty is secured by the Constitution.

Spain.—Press is free.

Sweden.—Liberty of the Press is declared to be the privilege of every Swede.

Switzerland.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Editor of the "Times"

Mr. Geoffrey Dawson has resigned the editorship of *Times* and is succeeded by Mr. Henry Wickham Steed. Mr. Dawson, in a letter to Mr. John Walter, Chairman of the *Times* Company, says, he has been awaiting his arrival from Spain in order to tender his resignation, which he had been considering for some weeks ever since it became clear that Lord Northcliffe was constantly dissatisfied with the policy of the *Times* because it deferred from his own expressions of opinion in the other newspapers.

The "Panchama."

We welcome the *Panchama*, a new monthly Journal, published from Hyderabad (Deccan) by Mr. J. Muthayya. The journal is devoted to the uplift of the depressed classes of India. The subscription is only Rs. 1-8-0 a year.

Educational

Sir Rabindranath on Education.

In the February number of *The Mysore Economic Journal*, Mr. V. Subramania Aiyar, B. A., gives a succinct summary of the views of Sir Rabindranath Tagore on some educational problems, which he jotted down at private conversations with him :—

UNIVERSITIES

While the Assistant Professors for the routine work of the University classes may be appointed in consideration of their academical titles and diplomas, Professors for higher work must be selected on the basis of unique merit—men who have to be leaders and directors of thought and given unquestionable proof of their genius and originality. The best method of selection is by sending for best men available, asking them to deliver courses of lectures and selecting the best among them. Those who are so selected must be bound by a condition that within three years they should produce some original work. The system of exchanging Professors for short periods must be adopted. Good salaries must also be paid.

As regards selection of men for Specialisation, it is only when young men have been in close touch with professors with originality of thought, that their merits and aptitudes for original work can be known. And this can be judged best not by ordinary lecturers, usually known as Professors ; but by those who have done original or research work. There should be travelling scholarships to enable research students to visit different provinces of India. The subjects of study ought to be selected according to the special taste of students where he can have free scope for manifesting originality. The medium of instruction should be, as far as possible, the vernaculars of India and the adoption of this principle should be gradual. Instruction in fine arts is an urgent necessity. The study of the

Buddhistic and the Pali literature should be combined with a study of Sanskrit literature.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Woman has a right to learn the sciences and arts that man learns, and to enter, as far as practicable, the walks of life that man usually seeks. The work of preservation and development of individuality of man can best be done only by woman, and she must, therefore, be trained for discharging this great duty of rearing up the real man of the future. The courses should be given in the vernacular.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The teacher and the parents may give the child talks on various topics or subjects *incidentally* in the garden, on the road, at the dinner or elsewhere. Task work must be confined to only one subject. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction.

EDUCATION IN GENERAL

All educational development must proceed from within outwards. The aim must be to develop not only the *individual* aspect of the mind but also the *universal* or the *spiritual*. A sound educational system should provide for the development of variety without losing the hold or the basis of spiritual unity.

A REAL INDIAN UNIVERSITY

"There must be a place, if not in every province, at least in one centre in this vast country, to which the best intellects of India and even of the world outside, could be induced to resort, where they could meet, stay temporarily or permanently and impart their knowledge to the public. It will help to kill racial, sectarian, caste and other prejudices and be a real fountain of universal light. It is only Hindu States, whose rulers have in their veins flowing the ancient Aryan spiritual culture, based on 'unity' and universality that can realise its importance and organise a real university of this type, which will be India's educational contribution to the world's progress,"

Legal

The Tilak-Chirol Case.

The *Mahratta*, while regretting the recent decision in the Tilak-Chirol case, publishes the following :

There is, however, an appeal or two provided by law against this judgment, and those who know Mr. Tilak need not be assured that he will not rest till he has exhausted all the remedies still open to him for getting a judgment in his favour. The possibility of an appeal, which, we believe, must be already in course of presentation, requires that those who disapprove of it must observe reticence if not absolute silence.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in the course of an article in the *Indian Social Reformer*, discusses the question as to what should be the attitude of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council towards the Rowlatt Bills. He says that the *temporary* character of the measure is a "concession" to public opinion, but he also admits that the concession is "only partial and does not satisfy the conditions of the constitution to justify at least the Indian non-official members of the Council in resting satisfied with the concession made and according their support to the law as a temporary measure". The Indian non-officials are, he says, "exponents of the general will of the country" and they should refuse support to the measures.

"That is the test for them; and they are entitled, on the ground of recognised constitutional principles, to urge that the constitution of the Government should be popularised first in the direction of Responsible Government before they can share the responsibility of such laws with the Executive in a time of peace. If, under the present system of Government, and before Mr. Montagu's Reforms take effect and admit the

people *into* the administration and make them responsible for it, the Legislative Council passes the Rowlatt Bills, whether with the support of the Indian members or by an official majority without that support, the Legislature will be passing the law under the guise of authority from public opinion, when that opinion is really opposed to the measure. The charge has been brought against the Indian members of the Council by some that those members have opposed the Bills because they fear that if they support the measures they will lose their popularity. The *Pioneer* makes much of that. Even assuming it is so, what does that argument come to? It means that these measures are *unpopular*. And if they are, the Indian members as representatives of the people, will be going against public opinion should they support the measures."

Women and Hindu Law.

The Calcutta Weekly Notes writes :—

The denial of civil rights to women in India has never been so rigid as it was in England half a century ago when John Stuart Mill wrote his famous essay on the *Subjection of Women*. The Hindu law hardly attached any disqualification in respect of civil rights of women in India. It is also well-known that large properties are managed by Hindu widows as life-owners. Hindu women are also absolute owners of their *stridhan* properties. They are ordinarily the absolute mistresses of their own household and possess business capacity to a remarkable degree. In point of intelligence and in their knowledge of men and affairs, they are in no way inferior to their European sisters and they often possess stronger common sense than men. It would be a shame to say that they are incapable of exercising their right of vote. We hope therefore that none of the Commissioners will bring upon himself the odium of opposing this proposal for the conferment of a very elementary civic right on the women rate-payers of Calcutta.

Medical

A Ministry of Health.

At a recent meeting of the Council of the Royal Sanitary Institute, England, the following resolution was passed :—

"The health of the people being of paramount importance in the progress of the nation, the Council of the Royal Sanitary Institute have noted with great satisfaction the progress that has been made and the valuable work accomplished during the past fifty years by the various departments dealing with public health.

"The rapid development under present conditions of the many subsidiary factors affecting the question, and the complexity of the interests involved, make it essential, for the effective continuance and development of the work, that so far as possible all matters relating to public health should be co-ordinated in one department as a Ministry of Health.

"The Council therefore desire to urge that the matter is one of pressing public importance, and trust that it may receive the early attention of His Majesty's Government."

Lung Operations.

The remarkable operations upon the lungs carried out by Col. Pierre Duval, of the French Reserve Medical Corps, are claimed to have been followed by complete recovery in two-thirds of the patients. A six-inch opening through the ribs being made, the injured lung is drawn through the aperture with forceps, and is then manipulated like a sponge with one hand, while the other hand ties severed blood-vessels, cleanses the surface, and swabs out the inner tracts with gauze. By feeling over the whole organ, bullets and bits of shell are found and removed. Portions of the lung that have been torn are cut away, and the wounds are sutured.

The Ayurvedik Conference.

The Ayurvedik and Unani Tibbi Conference was held this year at Karachi under the presidency of the well-known Unani Practitioner, Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan of Delhi. The President said in the course of his address that the Ayurvedik and Unani systems were based on scientific principles and laws and that their component parts were governed by a regulated system. After referring to the main branches into which the Indian systems have been divided, he proceeded :—

If eastern or Indian systems of medicines are called unscientific because, for example, they do not possess a detailed information about bacteriology as is to be found in the Western system, I should like to enquire of my narrow-minded and prejudiced friends, that if this or any other changes of the same kind, entitle the Western system to be termed scientific to-day, are they prepared to acknowledge that before the introduction of these changes and new discoveries, their own systems were unscientific. More than this, they will be compelled to admit that according to this principle they cannot call the Western system scientific even to-day, because they see that the constant efforts of the nations of the world are adding some new facts to the existing stock of the world's knowledge in which is included the knowledge of the medical science also. Changes and improvements are taking place daily and therefore every science, which has been subject to them, will appear to be unscientific until such change or improvement. My answer to these critics will be that the shortcomings mentioned above are not sufficient to debar any branch of knowledge from admission into the Court of Science. Otherwise without doubt we shall hesitate in pinning the medal of science on the chest of the Western system of medicine, in the same way as we shall hesitate to put the garland of praise and honour round the neck of the Eastern systems.

Science

Is The Earth Drying Up ?

Many authorities recognise the fact that the earth is slowly losing its moisture. How this can occur is partially explained by Professor C. F. von Herrmann, by the action of electrical discharges in decomposing water vapour. One of the component gases hydrogen, is very light and rises to the upper limit of the earth's atmosphere, where it is ultimately thrown off. This loss of hydrogen means in the long run a loss of water. The decomposition of the earth's moisture, with final loss, is also brought about by other agencies, notably the effect of the light-rays of the upper part of the spectrum.

Dr. Karl Stoeckel says :—“ It is believed that the ultra-violet rays of sunlight which fall upon the water vapour suspended in the lower strata of the earth's atmosphere, decomposed a small part of it to produce hydrogen, which rises to great heights.”

On this Prof. von Herrmann comments as follows :—“ I do not think it has been pointed out before that the earth's surface must be continuously losing hydrogen through the decomposition of water vapour by every flash of lightning. Pickering and others have recognised the hydrogen lines in the spectrum of lightning, and the larger works on meteorology mention the fact that lightning flashes decompose some water.

The hydrogen formed by every lightning flash rises rapidly to the upper atmosphere and is lost to the earth.

“ Considering the frequency of thunder storms during the summer seasons in both hemispheres, and at all times in the equatorial regions, the loss of hydrogen in this way cannot be considered as insignificant. As long as conditions upon the earth remain such as to render thunderstorms possible, the slow desiccation of the earth must continue.” —*Popular Science Siftings*.

A most Uncanny Clock.

A most uncanny clock is in the possession of an Indian prince. It has no dial, only a round dice, to which numerous little bells are attached. Its mere sight at every full hour is sufficient to strike awe into nervous persons. For this uncanny clock indicates the hour by uniting, as with a magic hand, into a skeleton a number of bones heaped about it. This skeleton then seizes a bone and strikes with it at the bells as often as are hours to be indicated. This done, the skeleton falls again to pieces. £1,000 was recently offered for the clock, but the owner could not be induced to sell it.

Wireless and the Cable Service.

The War has developed wireless commercially as well as scientifically. The normal load on the cables during the War has been about 200,000 words a day between Europe and America, and the radio stations have been able to relieve the cables of much official routine.

Rapid communication with America was a matter of supreme importance for General Pershing and for sometime the absence of proper communications considerably hampered him. It was owing to his urgent representations that the “Lafayette” station at Bordeaux, the largest and most powerful wireless station in the world, was erected by the American navy. The power of the station is twelve hundred kilowatts, and it provides absolutely trustworthy communication at any period of the year.

Of other features in the advancement of this fascinating science that of wireless telephony will most astonish the public when the results become known. One informant described a conversation with an aeroplane some fifty miles distant, in which the human voice was loud and distinguishable, even to the smallest inflection, as if the speaker had been in a room with his listener. For instance, it was clear that he had not learnt English west of the Atlantic or south of the Tweed,

Personal

"Moderate" Deputation to England.

The following is the personnel of the deputation to England on behalf of the Moderate party:—

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Sir Benoda Chandra Mitter, Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. N. M. Samarth, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Hon. Provash Chandra Mitter, the Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, the Hon. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Sir Vitthaldas D. Thackersey, Mr. M. V. Joshi, Mr. W. A. Chambers, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, and Mr. K. C. Roy.

To assist this deputation and to promote the cause of Indian constitutional Reform, arrangements are being made to form in England an influential committee consisting of prominent British statesmen.

The following additional names, to form the second batch, have also been announced:—The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Kassimbazar, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Nawab Syed Allafal of Bogra, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Mr. J. N. Roy, Prithvis Chandra Roy, Rev. Mr. Nag of London Baptist Mission, Rai Sahib A. P. Patro and Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.

The Late Mr. H. N. Apte.

Mr. H. N. Apte, ex-President of the Poona Municipality and a famous Marathi novelist, died of dropsy on March 3, at Anandashram, Poona. He was an intimate friend and devoted follower of the late Mr. Ranade and Mr. Gokhale. He was the Secretary of the Deccan Sabha for a long time and took a prominent part in politics. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University and for several years Examiner in Marathi.

The Late Prof. Limaye.

We are deeply grieved to record the death of Prof. Limaye of the Fergusson College. He died suddenly at Bandra during a brief sojourn to Bombay in connection with the proposed college in Salsette of which he was to have been the Principal. Readers of the *Indian Review* will remember his scholarly criticism of Prof. Kincaid's "History of the Maratha People" in our December number. Prof. Limaye was a scholar in the best sense of the term, equipped with a vast and varied knowledge coupled with a temper of singular amiability and remarkable powers of persuasion. In his death the Deccan Education Society loses one of the most devoted and successful of its members.

Sir Dinsha Wacha's Retirement.

We regret to observe that Sir Dinsha Wacha is retiring from the Bombay Corporation and is not seeking re-election from the Ford Ward, says the *Times of India*. While, as a man who is completing his three quarters of a century, he might well sing his *Nunc dimittis* and seek to shift to younger shoulders the burden of municipal life he has borne so long and so well, he will be a great loss to the Corporation which has owed much to him in these latter years owing to his long and intimate experience of civic life. Whatever might be said of his early career in the Corporation, during his old age, especially since the death of Sir P. M. Mehta, he has been its *praesidium et dulce decus*, and his disappearance from it will be felt as a distinct loss for a considerable time. This withdrawal from the Corporation does not mean, we hope, Sir Dinsha's retirement from public life. In Indian politics just now, a leading man of his moderation and political sanity is much required, and it is to be hoped that he will continue his political activities. Probably when relieved of his municipal duties, he will find greater leisure for politics.

Political

Under-Secretaries for India.

The following list of parliamentary under-Secretaries for India from 1858 to day will be found interesting at this moment:—

1. Mr. Henry James Baillie : 1858-59.
2. Mr. T. G. Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook, Viceroy) : 1859-61.
3. Earl de Grey and Ripon (afterwards the Marquis of Ripon, Viceroy) ; 1861.
4. Mr. T. G. Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook), *second time* : 1861-64.
5. Lord Wodehouse (afterwards the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State) : 1864.
6. Lord Dufferin and Clandeboye (afterwards the Marquis of Dufferin, Viceroy) : 1864-66.
7. Mr. James Stansfield : 1866.
8. Sir James Fergusson (afterwards Governor of Bombay) : 1866-67.
9. Lord Clinton : 1867-68.
10. Mr. (afterwards Sir) M. E. Grant Duff (afterwards Governor of Madras) : 1868-74.
11. Lord George Hamilton (afterwards Secretary of State) : 1874-78.
12. The Hon. Edward Stanhope : 1878-80.
13. The Marquis of Lansdowne (afterwards Viceroy) : 1880.
14. Viscount Enfield (afterwards the Earl of Strafford) : 1880-83.
15. Mr. John Kynaston Cross : 1883-85.
16. Lord Harris (afterwards Governor of Bombay) : 1885-86.
17. Sir Ughtred Kay (afterwards Lord Shuttleworth) : 1886.
18. Mr. Edward Stafford Howard : 1886.
19. Sir John Eldon Gorst : 1886-91.
20. The Hon. George Nathaniel (now Earl) (Curzon afterwards Viceroy) ; 1891-92.
21. Mr. George W. E. Russell : 1892-94.
22. Lord Reay (earlier, Governor of Bombay) ; 1894-95.
23. The Earl of Onslow : 1895-1901.
24. The Earl of Hardwicke : 1901-02.
25. Earl Percy : 1902-03.
26. The Earl of Hardwicke (second time) : 1903-04.
27. The Marquis of Bath : 1904-05.
28. Mr. John Edward Ellis : 1905-07.
29. Mr. (now Sir) Charles Edward Henry Hobhouse : 1907-08.
30. Mr. Thomas Ryburn Buchanan : 1908-09.
31. The Master of Elibank (now Lord Murray of Elibank) : 1909-10.
32. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu (now Secretary of State) : 1910-14.
33. Mr. Charles Henry Roberts : 1914-15.
34. Lord Islington : 1915-17.
35. *The Right Hon. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha* : 1919—

Mr. Asquith and the Speakership.

The parliamentary correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" states that there is a strongly expressed desire among Labour members that Mr. Asquith should be invited to accept the Speakership, on Mr. Lowther's retirement at Easter.

I do not think, adds the correspondent, he is at all likely to view the suggestion with favour; but there is little doubt that he would have a unanimous invitation from all parties in the House if he expressed his willingness to accept the post. Should Mr. Asquith entertain the suggestion, there would be no difficulty about providing him with seat.

Judicial and Executive Functions.

The separation of executive and judicial functions, writes the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, has long been demanded by public opinion in India with the support of weighty legal and judicial opinion both in this country and in England. With the advent of constitutional reforms, this demand is bound to become persistent, and we have little doubt that this question will have to be taken up before long.

General

Mr. Gandhi on Patel's Bill.

Writing to the *Indian Social Reformer*, Mr. Gandhi observes :—In my opinion, the question specially as between Brahmins and Dheds does not arise in this connection at all. Dheds stand in the same relation to Brahmins as Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or Shoodras. Their peculiar disability is not affected either one way or the other by the Bill. If the Bill constitutes an attack upon *Varnashram*, as a believer in *Varnashram-dharma* I should oppose it. I am told by my orthodox friends that it does constitute such an attack. I am told by the supporters of the Bill that not only does it not interfere with *Varnashram*, but it merely seeks to restore the pre-British State of Hindu Law, which was wrongly interpreted by judges, who, being ignorant of it, were guided by biased or corrupt Pandits. Both sides have very able lawyers. Without deciding one way or the other, I have suggested that the effect of the Bill should be restricted to intermarriages among sub-castes. This might satisfy the most ardent reformer at least as a first step, and would enable men like the Hon. Pandit Malaviya to support it.

War Memorial.

The "Matin" states that a Bill providing for a national war memorial has been laid before M. Clemenceau, who has given it his approval. The memorial is to consist of an immense series of galleries, halls, vestibules, and amphitheatres, with a total floor space of 4,500 square metres. These rooms will be hung with 1,040,000 portraits of men who have died for France grouped according to their regiments.* The scheme provides for a Chair of History in connection with the war, as well as for a war museum and library. Busts of the great generals and one of M. Clemenceau himself will be conspicuous, and there will be stained-glass window and frescoes illustrating the famous battles of the great conflict.

The Satyagrahi.

An interesting article on "The Satyagrahi" appeared in a recent issue of the *Times of India*, and we take the following passages :

The Satyagrahi not only hates falsehood, sham and unfaithfulness, he seeks to learn the Truth and in his search for it as well as in his testimony to it he is ever careful to maintain a fervent charity. While he is prepared to sacrifice all for truth, he believes that bigotry is the betrayal of it. Truth should be tender, resembling a surgeon's instrument rather than a highwayman's bludgeon. Its chief purpose is to heal and not to wound. Sometimes in opposition to falsehood and error, it may have a painful operation to perform, but the Satyagrahi like the surgeon will be careful to prevent the least chance of poisoning during or after the operation. As the surgeon washes his instrument in an antiseptic, so the Satyagrahi will bathe truth in love to keep it from rankling in the heart of anyone. If we have a cause to plead or a truth to propagate, we must not falsify our cause or discredit our truth by clumsiness of our methods and the bitterness of our speech. No good cause requires such advocacy and in the long run it cannot benefit much from it. Therefore in religion and in politics and in all else it is our duty to "deal truly, in love."

A Great Archaeologist.

To the Travancore Archaeological Department in particular and to South Indian Epigraphy in general, the death of Mr. Gopinath Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology in Travancore, must be irreparable. Mr. Gopinath Rao devoted the best portion of his life to the unravelling of the obscure history of Southern India and to the correct interpretation of the Architecture and kindred arts of ancient India. Mr. Gopinath enjoyed in a considerable measure the confidence and esteem of many scholars both Indian and European to whom the news of his death will be something of a deep personal bereavement,



H. E. LADY WILLINGDON

THE COURTESY OF "THE MADRAS TIMES."



H. E. LORD WILLINGDON

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A LESSON FROM CHINA

BY

THE HON. JUSTICE SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

FOR a long time past I have not come across a book of its kind which has so pleased me as Mr. A. E. Grantham's recently published volume called "Pencil Speakings from Peking." Though it treats of China, there is much in it which bears upon the question of what young India should, and what modern Europe should not, be or do. It contains much wisdom and displays fully that passion for beauty which is a marked trace of the best European minds.

The Chinese sages spoke of the three spheres of Heaven, Earth, and Man; of spiritual influences, of material objects, of the self and social relationships. The official name of Peking is Shun T'ien Fu or "Obedient to Heaven." How fine is the mentality which the choice of such a title indicates! It is by obedience to Heaven that the state prospers. The Chinese selected neither politics, military glory, trade nor other appeal to pride, greed, or vanity but obedience to Heaven—to the Tao—submission to the principles of reason and righteousness as the standard of their lives. This has been, says Mr. Grantham, the secret of their amazing vitality. Equal sacredness is attached to all three worlds and equal reverence is enjoined towards them. The western mind in its periods of superficiality has marked off the divine from the profane. The east sees the divine in all. Moreover, the Chinese are an artistic and emotional people swayed by delight in poetry and natural beauty. It is depressing in this country

to observe the lack of interest in the beauty of nature, or the incapacity to appreciate it. Those who are hungry and anxious have good excuse, but not all are that. There is no true culture where beauty is not seen. The universe is a veritable Song whose sounds (Shabda) and harmonies (Chhandah) are greater than any other music.

Has not India also been sustained until to-day by the spiritual character of Her civilisation? In China, reverence externally elaborated itself in the observance of forms and ceremonies which the ordinary western and his eastern imitator think unnecessary. A vulgar temperament, and a commercial "race against time," are hostile to the mannered leisure of the past. The author truly says:

"The twentieth-century Chinaman who gives up his traditional regard for ceremoniousness loses far more than the outer show of a superficial politeness; the mainstay of his self-discipline is shaken. And perhaps it is not only the Oriental who degenerates into quite a despicable type of being when he discards the strait-jacket of traditional manners: for the Western counterpart of K'ung-fu-tsze's princely man, the English gentleman, is likewise moulded far more effectually by devotion to form than by fear of punishment in a future world, in which, for practical purposes, he only takes the most tepid interest."

The ancient Chinese sought guidance in the Divine Way, the manifest Tao creating and maintaining life. They saw holiness in Heaven

Earth and Man. "Equilibrium was" they said "the foundation of the world, *Harmony* its great thoroughfare." Thus they cultivated humanity, reverence, sincerity, the moral dignity of one's own free personality.

"They did not direct their peoples' aspirations towards the hollow idols of the market place, panaceas for the ills of an hour but to objects of immortal meaning, outlasting the ballot box, armaments, railways, machinery and the exploitation of material wealth which spread such a din in the up-to-date world and such hatreds in the up-to-date soul. And because they built on the only foundation that never gives way, spiritual rectitude, their race persisted as a living entity through all the disintegrating influences of political disasters, foreign conquests, and periodic lassitude."

And the author adds:—

"For more than twenty centuries. It is only to-day that the Chinese mind is troubled, wavering, beginning to wonder whether the old tree whose roots plunge into so immeasurable a past, whose branches have given shelter and nourishment to such countless generations, should not be cut down to make room for the plants and the weeds imported from abroad. And some of the weeds are of a particularly rank species, like the conceit of the Americanized students who seriously mistake their little wicks of foreign-taught knowledge for a great light by which the destinies of a whole empire should be regulated. When one hears a specimen of Republican Young China in creaky yellow boots, ill-fitting tweeds, and an intolerable cap, impudently whistling and cracking a dirty riding-crop in the Temple of K'ung-fu-tsze, the very hall where Emperors used to worship wisdom in the purity of early dawn, one begins to fear that the death-knell has rung even to Chinese vitality."

Possibly; but a people who are unable to appreciate and who betray their own culture have no right to independent life. One ceases then to be a man and one's life becomes a part of, or dependent on, another.

"Irreverence towards what is left of the trivialities of the past is stupid enough—contempt of its real greatness criminal folly. Yet this idea of completely breaking with the past, of pulling down all it has built, even of irreplaceable beauty, of paramount holiness, has often tempted political hotheads. Never without grave injury to a nation

that allowed itself to be seduced by their vapid arguments. The clean slate of their theories gives scope to the drawing up of plans of such faultless symmetry, such dazzling magnificence, straightway they are taken for reality, and the millennium they grandiloquently promise is reckoned on as an absolute certainty. But there never is a clean slate—either one on which the ancient writing is still legible in much of its mellowed wisdom, or one from which it has been rubbed out in a hideous blur of dust and tears. On this begrimed slate what would a China that has mutilated and slain her splendid past write, or rather scrawl?—for no one can write any but his own language. Windy tags of republican liberty, divorced from reality even in the country of their origin; undigested and indigestible scraps of European ethics in which the theory of the missionary makes a shrill discord with the practice of the commercial and diplomatic carpet-bagger; the insidious poison of an ignorant press; all the ugliness and unhappiness of a machine-driven civilisation. As a matter of fact, had the descendants of the old Chinese sages preserved the spirit instead of letting the dust and cobwebs of worship of the letter clog their brains, it is they who should be sending missionaries to the rest of the world."

"What a slump there would be in Wall Street if its swarming brokers were suddenly forced to carry out K'ung-fu-tsze's dicta: 'In human affairs make righteousness your only aim; when offered an opportunity for gain, think only of your duty.'

"And what an awkward silence would befall the European Chancelleries if Lao-Tsze's fierce denunciation, "There is no sin greater than ambition, no vice more repulsive than covetousness," were to be flashed out at their council-tables by a Power greater than all the triple, quintuple, or even centuple alliances of their sinister diplomacy."

"But habit is stronger than precept. No doubt within an hour the gambling in Putumayo rubber, the cornerings in wheat, would be resumed as feverishly as ever; the map of the world again be unrolled and marked out with blood-red pencilings into spheres of influence, protectorates, schemes of annexations, divisions of pelf."

Mr. Grantham then makes the sage observation that that wherein Europe really does excel—her exact sciences, her power of organisation—could be introduced without destroying anything of the past that is worth preserving. Surely he exclaims

"the old wisdom is far too vital still to be flung upon the dust heap of dead things." "What of foreign-made contrivances and institutions have been bestowed on China so far mostly give a melancholy impression. They are exotics dumped down anywhere, anyhow, lacking all arterial connection with the real needs of the people." How true the observation that "that the most pressing of these can in fact not be met by any purely mechanical manipulation of matter or any external re-arrangement of administrative machinery. It is a faith which has to be kindled in the people, a spring which has to be touched in its heart to release all their latent stores of energy in right channels. That faith is a vitalising patriotism and devotion to the ideal of a China safe and strong and self sufficient, independent within her own boundaries, great with the greatness of Her ancient Emperors, wise with the wisdom of Her ancient sages, beautiful with the beauty created by her own ancient artists. Only the best patriotism will serve." Whereas "She has tried the worst, the type that is based not on love of one's country but on hatred of the foreigner." The path of mere hatred is an evil one for all who follow it. For such patriotism is animated by an evil motive. The spring of action should be a good motive. He who is not animated by a sense of nobility and justice but merely by feelings of envy, hatred and revenge and the like is the bearer of the seed of Death. There is also something mean in this spluttering but impotent malice. Otherwise it is with him whose motive is the good of his people. What is wanted is faith in oneself and one's own, and an attitude which, whilst free of all vulgar aggressiveness, is marked by strength both to resist domination by others and to forward the cherished ideals. One may be kindly and yet be neither slave nor fool. The greatest force is that of an eager fiery spirit disciplined by self-control. But China followed, as the author points out, the wrong path and issued

prematurely a challenge to a test of physical force to those who were Her masters in it. The result has been that China's peril is far more serious than, he says can be safely uttered. Mr. Grantham says:

"The triple-clawed dragon of foreign militarism, of cosmopolitan finance and religious propaganda is lying right across her throat. Whether even the semblance of liberty can be saved is becoming daily more doubtful. The oldest empire of the world may sink into a dependency of one of the newest; the race that gave the world its soundest code of ethics, its most graceful poetry, its finest handicrafts, *may get crushed into a mere reservoir of coolie labour* to pile up dividends for the least ethical of all human associations, the great financial, commercial, and industrial trusts which, under the spurious cry of progress, democracy, and civilisation, are gradually drawing the whole of mankind into the grasp of their polypus-like tentacles.

"And in face of so dark a prospect the public mind is confused, divided, vacillating, *losing hold of its old moorings, unable to grip any others.* The very style of dressing, in which hideous woollen caps, (one might be in India,) frightful foreign boots, shoddy American overcoats are worn simultaneously with Chinese silks which have preserved the old elegance, though even they have lost the old beauty of colour; the European-planned buildings, with all the vulgarity of the West added to the present indigence of the East; the listlessness of khaki-clad officers stumbling over cumbrous swords, no doubt imported from abroad by some dishonest dealer in discarded military equipments, all indicate helpless groping in a maze of antagonistic tendencies, utter bewilderment at the swiftness of the changes convulsing the world. By no means the bewilderment of dotage; just the open-mouthed stupefaction of children on whom too many new toys, too many difficult lessons, have been showered all at once. And some of the lessons were taught at the point of the bayonet."

The author then has some very wise counsel for Her condition applicable to others similarly situated.

"China needs peace, internal and external, to recover her breath, leisure in which to count over her losses and her gains, lest even the gains end only in losses.

"For it is neither by slavish nor spasmodic imitation of foreign inventions, still less by

petulant outbursts by violence, She can hope to weather the threatening storm."

Thus Prussia when helpless under the heel of Napoleon did not (as he points out) train secret "Patriotic Harmony Fists" for the sudden murder of isolated French garrisons. Far from it. She even showed active pity to the broken fragments of his army fleeing back from Russia. What She did was to *remedy her own defects*, to form a union for the cultivation of virtue. *She deepened and strengthened Her soul*, so that She might be fit at the proper time to regain control of her own destiny. As the author says:

"She succeeded. She had trained her patriotism into a force that transmuted internal jealousies into joyful rivalries, sluggishness into energy, fear of personal loss or danger into a passion for self-sacrifice. Such a spirit is invincible. No Power or combination of Powers can in the long run subjugate a people determined not to be conquered, resolved to forgo all happiness except the supreme one of independence, to suffer all losses except that of loyalty to its own ideals."

Then follows a fine passage :

"But patriotism is a subtle quality. Its taproot is pride, which needs to be fed by the self-reliance flowing from consciousness of actual, or from faith in, potential greatness. It is neither from the present, nor from the immediate future that the Chinese can derive this indispensable assurance. Therefore they must turn to the past. And the glories of their past are so great they should prove an undying incentive for patriotic effort, a certain promise of the glories of a future it depends on the men of to-day not to render impossible of fulfilment. Of foreign enlightenment they must take only that which *really is enlightenment*, not a *craving for novelty*, an illusory gain in monetary profit, a *mere change from one superstition to another*.

"They must drink deep at the fountain of their own spiritual wealth, cleared from the dust of too many generations of commentators, and despite the seeming triumph of intrigue, greed, injustice, and violence, they must cling for guidance to the great principles of their own sages.

"Placed in the clear dawn of history, before the din of human theories and activities had reached their present gigantic and confusing proportions, these wise men of old could discern more readily

than we moderns, the goal and purpose of man's life on earth, the secret of his destiny, which is none other than the realisation of eternal harmonies from the fleeting discords of the hour, the steadfast shaping of a world of beauty, order and wisdom out of the seething chaos of violence and ignorance, and above the revolts of savage appetites, courageous obedience to the patient ways of the Divine."

I do not myself like the word "cling". Cling is a bad habit even when we hang on to sages. They doubtless hold the truth in varying degree, but it is not *that* for any of us until we have made it in some way or another *our own*. All must be tested; the propounders of true doctrine will have no cause to complain nor ground for fear. Let each however study what the wise of his race have said. Let him then make it his own, or reject it, and enjoy or suffer the result as it may be, in the latter case deriving consolation from the sense of that independence of spirit and judgment which is amongst the greatest of man's acquisitions. Subject to this caution, which according to the Author's meaning may not have been necessary, what he has said, is indeed well said as much else in an admirable book which I cordially recommend to the Indian reader, and above all to those who think it advisable that this country should adopt what the best in Europe are seeking to be rid of; men who are running here and there after every "new" thing, clothing themselves unawares with garments which are already out of mode to those who are learning the new (and yet in some respects how ancient!) moral fashions. This is not a counsel to rest to-day just where we were yesterday. This is never possible and sometimes not desirable. It is a counsel not to throw away what is good with that which calls for supersession, and above all not to lose that independent self which alone can assimilate what is of worth in others. Mr. Grantham has felt the necessity of saying this as regards China. Much of what he says will find its application in this country to-day.

An International or Supernational State

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BY

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH

THE horrors of the war have been so universally shared by the men, women, and children of the fighting nations that persons who, in other circumstances, would have remained apathetic towards "war against war"—as Mr. W. T. Stead used to call the movement for permanent peace—have been roused to the immediate need of doing something to avert another catastrophe. Even the most unimaginative person realizes that science tied to the chariot wheels of Mars will make the next war a thing of unspeakable barbarity.

Whether the statesmen entrusted by the various nations with the task of peace-making will be able to devise means to avert the menace of future wars remains to be seen. But the various peoples in whose name they speak and act are determined that the world at large shall be freed from the nightmare of war. As Dr. Wilson keeps reminding the men in power in various countries, the peoples are in no mood to be played with, and if the men to whom they have entrusted this work fail them, they will choose for their instruments others who will carry out their wishes.

Only a united effort upon the part of mankind could produce such results. Each nation should sit in council with every other nation, arrange a programme of mutual disarmament, and solemnly pledge itself to refrain from making war-like preparations openly or in secret.

One stray conference, or even a series of conferences, cannot suffice to ensure the purpose in view. The world does not stand still. Differences between nations arise overnight—differences that heat the blood and make men "see red." There must be some authority in continued existence with permanent staff and offices to which the

parties in conflict could submit their differences for purposes of arbitration. That authority must be of such a nature that the mightiest nation will not dare to flout its decisions. It must, moreover, possess such means that, if any country dares to make war in defiance of its decrees, it can make such an offender a pariah among the nations of the earth—an outlaw who would be brought to his knees in no time.

Here, in a nutshell, is the necessity for a world-State. We may call it a "planetary government," a "society of nations," a "League of Nations," a "supernational authority," or an "international federation." The name matters little, so long as the institution is stable and efficient, and so long as it is not a camouflaged "Concert of Powers," or an alliance.

The nucleus of such a world-State existed at the Hague, the capital of Holland, when the world war began. It had been in existence ever since 1889, with permanent executive and judicial organs. Shortly before hostilities commenced, the Peace Palace at the Hague was finished. That Palace was not simply built out of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's pocket, but it was very largely the product of the free gifts of the governments of the world. Germany gave the gates and railings that guard the grounds. Norway and Sweden provided the granite for the foundations. Denmark supplied the fountain. Italy gave the marble for the corridors. The City of the Hague gave the grand marble staircase, and Holland the seven staircase windows, and the site upon which the magnificent building stood. The stained glass was a present from Great Britain. France sent a gift of pictures to adorn the walls. Russia sent a vase of Jasper, Hungary six precious vases, and

Austria six candelabra. The group of statuary in marble and bronze on the first landing of the great staircase was a present from the United States. Brazil gave the rosewood and satinwood that panel the rooms of the Administrative Council. Turkey and Rumania supplied carpets. Switzerland gave the clock in the great tower, and Belgium the beautiful iron work.

The Hague Convention was but a beginning of the world-State—a very partial, rudimentary, beginning. All decisions by the Council had to be carried unanimously—a device used by Prussia to defeat the proposal for disarmament, which if carried would have made the present war impossible. The Convention did not, moreover, possess "sanctions," that is to say, it had no means of enforcing its decisions. Even the weapon of economic boycott was denied it.

The Convention did, however, wield great moral force—so great a force, in fact, that to the end of the war, the belligerent Powers kept constantly appealing to its conventions. Whenever a question of international law arose while the conflict was in progress, every one's mind turned automatically towards the edicts issued from the Hague—even the minds of the belligerents who showed utter callousness in regard to the observance of its conventions.

It seems to me that the natural course for humanity to take would have been to develop the rudimentary machinery existing at the Hague into a fully organised and efficient world league that would have ensured the historic continuity of human institutions. It would, moreover, have disposed of a multitude of doubts, suspicions, and antagonisms. There could have been no question as to whether or not Germany or Austria or any other nation could enter the comity of nations pledged to enforce peace: for every sovereign nation had a place at the Hague as a matter of right, and at the last Conference, held in 1907, out of 48 such nations

44 were actually represented there. The development of the Hague Convention, further more, would have given the Central Powers no opportunity to fear that the Allies, under the guise of a League of Nations, were merely perpetrating and extending an alliance aimed against them.

That course, with all its obvious advantages, has, however, not been followed, and a fresh attempt to create a world-State is now being made in Paris. No reason why such a decision has been arrived at has been vouchsafed. Dr. Wilson's commission appointed by the Peace Conference to draft the constitution of a League of Nations has avoided naming the seat of such a League. If there is anything in the talk about making Brussels the world-capital, the Hague, with its magnificent Peace Palace, will be robbed off its distinction of being the seat of International Government.

The preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations published in the middle of February makes it clear that its authors contemplate a League which will not confine its efforts to the negative work of preventing war. That body, it declares, is designed "to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security." That dual ideal is lofty enough to appeal to anyone. It is to be noted that the positive work, that of promoting international co-operation, is given precedence over the negative work of preventing warfare.

In spite of the preamble, however, most of the document is taken up with the latter—the negative phase of the work. No attempt is made to lay down the general principles of such co-operation, or even to indicate the subjects on which co-operation is practicable or advisable. Nothing is said about the manner in which the bureau of labour is to be organised, or what its powers, privileges, and duties will be: perhaps the authors of the Covenant are awaiting the report of the Labour Commission which has not yet

reported. Reference to the domain of economics is carefully avoided. Such omissions detract from the value of the document, and reduce it largely to a negative effort.

It is to be doubted, moreover, that the provisions of the Covenant, as they at present stand, will, in actual practice, abolish war. The authors refuse to go to the root of the trouble. The language employed in proposing the reduction of armaments is halting. They refuse to end the private manufacture of armaments. They do not provide foreign international police force to belong to the League and to be exclusively controlled by it. If the statements made by Lord Robert Cecil is correct, they propose to perpetuate, in a measure at least, the mistake which wrecked the usefulness of the Hague Convention's unanimous decision. They see fit to ignore the suggestion made by General Smuts that "no resolution of the Council will be valid if a minority of three or more members vote against it." While it appears that many of the principles suggested by General Smuts have been embodied in the Covenant, nearly all the safeguards proposed by him have been disregarded.

The provision that is made for disposing of the German and Turkish possessions is half-hearted, though it is far better than open annexation, based on the right of conquest. While the territories wrested from the enemy are not to be regarded as integral parts of the British and French colonial systems, yet some of them, at any rate, will be administered as if they were integral portions of such systems. While geographic propinquity is to be recognised as a qualification for a nation to hold the League's mandate, no test has been prescribed to determine whether such a nation is fit to be made a trustee for an undeveloped people. Moreover, the League excludes from its protecting wing all the "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" other than those formerly subject to Germany and Turkey.

The machinery designed to accomplish the dual purpose of promoting "international co-operation" and securing "international peace and security," is elaborate. The Covenant proposes to set up (1) a Body of Delegates; (2) an Executive Council; (3) a permanent international Secretariat; (4) a series of commissions including one for regulating armaments and another for regulating the administration of the colonies that have been wrested from enemy Powers; (5) a permanent Bureau of Labour; and (6) a Court of Arbitration. It also proposes to take over all "international bureau already established by general Treaties if the parties to such Treaties consent," and further stipulates that "all such international bureau to be constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the League."

As at present designed, the Executive Council will dominate all the other organs of the League of Nations. This Council will be composed of Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers who will be in no way responsible to the body of Delegates, which will be little more than a debating society. The majority in the Executive Council will be commanded by the five great Powers which conjointly have won the war. The remaining four seats will be divided among such of the rest of the nations as may be admitted into the League. While enemy countries are not specifically debarred, their admission, even after they possess democratic and stable governments, will depend entirely upon the fortunes of an election entirely under the control of the five associated Powers, and will not belong to them as a matter of right. The same condition will apply to Russia.

The Covenant expressly limits admission into the League to "fully self-governing" nations and dominions, and if India as a part of the British Empire, is admitted, it would merely be an act of grace.

Compared with the Hague Convention, the League of Nations is distinctly inferior in res-

pect of its international, and democratic character. Curiously, while every sovereign nation had a right to be present at the Hague, and enjoyed equality of status, the League of Nations will be little more than an extension of the existing alliance—an extension to be solely controlled, at first, by the associated Powers and later by them in conjunction with such other nations as they may choose to take in with them.

No wonder that both in the United States of America and Europe, democrats and internationalists are criticising the Covenant and demanding drastic amendment. If it is to appeal to the world-democracy, the Executive Council will have to be so constituted that it will be truly international in character, so that it will represent peoples rather than governments, and so that it will be responsible directly to the Body of Delegates composed of duly elected representatives of all the nations, large and small, Eastern and Western.

The functions entrusted to the League of Nations will, moreover, have to be extended to embrace all forms of international activity. The League will also have to be given sufficient power to cope efficiently with international strife.

Any one who is gifted with vision can see that the supernational State is coming. The world has advanced to a stage where it cannot do without such an institution. If the League of Nations is not constituted upon a sufficiently broad foundation to make it serve as the nucleus of the world-State, it will have to be discarded soon.

To us Indians, this international activity in the Western world has a special meaning. We are being left farther behind by the progressive peoples. We are still in the patriarchal and agricultural stage of civilisation. We have not yet succeeded in convincing outsiders—even the British with whom our destiny is interlinked—that we have achieved nationhood. Whereas at one time we were the leaders of civilisation, now the world classes us with backward people "not yet able to stand by themselves."

When are we going to wake up, demand our Imperial right to be a free community within a free Empire, and make our influence felt in the councils of nations ?

Is it no incentive to us to see that Dominions that were born but yesterday, that do not possess a tittle of India's heritage, have forged far ahead of us in domestic, Imperial, and international affairs ?

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INDIAN CULTURE

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR

It is with great pleasure not altogether unmixed with some anxiety that I read the very interesting notes on Indian Culture written by Sir John Woodroffe. * His attachment to religious and philosophic India is very great; and he is more anxious to guard its good reputation than we are. In his foreword to these Essays, he rightly draws attention to a noticeable defect in Indian character. The Hindu mind has a peculiar antipathy to advertisement. During all the long ages, it was never thought necessary by the orthodox to undertake the work of propagandism. Wave after wave of spiritual unrest had come and gone only to find the orthodox unmoved and unmoving. Abuses and misrepresentations found the unshaken phalanx of the old faith not perturbed or hitting back, but only supercilious and unconvinced. "Truth will prevail and neither exaltation nor mud-throwing can seriously affect the citadel." This has been the view-point of the philosophers and the common folk have imbibed that idea.

We do not hear of religious preachers being appointed by the ancient Kings. Yet, teachers there have been and have been recognised by Sovereigns. It is not because of Governmental encouragement they impressed their personality on the public. It was the other way. They lived their lives untouched by ideas of princely recognition. It would have struck at the root of their usefulness, if they began their career as Government nominees. Their aim was Jivan Mukti, and it is their indifference to worldly property that was their real attraction. This aloofness from the world, this indifference to praise and blame is in the blood. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian is often misunderstood. Strenuous religiousness there is and even religious restlessness: but all this is in the inner self of the man. His

outward decorum is unruffled by what would have hurt the susceptibilities of other people. Sir John Woodroffe rightly points out that this callousness has been carried too far, and I think he is right. The world we live in demands that there should be constant iteration of our rights, the repudiation of falsehoods and the refutation of unfounded aspersions. But the most educated of us do not consider it necessary to give the lie direct to calumnies on our national character, our religion, and our morality. It was only the other day that I read in the papers that a gifted European lady described the high caste Hindu as wholly hostile to the elevation of the Depressed Classes. She is reported to have said that not a single high-caste Hindu has worked for the amelioration of these classes. I know something of statistics regarding the work done by the higher classes in this direction: but as the words were spoken on a political occasion for a political purpose, I considered it would not be right that I should answer the charges. But there was no excuse for others as well posted with the facts as myself for not venturing a reply. Fortunately, an Englishman who had lived amongst Hindus in Bombay came forward to refute the statements. Similarly it has been left to Sir John Woodroffe to take the cudgels on behalf of India, while her sons have been content to ignore the attacks of Mr. Archer. India is grateful to Sir John Woodroffe for this championship.

I agree with him that if the word *culture* is given its natural significance, no nation has greater claim for such a distinction than India. There is a saying in the Mahabharata that men are on birth all barbarians; and it is only when they realise the supreme consciousness that they become civilised. In this sense, taking the peoples of the world, the number of the awakened souls in all of them put together would hardly reach the sum

Is India Civilized? By Sir John Woodroffe. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

total which India can number on its rolls. Even apart from this super attribute of civilisation, among Indians will be found a type of men of whom the Gita said, "whose lives have been so regulated as to resemble the light that shakes not even when blown against by a mighty wind and who are numerically larger than those found in other countries.

The theory of world formation and of world development in India is that the Universal Spirit has for its own delectation chosen to spread itself out into forms of animal life, and that like the tortoise, It will draw back to Itself at the time of the final conflagration what It has spread out. The incessant work of conceiving, creating and of destroying is being done by a force of which we have no visual cognisance; what is required of man is the performance of his allotted sphere of work without calculating upon the results of his activities. As Sree Krishna said to Arjuna, the conception of duty is:— "Duty for dutys sake." If all nations are actuated by the same ideals or as Sir John Woodroffe puts it, "were all men of this spirit we should not see unjustified aggression," But unfortunately nations on earth have far different ideals. The American Doctor of Divinity gave expression to a grossly material dogma of man's functions when he addressed a religious discourse to the crew of submarines, in these terms:—"When I stand before the judgement seat of the Almighty I want to be able to look my God in the face and tell Him that I gave the Germans at least one good wallop before I shuffled off." The German ideal was undoubtedly worse. In this clash of ideals, is there not danger that by adhering to the Indian view of life and of its denouement, our foothold upon progress and material development would be very much weakened. It may be that in the end the spiritual ideals for which the Indian civilisation stands sponsor may prevail over the baser ones of which men of the calibre of the American Doctor of Divinity are

the prototypes. But what about the way to that stage? Is it not incumbent on us to attempt a more virile adaptation of the principle of the rights of man and a little relaxation of the spiritual attitude? Further as a guide to individual salvation, the Indian view is probably the noblest. Schopenhauer is reported to have said that Vedanta has been the solace of his life. In a highly trained intellect this faith may do no harm. But to those who are not so gifted but whose consciousness are not capable of grasping the eternal verities of physical and material life, can we say that the lofty spiritual conception of man being but the instrument of a Higher Power would suffice for the daily concerns of life? The contact with other nations have rendered it necessary that we should work out our salvation not solely in the light of the great truths which are our proud inheritance, but also in a spirit of being able to counteract the mischievous tendencies of others who are not looking up to the same goal of life.

Sir John Woodroffe says:— "We are each instruments in the enternal struggle of matter to free spirit. Know this and serve rightly. If man so understands the cosmic process he will know why it is a struggle: and if he both thus knows and identifies himself in fact with it he will be freed of fear even in the presence of its most terrible forms. If beings fight with and devour one another in the early stages of evolution, it is to subserve the evolution of spirit." This excellent precept would be a very good guide to men who can appreciate the higher aspect of religious life. No doubt if all men gain in moral value, this clash of interests would disappear. But as the learned author rightly points out:—"One being lives on another; one conflicts with another in the process of evolving and perfecting forms. In this conflict of unequal forces can we trust to the higher Indian culture alone to withstand the onslaught that is being made on our material well-being?

I am rather inclined to agree with Mr. Archer there is something of medievalism in our conception. I do not say it is wrong. But if we do not adapt ourselves to the requirements of the times, our ideals like medievalism may be trampled under foot. Mr. Archer is at great pains to proclaim himself a non-christian; but curiously enough he asserts that India's salvation can only come from its adoption of Christianity as its national religion. Impertinence cannot go further than this. If this gentleman had taken the least care to understand the underlying principles of Hindu religion, he would not have talked all this nonsense. Mr. Archer conveniently forgets that the purest of religions according to him was unable to prevent persons from murdering each other, lying towards each other, coveting each other's property and committing other untold crimes. Probably this self-satisfied critic thinks that Germans are the most civilised people on earth.

Although I admire the spirit of absolute fairness with which Sir John Woodroffe has approached the task, I think India would be more grateful to him if, in addition to championing our ancient civilisation he had advocated a spirit of greater robustness and self-reliance among us in fighting the battle of life. As regards cultural superiority no man whose vision is not jaundiced can honestly say that from an intellectual and moral stand point we are not among the highest. But

from the point of view of the necessity of coping with the problem of every day life and of meeting on equal terms persons of different faiths and of different cultures, it must be confessed that unless there is a great infusion of a spirit of adventure and of aggression which have characterised other nations we are sure to be left very much behind in the race. Indian civilisation is defective in this respect, and I think the remark made by an Indian leader to which Sir John Woodroffe takes exception is not altogether beside the point. That gentleman said:—"English institutions are the standards by which our aspirations were set." If that leader had qualified his remarks by saying "provided we do not lose sight of the high ideal of life which is embodied in the teachings of our sages," his remarks would have been perfectly in point. The Essays of this learned Judge should serve as an eye-opener to persons who, without any knowledge of Indian life and conditions, have presumed to criticise our character and morality. It should serve also as an eye-opener to many an Indian who has no conception of the great lessons which are capable of enabling India to influence world thought, although in material prosperity it has lagged behind many of them. This volume of Essays should be studied carefully by every Indian who aspires to lead the people and to mould the aspirations of his countrymen.

THE GENESIS OF LABOUR UNREST

BY

MR. N. C. MEHTA, B.A. (CANTAB.) I.C.S.

BOMBAY—the pride of Indian India has lately been the scene of an unprecedented and general revolt of labour. It is not enough to dismiss the phenomenon merely as a mild infection of industrial Bolshevism raging all over the world, nor to regard it only as an organised protest by labour against the conditions obtaining in the Indian

factories and an attempt to secure higher wages. The considerable rise in the cost of living—house-accommodation, foodstuffs and clothing, in particular, has no doubt told heavily on the wage-earning classes. But it is a novel sensation for the ignorant and imperfectly organised workmen—mostly the erstwhile villagers—to be up in arms and unfurl the standard of rebellion in a body.

For, there are yet no trade-unions nor strike-funds to ensure that the insurgent labour shall not be starved into subjection by the rich capitalists. The ranks of the Indian factory labour are chiefly reinforced not by the natural growth of the local population, but by immigrants from rural areas. The ties of cohesion among the workmen are extremely feeble; and poverty, ignorance, diversity of castes, religions and even languages make them still weaker. Labour in India has not yet had time to evolve a class of its representatives, leaders and agitators who can claim to speak on its behalf, and control in times of industrial peace and war. The recent strikes which purely as demonstrations of an organised consciousness and a general will to conquer were singularly impressive and successful, were the hand-work of an incoherent and leaderless body of workmen. It is perhaps vain to expect that the lessons so emphatically conveyed will not be altogether lost on the wise and far-sighted among the captains of industry.

England has been accepted with a cheerful optimism as the model of the India to be. The smoking chimneys of Bombay and Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta have enchain'd the public imagination which has come to look upon the mere multiplication of these funnels as the indubitable signs of prosperity and progress, almost as ends in themselves. India is industrially young, and she can with an effort avoid and overcome the horrors and ravages of Industrial infancy, if she reads aright the experience of England and other manufacturing countries.

All economic activity is but a means to an end, and that end is the betterment of the individual lives which constitute the nation. It is not enough merely to increase the national productivity nor to multiply the number of merchant princes and industrial magnates, nor yet to raise the earnings of labour. It is sometimes forgotten that industrialism in itself is neither better nor

more desirable than agriculture, and that even the industrial development can be purchased too dearly. Capitalists all the world over are apt to lapse into thinking and feeling labour as something abstract and impersonal and to look upon it only as one of the factors of production, while it is intensely vital and throbbing with life. It is this which the strikers have sought to demonstrate—their right to have their welfare considered not merely as an object of secondary importance, but as one of the goals of production itself. Efficiency, productivity and profits are all admissible so long as they are not incompatible with social welfare.

Our public men cannot escape the charge of comparative neglect to realise the meaning of industrialism from the point of view of the workman. Workmen's institutes, free education for their children, better housing, old age pensions, insurance against illness and accident—all have their proper place in the stupendous task of social amelioration, and yet not the least important from the individual's standpoint is the length of his working day. Consider the implication of a twelve-hours' working day. It is not relevant to the issue to say that our workman is slack, lazy, casual and inefficient, that his daily output is much less than that of an English workman. That is all true, but the Indian humanity must be taken as it is, and means and methods must be so devised as to make its efforts and activities most fruitful for its happiness. National wealth and the measures to increase it have their sole justification and *raison d'être* in serving and advancing National Welfare. Labour may be cheap, but life is not, and in dealing with the problems of labour the human aspect is always in danger of sliding in the background instead of occupying the very heart of the picture where it should be. But let us have no illusions about the freedom of the agriculturist or the monotony of factory-life. Freedom for the

poor cultivator who ekes out a precarious living by constant hard toil has none of the romance that floats about the word on the platform and in the press. Months of enforced idleness which are inseparable from a seasonal calling like agriculture will be gladly spent in any profitable occupation, if it were only possible. He and his women-folk, simple though their needs and tastes are, have also dreams of many a possible luxury, which alas! but too often are never transmuted into realities, for agriculture with its glorious uncertainties and apparent freedom carries in its train, the hideous spectres of famines and the bondage of the money-lender; and it is not quite so easy to find other suitable occupations and supplementary sources of income during the slack season, as sapient theorists may think. It is the fierce competition—the struggle for existence in agriculture which drives the villager to the factory, and no doubt the factory workman longs to return to his village home as soon as he has saved enough. This is not wholly or even principally due to the importunate call of the home of sweet memories, nor to the 'soul-killing dullness' of factory-life. Ploughing is no less dull than machine-tending. Luckily, the human mind seems to get on so nicely with routine and monotony that they are hardly felt as evils by the bulk of humanity. In fact, they are positively helpful, for the small share of brains that is the heritage of the vast majority of us, will else be hopelessly inadequate to guide evenly the course of life along its devious channels. It is not monotony against which labour rises in revolt. It is the intolerable and incessant strain on his nerves amidst the din and noise of machinery in the stuffy atmosphere of the factory, the blotting out of the day, the shutting out of the daylight from the existence of the workman, which has made him a rebel. The problem of labour is not only and mainly one of wages, for more money will only buy

ampler food, sufficient clothing and some luxuries, but it can never be a substitute for the light and air which human nature instinctively demands, and which are now practically denied to the Indian artisan with his twelve hours' working day. From the standpoint of the worker, the time taken in going to and returning from the factory must be added to the length of his active day, which cannot then be less than 13 hours.

But to measure the nervous strain, the entire length of the day which is felt by the workman as restraint must be taken into consideration and regarded as the effective working day. The few moments that he now and then snatches and which may amount even to an hour or two during the day, no doubt helps to relax his nervous tension, but their real value is very much less than it would be if the interval of time which is now stolen, were the workman's own and a matter of his free choice. It is economic waste both from the point of view of the employees and the employed to increase the number of ineffective and superfluous hours. It unnecessarily tires out the workman and leads to deterioration in work, while the output remains the same with the increased wear and tear of machinery.

It is now no longer a matter of theoretical speculation that the diminution in the number of working hours does not within certain limits necessarily mean a corresponding reduction in output. The output may remain constant with a shorter working day, for it is well-known that the out-put per hour rapidly declines after a workman has been working for a certain number of hours. And even if there were a diminution of out-put for the time being as a result of the reduction of hours, there cannot be the slightest doubt that in the long run the productivity of labour rich in nervous energy than at present is bound to be greater and more than compensate for the small immediate loss. Industrialism is entirely a step to national advancement, and that

advancement can never be furthered by condemning the bulk of the artisans to life-long servitude of twelve hours of daily toil. The present maximum of the factory acts obviously does not own on the side of undue sensitiveness for the comforts of labour. It can only be tolerated so long as the unhappy artisans have not become conscious of their unity in misfortune. Industrial beginnings in all countries have been devastating in their efforts on the ignorant, unorganised labour. Factory labour is frequently the object of social charity, but its inherent right to live decently is never conceded until it acquires the art of organised agitation and exercises its irresistible strength of numbers. It will be a miracle if the Indian workman were to find himself saved by others before he is forced by his unbearable woes to save himself. And yet it is imperative in the interests of the nation and the labour alike that the root-cause of the labour-discontent must be removed, and that even the artisan allowed partially to see daylight outside and beyond the shutters of his factory. The English workman already works 8 hours daily and wants only six. We in India dare not suggest such red revolution and outrage the susceptibilities of our captains of industry. I am not even sure whether the proposal of a ten-hours' working day including the intervals for meals etc., will not be regarded as downright heresy. There will of course be the usual predictions of utter ruin to the manufacturing industries of the country, and of absolute hopelessness of India to withstand foreign competition especially of Japan with her cheap 12-hours' shift of labour. There may be even a suggestion of the intriguing hand of Manchester in the proposed measure to alleviate the lot of labour. But our patriotic industrialists must be courteously suppressed and told that even their industries and their profits are not ends in themselves, but are only admissible in so far as they promote the general well-being.*

The reduction of the legal maximum from 12 to 10 hours is a measure now urgently called for to protect our urban labour from degeneration and demoralisation as a consequence of sheer fatigue. The artisan must be freed at least for a part of the waking day to enjoy his elementary rights to feel as a human being, and not merely grind on as a mere instrument of production. The reduction of hours will neither spell ruin to our industries nor cripple them against foreign competition. Immediately there may be an appreciable decline in the total daily output, but as the experience of all the industrially advanced countries and also common sense would teach us that, it does not pay in the long run to drive the labour to progressive deterioration as a result of overwork and exhaustion. The contest in the international market has to be won not by the temporary and fortuitous advantage of ignorant and unorganised labour, but by superior capacity for organisation and progress. Our captains of industry have been used to regard the Indian workman as cheap, effete and degenerate. This serene contentment must be converted into constructive power to organise and discipline the inexhaustible forces of labour in accordance with its natural aptitudes, traditions and environments, if India is to occupy an honourable place in the list of progressive nations.

Besides the necessity and urgency of shortening the legal working day from 12 hours to 10, there is the further need to find out by experiment the most suitable hours of work from the point of view of the physiological health of the workman as well as of maximum productivity. India is a country of well defined seasons and climatic extremes, and it is a well established fact that the afternoon hours in summer are much more exhausting and impose a greater strain on the nervous energy than the corresponding intervals in winter. It is equally recognised that the late hours of night are more trying than the

corresponding hours of the day. But it is curious to notice the strength of custom and routine which have prescribed the prevailing uniformity in the hours of work and the traditional division of day and night shifts throughout the year. The curve of individual productivity in winter is not likely, on *a priori* grounds, to be very irregular, and the output should gradually decline after reaching its maximum at a particular time. In summer the curve should present somewhat violent fluctuations and individual efficiency would decline pretty rapidly during the hottest period of the day. I am of course aware that many industrial concerns have arrangements to maintain a uniform atmosphere and temperature at all hours of the day. But it is not merely the heat that acts most violently on the physiological system during the summer. The human system is acted upon by a multitude of reactions consequent on seasonal variations, and with all the modern appliances of comfort and luxury it has not been possible to equalise even approximately the natural differences of seasons.

In view of these considerations, it should be feasible so to fix the hours of work and arrange the division of the day and night shifts or where a factory is being worked continuously, 3 shifts of eight hours each so as to minimise the strain and fatigue imposed upon the nervous system by seasonal variations; and such a measure would evidently mean an increase in the efficiency and output of the individual workman working with the same machinery and for the same length of time. A series of fairly simple experiments would suffice to determine the most efficient mixture of day and night hours and the proper time of working in the hot and cold weather. It is only one of the problems suggested by the scientific management of industry, successfully attempted in the United States of America and utterly unknown in India. It is perfectly well-known that the night-shift is far

more exhausting than the day-shift, and that workmen usually claim higher wages for night-work. But so far as I am aware, nobody in India has taken the trouble of accurately estimating the difference in the cost of production and in out-put of the same workman working day or night shifts only or alternately—every week of every fortnight. Nor has it occurred to anybody to find out how far it is feasible and advantageous to split up in summer the single shift of 12 hours into two—say 6 A.M. to 12 A.M. and 3 P.M. to 9 P.M. If it were possible, it may very likely mean more or at least the same profit to the employer and much less fatigue for the workman. I am told that the division of a single shift is not practicable in the spinning section of a cotton mill, and even if it were, the labour would resent it. This is very much like putting the cart before the horse. The problem is one which needs to be investigated and all the various elements in the working of a particular factory or industry to be carefully surveyed, before it will be possible to recommend any alternative scheme of working hours.

Before concluding, I should like to refer to the unenviable lot of clerks and shop-assistants in the Indian business-houses in our large cities. Even they, the paragons of respectability, who will have nothing to do with manual labour were so far infected by the *Zeit Geist* of rebellion, and so far forgot themselves that they stretched themselves along and in front of their shops as a protest against their wretched destiny and demanded mercy from their astonished masters. There is no Shops Closing Act to limit the duration of their working day, no shop Inspector to see that the conditions of shop-life do not fall below a minimum standard of decency, comfort and well-being. The industrialist has been made to recognise the maximum of 12 hours' day and even the sanctity of the Sabbath. But the shop-assistants are still free to work as long as they and their

benevolent masters may like ; they have neither fixed hours nor stationary holidays. The Hindu merchants and usually the Muslims too recognise a few of the religious festivals and also the Amavasya once a month and though it is intended to suspend active business on these days, it seldom happens that the clerks and assistants are not called upon to wipe out old arrears or do some old jobs. The Indian bazaar does not recognise the restraint of a weekly day of rest ; it is open at all hours of the day and all throughout the year. It rests after everybody else has rested, and is the first to stir to activity.

If the day of the shop-assistant is long, his range of fortune is equally short. The average Gumasta begins with Rs. 15 a month and unless he proves to be exceptionally able and indispensable to his master, has no hopes of rising above Rs. 50. or so at the end of a long career. Even the managers of some of the largest and old-fashioned houses, who deal in lacs, do not get more than Rs. 150 a month. It is true there is the system of a generous gratuity to the staff at the end of a prosperous year or on the occasion of a marriage or other auspicious event in the family of the Mahajan. This with the undying hope of a partnership or of setting up an independent business some day keeps the Gumasta apparently contented with the scheme of life.

The Indian business-man has not yet learnt as his industrialist confrere has done to some extent, the economy of adequate wages. There is no such thing as pension or right to leave on full or half pay even in houses of long standing and the greatest reputation. The result is that the advantage of low wages is not infrequently very heavily set off by the loss of large sums consequent on dishonesty or misappropriation, and that occasionally a clever and ambitious clerk rising to be an independent man of business sets himself up as the fiercest rival of his old firm. In-

sufficient wages and indifferent conditions do not promote that feeling of loyalty and attachment on the part of the subordinates which is so essential to the smooth and steady working of a business-firm, and that sense of confidence on the part of the management which enables the latter to transfer some share of responsibility to some members of the staff. This applies to the large Indian mercantile houses, where the merchants are as much overworked as the gumastas. There is hardly any distribution of work worth the name. At some hours and on some days the shop-owners and shop-assistants may be seen idly gossiping, and on others feverishly busy, but always on the shops for the same long hours. The petty shop-keeper has the same undefined hours of business as the prosperous shroff.

I cannot imagine any cogent objection against the proposal of a Shops Closing Act, for there does not arise any question of reduced out-put or income. As it is, foreign houses and Indian firms conducted on semi-European methods have already fixed hours of business and observe the weekly day of rest. This salutary practice is the result of English influence and may be extended throughout the Presidency towns, and some of the other important business-centres like Delhi, Cawnpore, Agra, Ahmedabad.

The sanitary conditions of the Indian Bazaar are too well-known to need elaboration. The average shop-keeper is neither parsimonious nor unaware of the amenities of life. He is not in need of sanitary education, but of municipal compulsion. He is psychologically apathetic and does not feel the want of spaciousness and comfort. Municipalities should not be expected to do much in the sphere of cleaning the Augean stables of our market-places, for we all—educated or uneducated—take them for granted, almost as integral parts of our daily life and heritage from the past. An Inspector of shops, especially in Bombay and Calcutta, will, I imagine, be able to bring to light not a few urgent problems for the social reformer. There is a great deal in the working of small establishments and home industries which needs rectification from the point of view of the workman. Hotels, pan-bidi establishments, sweet-meat shops, are immediately suggested as instances in point.

WOMEN BEFORE THE WAR—AND AFTER

BY MRS. LUCY SRESHTA

ONE of the results of the World-War which has just ended, is the great improvement of the status of women in the West. What they could not achieve by agitation and by imprudent and ill-advised propaganda has been attained swiftly and quietly by the self-sacrifice and devotion to the national interests displayed by them during the progress of the War. All honour to the wise leaders of militant women-reformers who, as soon as their country was imperilled, abandoned their aggressive methods for those more in keeping with their naturally self-effacing disposition, justifying the words of the poet :—

"O Woman! in our hearts of ease
Uncertain, coy and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou."

The War gave woman her great opportunity and she saw it, seized it, and worked out her emancipation. It is not only in spheres supposed to be peculiarly her own, but also in occupations in which her capacity was doubted or denied, and would never have been tried but that the lack of men compelled her employment, that she so distinguished herself, that all her indiscretions were forgotten, all criticisms were silenced and grateful and repentant man acknowledged her proper place by his side. Saint Augustine anticipated this when he said :—" If God had designed women as man's master, He would have taken her from his head; if as His slave, He would have taken her from his feet; but as He designed her for her companion and equal, He took her from his side."

Are we women of the East content to watch the events of the West with the stoicism supposed to be characteristic of Orientals, making no endeavour to ameliorate our own condition and shake off the fetters which cramp our activities, diminish our usefulness and make us over-dependent on the other sex? Some there are who take

pride in those very fetters and would consider they had lost proud privileges, if they lived a freer and fuller life. No doubt, to some extent, there are compensations in their present thraldom, which they are loth to give up. To such, my remarks are not addressed; they are welcome to hug their fetters and live a life of " dreamful ease " saying,

"There is no joy but calm!
Why should we toil, the roof and crown of things?"

My words are addressed to those of a more energetic temperament who wish to rise to the full stature of their womanhood and to be of some service to their country.

Men have for centuries dinned into our ears :—

"Man for the field and woman for the hearth,
Man for the sword and for the needle she,
Man to command and woman to obey.
All else is confusion."

Even Ruskin, one of the most original thinkers of modern times, repeats : " A happy nation may be defined as one in which the husband's hand is on the plough and the housewife's on the needle." Better justice to women has been done in the following lines of the poet whose sympathy and imagination enabled him to see with a clearer vision :—

"They talk about a woman's sphere,
As though it had a limit;
There's not a place in earth or heaven,
There's not a task to mankind given,
There's not a blessing or a woe,
There's not a whisper, Yes or No,
There's not a life, or death, or birth,
That has a feather's weight of worth,
Without a woman in it."

Women in the West have long protested against the sharp division of functions and the War has now given the death-blow to the old ideals of womanhood.

Even in the discharge of functions which have been hitherto considered as falling within the legitimate sphere of a woman's activities, Orientals are much behind the times. Advance of civilisation on Western lines, growth of material pros.

perity and the consequent modification and rise of the standards of living have created various household wants to grapple with, which women in the East have not been fitted by upbringing and education. Hence the complaint of the Nawab of Dacca to the author of the "New Spirit in India : "Our Indian women are very backward ; now there is my retired groom, my livery man : what a woman his English wife is ! How finished ! What pleasantness ! How much nicer a home she makes for him than I can now get !"

In olden days, even the so-called menial work in the house was invested with dignity. Cooking was a sacred rite. But in these days of transition from Eastern to Western ideals, the educated woman of the East has come to despise manual work. Not having, however, learnt as yet the domestic arts of the West, she is unable to take complete charge of her household duties and to make the home beautiful and well-ordered. And where the home reaches the western standard, the result is often achieved at a cost which is out of proportion to the income.

The first step which women of this country have to take is to remedy their deficiencies in these respects and to acquire those domestic arts and accomplishments which would make them efficient and economical housewives under modern conditions.

There are fields of activity which are open to women here, even if the old ideals are held unchanged, such as gardening, and the keeping of cattle, poultry and bees, which, while offering a change of occupation for the mind, involve a health-giving open-air life. These avocations will serve the further purpose of furnishing topics of conversation, the lack of which is the provocation for vain gossip and scandal mongering. "Gardening," according to Bacon, "is the purest of human pleasures, the greatest refreshment to the spirit of man." We read in Kalidasa's great play how Sakuntala, the heroine who was the

daughter of a Rishi and later married a King, watered plants and how her chief delight was to see them in full bloom. There can be no doubt that the portrait of Sakuntala was drawn from life and that gardening was not despised by the women of those days. There is no loss of dignity in following the example set by Sakuntala. No home should be without a flower garden, and if possible, a small patch of vegetable garden. Each home should have a cow or two if space permits ; milk always held in high esteem as an article of diet, is daily getting better appreciated. In the words of Doctor W. L. Mackenzie, "The day may come when, as a distinguished student of reform suggests, pure milk may be 'laid on' like water, gas or electricity." One of the most pressing problems in the East is that of the supply of pure rich milk, and woman will be performing a national duty by taking up the hobby of cattle-keeping ; and it is a fitting hobby for her, for 'daughter' (Sanskrit, duhitru) signifies milker. There is the allied occupation of poultry-farming with its endless delights for the elect who have a natural aptitude for it ; a few fowls can always be kept even when space is limited, ensuring for the household the luxury of fresh laid eggs and good meat for the table. Bee-keeping requires hardly any capital and will be the means of supplying the household with that most digestible of starchy foods, honey, which is rarely procurable in its pure state. It requires but a simple calculation to ascertain what an increase there will be to the wealth of this country if each housewife who has the little capital and the little space that is required has a small vegetable garden and keeps a couple of cows, a dozen fowls, and a few beehives. What a contribution women will make to the solution of the food problem which is bound to become more and more difficult year by year ! Women have it in their power to make this country "a land that in very deed floweth with milk and honey."

There are again such indoor occupations as the manufacture of preserves, lacemaking, knitting with an autoknitter, which even to those who are above want are delightful pastimes. Women should not despise these occupations as involving physical labour but bear in mind the words of Ruskin, "For the continual education of the whole people and for their future happiness they must have such consistent employment as shall develop all the powers of the fingers, and the limbs and the brain ; and that development is only to be obtained by hand labour."

Multifarious and interesting though all these occupations are, we women cannot do full justice to ourselves unless our ideals are not circumscribed by the limits of the home and unless we participate in the emancipation which our Western sisters have wrought for themselves. Though it is idle to deny that the position of women in the East has been of great subjection, we may take comfort in the thought that in ancient times their position was comparatively an honoured one. In ancient Egypt, the throne of the Queen was of the same height as that of the King ; and in the Courts of Law of that country, women were allowed to practise as advocates. In the Vedic times in India, women were highly cultured some attaining Rishihood. The authorship of some of the Rig Veda Hymns is ascribed to them, and their equality to men is recognised in the verse "A woman who finds out the weak, the thirsty, the needy, and is mindful of the Gods is worth as much as a man." Women were not kept in seclusion but moved freely in society. Even in later times, Princesses of high degree chose their husbands themselves at a *svayamvara*. The stage was not considered improper for respectable women who were to be found in dramatic companies in the ancient city of Ayodhya. This indicates the extent of freedom of action enjoyed by women in those days. In the time of Manu, the position of women in India had deteriorated, but even then

they occupied an honoured place in society as will be seen from the following lines of his Code :—

Honour to the faithful woman,
Be by loving husband paid,
By her father, by her brother,
If they seek their virtue's need.
Honour to the righteous woman,
Pleases God of righteous might,
For where woman is not honoured,
Vain is sacrificial rite.

And where women grieve and languish,
Perish men of fated race,
But in homes where they are honoured,
Prosper men in worth and grace.

Given the opportunity, woman has not been found wanting in the East in qualities which have hitherto been regarded as the monopoly of the sterner sex. Among the greatest of Indian administrators were Ahalyabai, Sultana Rezia and Mangammal. The Rani of Jhansi, Nur Jehan, Bheema Bai, and Chand Bibi were distinguished leaders of armies. The name of Auvai, the great poetess, is a household word in South India. One of the famous Indian women of the twelfth century was Lilavati. Her misfortune was her opportunity ; soon after marriage she became a widow and was able to turn all her attention to mathematics with the result that, under the tuition of her distinguished father, Bhaskaracharya, she became a great mathematician. Perhaps the most famous woman in ancient India was Gargi who wrote a philosophical treatise and defeated the celebrated Yagnavalkya in controversy. It is a noteworthy fact that the first Indian to write poetry of merit in the English language was a woman, Toru Dutt, who, but that she died at the early age of twenty one, might have made more solid contributions to the English literature.

With these inspiring examples we need feel no diffidence in following in the footsteps of our western sisters and preparing to take a greater part in public life. Let us

Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The gossip, slander and despite ;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.

PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA, KING OF ORISSA

BY MR. TARINI CHARAN RATH, B.A.

THE past glories of ancient Orissa achieved by her later independent Hindu Kings are still fresh in the memory of her countrymen and the honest historians of India. Orissa alone asserted boldly her independence for full four centuries long after the rest of India succumbed at last to the sturdy Muhammadan invaders. The last independent Hindu Prince of Bengal escaped through the back door of his palace at the approach of the Muhammadan hordes and took shelter in Orissa till his death. The Telingana King on a similar occasion suppliantly approached the Orissan Monarch to lend him a helping hand and had it. Even the brave general of Emperor Akbar so late as 1580 A.D., repulsed by the Orissan forces had to turn his back towards her.

Purushottama Deva Gajapathi, one of the most conspicuous Kings of Orissa, ruled the vast country left to him by his father Kapilendra Deva, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He was present by the side of his brave father when the latter died at Kondapalli on the banks of the river Krishna, where he was incessantly engaged in several wars and was crowned as the King of Orissa by the Orissan armies at the very place. Among his numerous sons Kapilendra Deva had decided beforehand that his mantle should fall on Purushottama Deva, the youngest, to whom he was much attached, owing to his very superior qualities of both head and heart. Purushottama Deva had at the outset to encounter with numberless difficulties from his brothers who did their best to put an end to his life by hook or by crook, but in the end he was able to expel them all by dint of his prowess.

The most remarkable event in the reign of Purushottama Deva Gajapathi is his expedition to the south known in Orissa as the "Kanchi-Kaveri" expedition. The eventual success achieved by the King therein together with his marriage with Padmavathi or Rupambika, the lovely daughter of the King of Karnata, has left

a landmark in the history of ancient Orissa. The event is so popular that it is talked of in almost every household with no small pride. It would be highly interesting to give a brief account of the same.

The daughter of the King of Karnata or Vizianagar named above had been betrothed to King Purushottama Deva Gajapathi. The King of Karnata subsequently learning that it is customary for the Orissan King to sweep the car of Shri Jagannath at Puri during the car festival days held in the month of Ashadha with a golden broomstick, which he regarded as an act derogatory to the position of a Kshatriya, refused to give his daughter in marriage to such a 'chandala' as characterised by him. At this Purushottama Deva deemed himself highly insulted and resolved to punish the King of Karnata by fighting against him, taking his daughter a prisoner and marrying her actually to a real 'chandala.' In the first attempt he failed, but the second time by the grace of his Lord Shri Jagannath he fully succeeded. He then sacked Kanchi, the modern Conjeevaram, laid waste the country as far as the river Kaveri, took Padmavathi a prisoner and returned to his capital victorious. He then entrusted her to his minister for being married to a 'chandala'. The wise minister took pity on the lovely girl of royal birth, brought her up carefully and at the next car festival which immediately followed, while the King was actually sweeping the car of the famous deity of Shri Jagannath, offered him the beautiful daughter of the Karnata King to marry. Purushottama Deva who was by this time already pacified got quite smitten with her beauty and had no other alternative but to accept Padmavathi or Rupambika in marriage.

If any evidence is needed in proof of this, it can be abundantly furnished as follows :—

(1) The old book entitled 'Kanchi-Kaveri' written four hundred years back in Orissa graphi-

cally describes the event though it might be with some exaggeration.

(2) The temple archives known as 'Madala Panji' preserved in the temple of Shri Jagannath in palm leaf long since make clear mention of these facts.

(3) The South Indian images of Sakhi Gopal and Ganesa brought by the King during the expedition from Kanchi are to be seen to this day consecrated at Satyavadi and Puri respectively.

(4) 'Sarasvathi Vilasa,' the huge legal compilation of the Orissan King Prataparudra Deva, son of Purushottama Deva and Padmavathi, makes in the introduction, in unmistakeable terms, mention of the expedition of his father and his marriage alliance.

(5) In the contemporary Tamil inscriptions of South India this is referred to as the 'Oddiyana Kalapam.'

(6) The contemporary records of the Muhammadan Kings of Gulbarga also make mention of the expedition.

(7) Two inscriptions at Udayagiri (Nellore District) in the fort on the hill state that Krishna Deva Raya made certain grants after having defeated Prataparudra Deva Gajapathi of Orissa and taken prisoner the latter's uncle Tirumalappa Raya in Salivahana Saka 1436 or 1514 A.D. This Tirumalappa Raya was obviously a maternal uncle of the Orissan King and a descendant of the first ruling dynasty of Vizianagar, left in charge of the fort at Udayagiri.

(8) King Purushottam Deva during his victorious march on return from Kanchi rewarded most of his generals who had helped him in the War by making them petty chiefs with small tracts of land and their descendants are to be found even to this day in the Uriya-speaking tracts of the District of Ganjam.

It is rather difficult at present to fix with precision the date of this Kanchi-Kaveri expedition of King Purushottama Deva of Orissa and

find out the name of his contemporary King of Karnata with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavathi he married. Purushottama Deva ruled over Orissa from 1479 A.D. to 1504 A.D., or according to some others from 1469 to 1496 A.D. Virupaksha Deva Raya, the last king of the first ruling dynasty of Vizianagar, is said to have ruled from 1466 A.D. to 1486 A.D. He was weak and licentious. During his time, Saluva Narasimharaja, his chief general and minister, was all-powerful. This general in fact usurped the throne of Vizianagar for himself and founded a new dynasty. Saluva Narasimha succeeded in repelling the Orissan King from Vizianagar in his first attempt but failed to offer any effective resistance when the latter advanced a second time and met him at Kanchi. Kanchi or the modern Conjeevaram was an important stronghold of the Vizianagar Kings in the South. Purushottama Deva during his second campaign against the Karnata Kingdom obviously did not meet with any opposition till he advanced as far south as Kanchi, which fell although bravely defended by Saluva Narasimha Raya. Purushottama Deva appears to have extended his conquests this time as far south as the Kaveri river before he turned back to his capital. There is reason to believe that he invaded Karnata soon after his accession. So the year of the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition may be fixed as 1470 or 1480 A.D. The King of Karnata with whom he fought is Verupaksha Deva Raya. Some are inclined to ask why the King of Orissa who had extended his conquests so far south failed to leave behind him any inscriptions.

In the first place, it has to be observed that the Kings of Orissa were not fond of making themselves permanent in stone inscriptions. Secondly, their conquests beyond the Nellore District were but merely military occupations. Lastly, Uriya inscriptions, if any in the south, I think, have not yet been picked up and deciphered, the language being quite foreign there.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY

RAJKUMARI DAS

EDUCATION in India in ancient days was a very honourable profession and commanded great respect, but it has lost much of its prestige at the present day. The conditions were different under which it was carried on. None but a competent man took it up. It is true that he did not receive any fees from his pupils, but, on the other hand, fed them and clothed them like his own children. They gave him a parting gift when they had finished their education and that was all that he could expect from them. But he was under the patronage of the nobles who thought it their duty to send him presents on all domestic occasions and there was not a month in which there was not something. He lived a life of plain living and high thinking and so did his disciples. But times have changed entirely. It is not the same profession as it formerly was. It is a service now which is resorted to by many who use it only as a stepping-stone to some other profession suitable to their taste and devote as much time to it as they possibly can spare. There are many that take it up because there is nothing else that they can turn their hand to. They are naturally dissatisfied with it and measure their responsibility by the remuneration they receive. But there are others that love it and make it their profession, not for the money it can bring, for that is, in most cases, a pittance but to help those that come under their guidance.

It is not surprising therefore that the results are so unsatisfactory. They could not be better under the existing circumstances. Unless the whole regime is changed and education is entrusted to those that are really qualified, there is no hope for better days. It is the noblest of vocations yet it is treated as if it were the meanest.

This fact in itself points to some grave defect in the whole system. Certainly we are much more materialistic than we were formerly and are inclined to judge the worth of a person according to his worldly possessions but still there is no doubt that teachers would not have been despised if they had not been recruited so carelessly. Every one is not good enough to be a doctor or a lawyer, for his success depends on his own merit: if he kills rather than cures or loses his cases, he cannot expect anything but failure. He retains his name of a doctor or lawyer but he is seldom called to a sick bed or is favoured with a brief. He has to be satisfied with his degree only. But any one is good enough to be a teacher provided he can read and write; not only so but we think a well-educated teacher is not a necessity but a luxury for beginners or very young children; and we think that a person with a knowledge up to a primary or secondary standard is quite competent for infant classes if he or she has passed through the training department.

Education does not mean information and does not consist in stuffing the brain with matter which it cannot assimilate or make proper use of. It is a developing process and requires careful handling throughout but more specially in the case of infants. They are not machines that can be turned or loaded according to the desire of the teacher. If that is his purpose, he is an abortionist and should not be admitted into that rank. Each child should be carefully studied and guided accordingly. It is the teacher's duty to let children realise what they are doing and all their work should have reference to themselves and their surroundings. We have a notion that compound rules are much more difficult to learn than simple ones but in reality they are not so.

Provided their brains are not overburdened with measures they are not familiar with, children understand and realise them as soon as simple rules. All their work must be practical for their's is not the age for abstract things. Even simple rules apart from concrete examples are nothing but an extra load on their memory.

Dramatic elements appeal very much to children for their life is one play of characters. They are never happy unless they are personating somebody or something. The dramatisation may be used most profitably to bring most of the things home to them ; it can help them with arithmetic, history, geography and literature. It will develop a spirit of toleration in them by helping them to realise the different conditions under which the characters lived and acted and will encourage ingenuity and resourcefulness in them.

Geography should have an active interest for the child *viz.*, to show the relation of his surroundings to him where he lives, what things are produced in his immediate neighbourhood, how far these can supply his needs, what are the other channels through which other articles necessary for his subsistence find their way into his neighbourhood. The aim of education is to whet his curiosity and call forth originality in him. If geography is properly taught, it requires to be supplemented by a knowledge of history. The child should know the reasons for the growth of a town or market and the habits of the people that have helped to build it up. The current methods of teaching history in India cannot cite a living interest in the subject. Books are recommended which are statements of facts and he is expected to learn them and remember them. The mastery of dry facts does not make a historian. In order to become one, he should be able to sift facts and draw conclusions from original documents and contemporary writings.

Literature, history and geography are all inter-

related. If history and geography are banished from the curriculum, literature cannot be explained properly and loses much of its charm. They can very profitably help one another, but this correlation may be carried too far. It is not desirable that pupils should have the same lesson in history, geography and literature always but sometimes such a course may help to illustrate the lesson from three points of view. Novelty plays a very important part in education but monotony has just the opposite effect. It should be guarded against under all circumstances and teachers should see that they do not lessen the interest of their pupils by harping upon the same thing too often. Repetition is necessary but lessons may be so arranged that the same thing may be emphasised under different aspects. The introduction of some novel feature entirely changes the subject and ensures interest. It is mischievous to continue the same subject throughout the day in different lessons, but it is absolutely necessary to explain the relations of a particular subject to other things in the same lesson and let children realise that it has reference to their actual life, that every lesson is meant to explain the world and its problems in which they live, that school life is not a different life but has connection with everyday life and is meant to solve the problems that face them everywhere.

All their work must be made interesting to them or in other words it must engage their involuntary attention. We have an erroneous idea that a child, when he comes to school, must be forced to do things he dislikes. The duty of the educator is in exciting his curiosity and in manipulating his environment in order that he may solve his problems for himself. In order to do this effectively, we require sympathetic teachers who would understand the need of the child and help him accordingly.

We have grasped the fact that there is need of training but we have not yet quite understood

that an educator must be the master of the particular branch in which he undertakes to direct his pupils. The consequence is that we have only a few training Colleges where graduates are trained. Our whole attention is directed to the training of candidates whose knowledge does not go beyond the Matriculation standard. Can methodology make up for want of knowledge in a particular subject? I may learn the rules of presenting a subject to my pupils, but unless I know the subject thoroughly, I cannot present it so as to engage the interest of every individual pupil.

There is another problem of education which has not been given a fair trial except in America *viz.*, co-education. It is generally argued that men and women have not the same sphere and that therefore their education should be carried on on different lines. There is sense in this statement, but when we separate boys and girls altogether, we go too far. Men and women are complementary of each other, and therefore it is necessary that they should be brought up together to ensure a healthy development and promote a spirit of comradeship between them. Woman is not a mere plaything and man is not an earning machine with an absolute power over her. She is as important a member of the household as he. In some respects, her duties are more complex than a man's; for, besides managing her house, she has the care of her children. If she is not as well equipped in intellectual attainments as her husband, she cannot discharge her obligations to any degree of satisfaction. It may be objected that on this very ground she should receive an education different from a man's and be trained for her proper sphere in life. But how can man and woman realise their highest ideals if they are banished from each other? We have often heard of people who were completely changed after their marriage. The reason is very obvious. It is their communion that has

helped the growth of those qualities that could not have a fair play so long as they lived apart. If such marvellous changes take place in grown-up people, is it surprising that greater changes should be observed in young people when they are allowed to share one another's lessons and games? Boys and girls who have been accustomed to read together never feel shy in one another's company and never contract silly notions about each other, whereas those who have been separated look upon each other with different eyes. Boys conceive a silly notion that girls are meant for flirtation and can never understand any friendship on a sound basis between a boy and a girl. Girls, on the other hand, become effeminate and take delight in the silly nonsense which, in their ignorance, they understand as admiration from the sex.

National growth depends upon men and women. In order that they may co-operate and work for the common good, there should be comradeship between them. This is only possible when they mix freely and are educated together; co-education brings out the best in both; it softens the boys and strengthens the girls. Both are put on their best behaviour. It promotes self-respect.

Co-education cannot be introduced among children who have already been separated but among those who are just beginning their education. There are certain subjects which are suitable for girls and others for boys. The time-table could be so arranged that they could pursue these subjects apart but could come together for the main subjects of the curriculum. As regards games, boys and girls can share in them equally up to the age of twelve. After that, some change is necessary because boys are physically stronger than girls at this age. If girls are matched to play with boys two years their juniors, they can successfully compete with their male comrades.

The Thirty Years' War and the Peace Conference

BY MR. ARTHUR MACDONALD

THE Conference of Nations that is now taking place around the peace table at Versailles is doubtless the most important of any in history. One reason is the fact that whatever plan the Conference decides to carry out will necessarily concern most all countries of the world. For railroads, steamships, aeroplanes, telegraph, telephones and wireless telegraphy, as never before, have made communication between nations so easy, quick and direct that distance is almost eliminated, enabling the world to think, reason and act at the same time, and to be influenced as one human solidarity.

There seems to be a strong desire in all lands that the Peace Conference at Versailles will make future wars not only improbable, but practically impossible. But how can this be done? For years countless peace plans and theories have been proposed, filling volumes of books, but they are mainly of a speculative nature. Since theoretical grounds have proved inadequate, is there, then, any experience in the history of the world which can be made a basis for permanent peace? Is there, for instance, any kind of war that has resulted in doing away with itself permanently? The answer is that the Thirty Years' War, closing with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), seems to have put an end to all religious wars.

How, then, does it happen that the Peace Treaty of Westphalia, of all the treaties of the world, is the only one that has stopped all religious wars?

As religious wars are admitted to be the most intense, most idealistic and most sacrificial of all wars, and, therefore, most difficult to stop, can it be ascertained just how the Thirty Years' War, culminating in the Peace of Westphalia, brought about the end of all religious wars? This might suggest how all political wars may be made to cease. If the 17th century accomplished the more difficult task, the Peace Conference at Versailles ought to succeed in the less difficult one. If the 20th century prides it-

self on being superior in diplomacy, practical statesmanship and general mental calibre, it will now have an opportunity at Versailles to show such superiority, by formulating a treaty which will make all future political wars not only improbable but impossible.

PRINCIPLES OF A PEACE CONFERENCE

In following the present Peace Conference at Versailles, and comparing it with the Peace Congress of Westphalia, it may be well to mention a few of the principles of such Congresses in general. In a treaty of peace there are the usual articles, as declaration that peace is restored, and amnesty clauses, including restitution of such conquests as are not intended to be retained and of rights suspended by the war. Also there are provisions to remove the causes out of which the war arose, redress grievances and prevent their occurrence. This is the most essential thing for the Congress to do. Then there is the indemnity for satisfactory restoration, for injury sustained and cost of war. But there should be great prudence here, otherwise the conquered power may feel deep resentment, which is liable to sow seeds for a future war.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

As early as 1636 Pope Urban the Sixth extorted from the belligerents of the Thirty Years' War their unwilling consent to treat. In 1637, a discussion of safe conducts lasted nearly five years, and it was not until 1641 that preliminaries as to time and place of the Congress were signed, and these were not ratified, nor safe conducts exchanged, until 1643, making six years for controversies as to mere formalities. One of the causes of this dilatoriness was that neither side really desired peace. Captiousness, peevishness and punctilioseness were doubtless emphasized in order to obtain delay.

The labour of concluding the peace of Westphalia was called colossal; there were endless obstacles to surmount, contending interests to reconcile, a labyrinth of circumstances to co-operate with,

besetting difficulties at the very opening of negotiations, of arranging the conditions of peace and still more the carrying them through the proceedings. These were some of the practical problems that were encountered.

It is, therefore, fair to assume that the difficulties in establishing the Peace of Westphalia were as great as and probably greater than those now confronting the Peace Conference at Versailles. For in the Westphalian Congress they did not desire peace and it was not possible to agree to an armistice, so that war continued while the Congress was in session, materially affecting their deliberations; this may be one reason why the Congress lasted as long as four years.

To avoid questions of precedence, and to lessen further opportunities for disagreement, two cities in Westphalia, Munster for the Catholics and Osnabrück for the Protestants, were selected. These places were a short day's ride apart. The treaty was signed at Munster, October 24, 1648, and was called "The Peace of Westphalia."

The Papal Nuncio and the Venetian envoy were mediators as well as members of the Congress. France and Sweden were opposed to each other in religion, but in accord on political policies. The treaty was drawn up with such fullness and precision of language as is rarely found in documents of this nature, due to a large body of trained lawyers among the members. As indicating a desire for fairness in little things, as well as the larger questions, the treaty contained these words: "No one of any party shall look askance at any one on account of his creed." As an example of wise provisions, the following may be noted: the Protestants demanded the year 1618 for restitution, the Catholics insisted on 1630. The Congress split the difference and made it 1624. The *medius terminus* is often the wisest course in acute controversies.

As to temporal affairs, all hostilities, of whatever kind, were to be forgotten and neither party

was to molest nor injure the other for any purpose. In regard to spiritual affairs, complete equality was to exist (*acqualita exacta mutuaque*), and every kind of violence was forever forbidden between the parties.

The Peace of Westphalia was the first effort to reconstruct European States' system, and it became the common law of Europe. Few treaties have had such influence, and Europe is said for the first time to have formed a kind of commonwealth, which watched with anxiety over the preservation of the general peace.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

To have called to mind some of the principal points in the Peace of Westphalia is not sufficient for understanding the real significance of the treaty without some consideration of the Thirty Years' War. As already suggested, this war, looked at from a scientific point of view, is an unconscious experiment of nations, a problem in abnormal international psychology. In order to comprehend this experiment and its resultant treaty, just how it brought about permanent religious peace, some of the main events of the war must be recalled, as a basis, upon which to work.

The Protestant Reformation had great influence upon almost everything political in Europe until the Peace of Westphalia. The religious peace of Augsburg (1555) furnished no settlement to questions stirred up by the Reformation. The Thirty Years' War marked the end of the Reformation which changed the idea of Christian unity, altered the theory of a Holy Roman Empire, replacing it by the idea of autonomy for individual States. It was inevitable that such fundamental disagreements of the 16th century should lead to a general war.

On May 23, 1618, a body of Protestants entered the royal palace at Prague and threw two detested representatives of the Crown from the window. This act started a struggle that involved Europe for thirty years in war, which spread gradu-

ally from Bohemia over South Germany, then slowly to Northern Germany and Denmark, until country after country began to take part, when the struggle became general. The war might have ended in 1630, making it a 13 years' war, but for the outrageous treatment of the Protestant States of North Germany, resulting in political disintegration, in which Germany lost half of her population and two-thirds of her wealth. Her religion and morality sank low, and the intellectual damage required generations to restore.

The Roman Catholic Church, having enjoyed for centuries the unity of Christianity, naturally felt greatly wronged by the Protestants' secession. This explains the absolute enmities of the Thirty Years' War. Different parties claimed the control of the religious doctrines and worship of the people; they were fighting between themselves for this power, for which they were ready to sacrifice their lives. The Lutherans were as intolerant toward the Calvinists as they were towards the Catholics. The Catholic Church, convinced of the absolute truth of its doctrines, based upon thirteen centuries of growth, naturally had feelings of pride. To have some young reformers arise and challenge the divine rights of the Church could not but arouse and incense them, and especially since such reformers seized old monastic foundations with landed domains and edifices and administered them in the interest of revolution. The resistance of the Catholic hierarchy, to the last drop of blood, was a normal reaction. As so often happens, the conditions are abnormal not the human beings. Protestants as well as Catholics gladly died for their beliefs. Indeed, at one time religious enthusiasm was so intense that the Church had to forbid martyrs rushing to the stake to be burned. It was believed that they went directly to Heaven.

One of the leaders in the first part of the war was Ferdinand II, who said he would rather beg

or be cut to pieces than submit to heresy. When he conquered the Protestants, he considered their persons, property and opinions to be at his disposal. All his subjects must become Catholics or leave his dominions. Ferdinand was aided in this bloody work by Maximilian of Bavaria. They are accused of going so far as to entice men to remain in their dominions for the executioner's axe. Maximilian, acting for Ferdinand, had promised the people that their lives at least would be spared. This promise, however, was an obstacle in carrying out their plans. As a Christian, Ferdinand must be merciful, so he resorts to the Church for counsel and comfort. But he allows the penalties to be executed in their full severity, he lessens their rigor in a few cases. Thus Count Schlick was to have had his right hand cut off and then to have been quartered alive. Ferdinand decides that the Count shall first be beheaded, and then have his right-hand cut off.

Had the war stopped in 1623, the Catholics would have been left with decided advantages; the ambition of Maximilian, however, prevented it. But Gustavus Adolphus appeared and by his efforts Protestantism is said to have been saved from extinction. As there was little of it left on the continent, he saw that he must either attack or eventually defend. He took the offensive; circumstances favored him, there being a rivalry among leaders of the Catholics. During thirteen of the thirty years, the lands of the Protestants had been devastated; during the next seventeen years came equalization of the exhaustion of the parties before a lasting religious peace was made. It became clear that neither Catholics nor Protestants could crush each other without both perishing.

TERRIBLE RESULTS OF THE WAR

In the Thirty Years' War, its terrible results may be summed up by saying that Germany was the carcass and the hosts which invaded the German soil were the vultures. The Protestant

invaders were Swedes, Finns, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Scotchmen; the Catholic intruders were Spaniards, Italians, Walloons, Poles, Cossacks, Croats, and representatives of nearly all Slavonic tribes. There was an army of 40,000, but the camp followers were 140,000, consisting of gangs of gypsies, Jewish traders, marauders and plunderers. The soldiers robbed and tortured all alike, both friend and foe.

The Thirty Years' War was said to have been so unspeakably cruel and calamitous that the like has never been known in Europe.

CAUSES OF THE LENGTH OF THE WAR

Gustavus Adolphus said in a letter that the war would be long drawn out and stop from exhaustion. The original purpose of the war was the suppression of the Protestant faith, but the victories of Gustavus Adolphus had made the Catholics hopeless. Also other interests had risen up and there were other combatants; the war had passed from a German to a European question. Though there were times when peace might have been made, the side who had the best of it for the moment deemed it folly to stop when victory was in reach. The other side thought it base and cowardly not to continue, as some turn of fortune might repair the losses. Many a war has dragged on, after the purpose with which it began, was unattainable, because those who commenced it were too vain to admit that the objects of the war were impossible from its outset.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

The great length of the war gradually revealed its hopelessness and uselessness, creating a general desire for rest and peace, transforming and weakening the religious movements, out of which the war arose. The principle of private judgment, coming from the reformation, had had time to develop and undermine the ideas of temporal rights and duties, common to both parties, and many ideas impressed by the Reformation, but suppressed at the time, had at last been reached

through the long continued turbulations and had commenced to grow.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF THE WAR

The fundamental cause that brought the Thirty Years' War to a close was Mental Insight into the uselessness and hopelessness of further struggle, caused by the feeling of exhaustion, due to the long continuance of the war. The reason why this war put an end to all religious wars was that this intellectual insight became general in Europe, inculcating more liberal religious views. This psychological attitude, with increasing indifference to religion and resultant scepticism, caused religious questions to be regarded less seriously, making further wars for such purposes impossible. The basal reason, therefore, was the intellectual realisation of the foolishness of bloodshed on account of difference of religious convictions; that is, lack of knowledge of this fact in the past; in short, Ignorance was at the bottom of it all, as of most evils in the world.

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

In order to learn what suggestions from the Thirty Years' War may be of use around the peace table at Versailles, it will be well to mention the general similarities and differences between this war and the present European war. The similarities are as follows:

1. The Thirty Years' War began with the throwing out of a window (defenestration) detested persons; the European war started from an assassination.
2. The Thirty Years' War had been expected for some time; a general European war had been predicted for many years.
3. The Thirty Years' War began with a local incident and spread from country to country, just like the European war did.
4. The Thirty Years' War was exceedingly brutal for its generation, just as the European war has been for its time.

5. The Thirty Years' War was a very long one for its generation ; the European war has been a relatively long one for recent times.

As to differences between the two wars, it may be said that :

1. In the Thirty Years' War both belligerents finally proved to be nearly equal in strength. In the European war one of the belligerents, though meeting with reversals at first, in the end completely overcame the other.

2. The Thirty Years' War ended in the exhaustion of both belligerents ; the European war closed with the exhaustion of only one belligerent.

3. The Thirty Years' War was waged for religious convictions, rather than for gain ; the European war was not so ideal in its purposes.

Taking a general view of the similarities and differences between the two wars, the one great question arises : Is the experience of the present European war strong enough for the victors and vanquished to be willing to yield sufficient of their natural rights and sovereignty, to submit all questions of war to some superior international court, from which there is no appeal ?

In the Thirty Years' War nothing further was necessary ; the exhaustion of both belligerents was sufficient to end religious wars.

As the victorious party in war is much less inclined (if inclined at all) than the conquered foe to yield anything, will the Allies, without the experience of defeat and exhaustion, be willing to yield enough of their sovereignty to make the future peace of the world permanent ? Will they be magnanimous and give up some national advantages of the present for future international benefits to all mankind ? In short, are they unselfish enough to so temper their justice with mercy as to establish a world peace, the greatest boon to humanity ever known ?

Here is a supreme opportunity. Will the victorious Allies arise to the occasion and make future wars improbable, if not impossible ?

We say "impossible," because if a nation is recalcitrant it can be punished by a general boycott, leading towards its economic ruin. As selfishness is the most powerful influence in nations as well as individuals, it is a moral certainty that no nation could or would submit very long to such punishment.

Just after a war is ended, and the belligerents feel more keenly its effects, than later on, they are much more disposed to make mutual concessions. Will the victors of the European war strike at once, while the iron is hot, and insist at the outset on the one great paramount issue, the absolute prohibition of all wars ? Such a decision would radiate through all further proceedings of the Conference and facilitate greatly its work. By thus making a certainty of the most important question of all history, no matter how difficult and delicate matters of greater or less importance may be, the Peace Conference of Versailles will have assured its success in advance as the greatest and most beneficent that the world has ever had, just as the Peace of Westphalia was in its generation.

In the Peace Treaty of Westphalia were these words : "The hostilities that have taken place from the beginning of the late disturbances, in any place of whatsoever kind, by one side or the other, shall be forgotten and forgiven, so that neither party shall cherish enmity or hatred against, nor molest nor injure the other for any cause whatsoever."

Will the Peace Treaty of Versailles contain as generous and noble words, and stop all political wars for ever, just as the Peace of Westphalia put an end to all religious wars ?

Will the 20th century Christianity, with its supposed greater liberality and enlightenment, be as far-seeing, unselfish and effective as the Christianity of the 17th century

Let the Conference at Versailles answer Yes,

THE SAINTS OF INDIA

BY
PROFESSOR JAGMOHANLAL, M.A.

ENGLAND was long ago characterised as a nation of shopkeepers and though she has since given signal proofs of her military spirit on land and sea and her sons have unflinchingly responded to the call of duty in most trying circumstances, the taunt still remains. In fact this applies to practically the whole of Europe. A truly commercial spirit seems to pervade the treaties of most of the western nations. Commerce is the watchword of Europe and the foundation stone, as it were, of the present Western civilisation.

If one were to characterise India in the same way it would be enough to substitute the word Religion for Commerce. India might in the same sense and with perfect truth be called the land of saints and friars, aye, inspite of her transformation under powerful foreign influences. Every act private or public, national or individual will, when closely scrutinised, be found to have a religious basis. Even the most ordinary duties have to be referred to religion. Even sanitation and hygiene had, till recently, hardly any significance for the vast majority of people—not because they did not know these principles and understand their value, but because the same ground was covered quite as efficiently by that all comprehensive word—Religion. To publish in such a country, therefore, a series* like the one published

by the enterprising firm of Messrs. Natesan & Co., the Routledge of Modern India, is to fulfil a real want. By so doing they have administered to the needs of a large number of people who hardly have any leisure to read more voluminous books.

Probably the series is not yet closed, but if the present collection may be taken to indicate the lines on which it is to be perfected, several important omissions, I think may be pointed out. First of all we have to decide the important question—What do we mean by a Saint? To say that a man who leads a saintly life is besides repeating a trifling commonplace, mere begging the question. What are the essential characteristics of a Saint? The learned might be in doubt but the people have no two opinions on the point. A Saint may belong to *any religion*. He might be a Hindu or Mahomedan, a Shaiva or a Vaishnava. In fact creeds and denominations have no meaning for him. You can't label him; you can't confine him into a water-tight compartment. He is not of this or that. He is of humanity at large. He does not need to be told the transient character of all sub-lunary relations and sentiments and therefore constantly thinks of the One, the Immutable and the Eternal. But his master passion is love. Intense love for God has been the distinguishing feature of all Saints. They have not sought to unravel the mystery of existence or discuss the nature of Brahm with the aid of logic but to realise the essential unity of their own existence with God, even to the extent of affirming in some cases contrary to established and formal religion—So aham (I am He or That), Tat Twam Asi (That thou art) or Hama Ost. (All this is He.) All of them without exception have been followers of the Bhakti Marga or the Path of Love. And these remarks, let it be noted, apply to Bullha and Farid as much as to Namdev and Kabir.

* THE SAINTS OF INDIA SERIES

This is a new Series of short sketches dealing with the lives of the most eminent Saints that have risen in India with copious extracts from their poems and utterances. Each of the following volumes published in the Series has a fine frontispiece:—

1. Dnyaneshwar; 2. Namdev; 3. Ekanath; 4. Rambdas; 5. Tukaram; 6. Tulsidas; 7. Nammalwar; 8. Appar; 9. Nanda; 10. Kabir; 11. Chaitanya; 12. Vivekananda; 13. Vallabhacharya; 14. Nanak; 15. Guru Govind; 16. Dayananda; 17. Ramakrishna; 18. Ram Tirath. Price Four Annas each.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T. Madras.

A proper and judicious study of the lives of the saints, therefore, besides providing ample religious instruction offers a unique and an exceptional opportunity for appealing to the sense of unity in the people and smoothing those ugly outbreaks of fanaticism and race prejudice which have been so frequent of late. No one will deny that unity is our crying need at present and that no opportunity should be lost to impress the necessity and importance of this great truth. Most of us have been trying to infuse a spirit of unity and harmony among the people by appealing to their political instincts, which at best can't be developed to the same extent as our religious instincts at least in the majority of the people. Even the moderately educated man does not find politics as fascinating as the study of the elementary moral and religious principles which almost course with his blood. I hope I am not exaggerating. It is difficult, extremely difficult to counteract the inherited tendencies of centuries. The average newspaper reader likes or dislikes many of the things by habit as it were and because it would prove him to be hopelessly behind times, if he did not approve or disapprove certain things. But does a Budget speech, or a Special Committee Report or a first class political speech interest us to the same degree as for instance a first class exposition of the Vedanta or the Yoga philosophy or a lecture on the Ramayana or on the Baghwad Gita. Even the educated classes who, by force of circumstances, might be said to have cultivated a regular taste for politics, seem to have no small room for religion in their hearts, even without knowing it. This puts me in mind of an interesting anecdote described in Mr. Bottomly's book. Large numbers of people had gathered together in the Hyde Park to hear a certain Socialist speaker. Harsh words were used against the monarchy and great enthusiasm prevailed. All of a sudden the speaker found his audience turning and looking in the other direction. In a minute they were

waving their hats and shouting "God save the King" before the astonished and somewhat crest-fallen speaker. It was the Prince of Wales passing that way. Involuntarily they had respected their Sovereign. In much the same way we are involuntarily attached towards religion. When I say this I don't mean formal religion only—that seems to give the spleen to many of us, at least to the educated sort—but the religious bent, the peculiar culture which is the outcome of a civilisation based upon religion. Such being the case it is far easier and also more natural to approach our people and impress upon them the necessity of union through religion—particularly so, because the latest explosions of hatred and fanaticism have been based on religion.

The collection, though admirable in itself and perhaps with one exception, unchallengeable, can't boast of a very happy choice from this point of view. It is one-sided. It represents only the Hindus, and though I have the greatest respect for these honored names, I also feel that certain others who are equally worthy to be placed by their side have been neglected or passed over. The Mahomedan Saints, for instance, have not been represented at all. This might have been due to the paucity of writers familiar with the tradition of upper India Saints or the series may have been intended primarily for the Hindus, but I think both its popularity and its utility will be immensely increased if the sphere is broadened a little. Bulha Shah and Baba Farid of Punjab for instance and the famous Shaws Tabiz who, though not an Indian, lived and died at Multan, leaving behind an immortal tradition sacred to the hearts of Sufis, are names which may certainly claim an honorable place in any collection of *Indian Saints*.

Before closing, I must note a remark by the Hon. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Iyer in the course of his appreciative review in the December number of this Magazine. The learned writer, after

ably discussing the merits and the place of the various Saints whose life sketches have been included in the series referred to above, remarks : "Guru Nanak and Guru Govind and to some extent Swami Dayananda Saraswati attempted to base religion on the teachings of the Vedas, ignoring the subsequent development it underwent in various epics." Now, not only is the remark not correct but the grouping of the three names is rather unfortunate, as everyone who knows the Panjab will readily recognise. Guru Nanak and Guru Govind taught doctrines essentially different from those preached and insisted on by Swami Dayananda, and their attitude towards the Vedas has been, to say the least, one of supreme indifference. In several instances, they have openly averred that Vedas don't possess any particular sanctity nor was a knowledge of the Vedas essential for the salvation of their followers. Swami Dayananda, on the other hand, looked upon the Vedas as the source and fountain head of all wisdom and the (only) complete treasure of all knowledge Divine as well as Temporal. There was thus a world of difference between them, and the difference, much more accentuated, has been handed down to the present day, so that the followers of the two sects are, not unoften, at logger-heads with each other.

"Again it is almost a surprise to find Swami Dayananda in the list of Saints. Let me add at once that this does not in any way detract from his greatness. He was certainly a great reformer and did to India almost as much service as Luther did to Europe, but he was no more a Saint than I suppose the late Mr. Gokhale was a scientist. Besides resuscitating the Vedic religion and giving a strong impetus to the study of Hindi and Sanskrit, he has permanently leavened the Hindu character with his strong puritanic ideals, but with all this most of his services were of a negative sort. He possessed strong argumentative powers and a keen sense of humour and his

criticism could at times be slashing. He depended more upon logic and the authority of the sacred scriptures—than upon the irresistibly persuasive example of a life that could itself be called All Love, as for example did Swami Ram Tirtha.

SLAVE AND EMPEROR

BY

ALFRED NOYES

*"Our cavalry have rescued Nazareth from the enemy
whose supermen described Christianity
as a creed for slaves."*

The Emperor mocked at Nazareth

In his almighty hour.

The slave that bowed himself to death

And walked with slaves in Nazareth,

What were His words but wasted breath

Before that "will to power."

Yet, in the darkest hour of all,

When black defeat began,

The Emperor heard the mountains quake,

He felt the graves beneath him shake,

He watched his legions rally and break,

And he whimpered as they ran.

"I hear a shout that moves the earth,

A cry that wakes the dead !

Will no one tell me whence they come,

For all my messengers are dumb ?

What power is this that comes to birth

And breaks my power ?" he said.

Then, all around his foundering guns,

Though dawn was now not far,

The darkness filled with a living fear

That whispered at the Emperor's ear,

"The armies of the dead draw near

Beneath an eastern star."

The trumpet blows in Nazareth,

The Slave is risen again !

Across the bitter wastes of death,

The horsemen ride from Nazareth,

And the Power they mocked as wasted breath

Returns, in power, to reign ;

Rides on, in white, through Nazareth,

To save His world again.

[Selected.]

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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BY

MR. HARIPADA GHOSAL, M.A.

HE birth of a real prose literature in Bengal dates from Bankim. Vidyasagar was of course the first progenitor of Bengali prose.

He rescued it from the strong fetters of Sanskrit grammar. But still his language was not altogether free from faults. It was sweet but not vigorous. It was full of feminine graces. Time was now ripe and it required a muscular strength—a power, a force and an energy to make it full and complete. The want which we feel in Vidyasagar is more than compensated in Bankim. Even when Michael had been sounding his trumpet voice in the immortal lines of his great epic, the time-honoured deep-rooted prejudice against Bengali was still influencing the mind of the people. So Bankim had a great task before him. To overcome a hostile predilection and to popularise literature among his countrymen now devolved upon Bankim and he accomplished this great task with ability and power.

LIFE

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was born on the 27th June 1838 at Kantalpara in the district of the 24 Parganas. His father Rai Yadav Chander Chatterjee Bahadur was a Deputy Collector at Midnapore where Bankim Chander passed his early days. When a mere child, he learnt the alphabets in one day. At the age of seven he was admitted into the Midnapore School where he stood at the head of his class by diligence and intelligence. About the age of eleven or twelve he was admitted into the Hugly College. He was a voracious reader. Besides reading all the texts of his class, he gratified his inordinate thirst for knowledge by reading many books from the College library. He passed the Senior Scholarship Examination with distinction. Bankim was married at the early age of eleven but he lost his wife eight or nine years after. He was again married at the age of twenty.

When yet a student at the Hugly College, Bankim wrote poems in the "Sambad Sudhakar" and "Sadhu Ranjan." Like him Dinabandhu and Dwarkanath practised their hands in poetry in the two papers. All of them wrote after the model of Iswar Gupta, though Bankim had some originality in his writings. He was sent to the Presidency College for studying the law in 1862. This year witnessed the introduction of the

Examination for the Bachelor's degree in Arts in the University of Calcutta. Bankim began to prepare for the B. A. degree Examination only when there were two months and got the degree. At the age of twenty Bankim became a Deputy Magistrate and was stationed at Jessor. Here he met Dinabandhu for the first time and contracted a life-long friendship with him. He passed away in 1894 after serving his King and Government most ably and creditably for a long time. He was created a Rai Bahadur and was decorated with the title of C. I. E., by the Government in recognition of his meritorious service.

BANKIM'S WORKS

Bankim's genius is so comprehensive and precocious and its range is so wide that his works defy logical classification. In the life of a great man we generally find gradual development of his powers, their culmination and decadence. But in the case of Bankim it was different. The period of his literary production extends from 1865 to 1887. His first three novels—*Durgeshnandini*, *Kapal-kundala* and *Mrinalini* were written between 1865 and 1870. *Rajani*, *Chandrashekhar Bisbrikshya Krishnakanta's Will*, etc., between 1873 and 1882; and *Anandamath*, *Devichaudhuri* and *Sitaram* between 1882 and 1887. In addition to these he wrote *Kamalakanta*, *Lokarahasya*, *Bignan Rahasya*, *Miscellaneous essays*, *historical essays*, *religious and philosophical essays* and *dissertations on the Bhagvat Gita and Sri Krishna*. Thus while he was wandering in the realms of fancy and gardens of beauty, his mind dived deep into the profound mines of Hindu religion and philosophy. Of his works, fourteen are novels of which six are purely social, five historical and three others, partly social and partly historical.

Bankim's first novel *Durgeshnandini* was written in 1865. Though "Allaler Gherer Dulal" of Tekchand preceded it, still *Durgeshnandini* is the first regular novel in Bengali. Though not the best, it was the beginning and indeed a worthy beginning of a new kind of literature that occupies at the present time more than half the energy of our writers. Here as in English novels the course of true love never did

run smooth. Jagat Sinha meets Tillotoma in the temple of Shaileswara. There was love at first sight. But its consummation appeared to be an impossibility. Bimala, wife of Birendra Sinha, disguised herself, so that none except Aviram Swami, knew her to be the wife of Birendra Sinha. Bimala's character is extraordinary. Daughter of a low-caste woman by Aviramswami, she was married to Birendra in secret on condition that his marriage with her should not be made known to the world. Her degraded social status as a maid-servant though humiliating, did not act with a deterrent effect upon her strong moral character. Though solemnly enjoined not to divulge the secrecy of her marriage with Birendra, she ever remained faithful and devoted to her husband. Under the surface of her smiling and ever cheerful spirits, flowed a deep current of conjugal love and fidelity, which led her to "unsex" herself and throwing off all her womanly reserve and pity, she snatched the gory scutcheon and stained it with the blood of Kotlukhan who caused the death of her beloved husband. Thus Bimala is a wonderful creation of Bankim and is the best of all the characters in that youthful production, *Durgeshnandini*. She combines in an unique manner the womanly tenderness with a degree of manliness that raises her above the ordinary level of her kind. Ayesha's picture is beautiful. Her madness of love for Jagat Sinha and her desperation the author has very ably delineated without reflecting any unfavourable opinion on her character. Her condition is pitiable and everyone feels sympathy for her. Like the lily in the garden she occupies a prominent place in the story. Tillotoma is a coy maid that, like the green moss, is soothing to the eye, seeking evermore to hide herself from the human view. She is all sweetness. Ayesha thrusts herself on the gaze whether one will see her or not, such is the brilliance of her beauty, but Tillotoma is loveliness unassuming and graceful. The contrast has been well brought out. Though Rebeka may be supposed to have suggested to Bankim a character like Ayesha, he cannot be blamed of down-right plagiarism. His first novel may seem to be an echo of Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe but it matters little. Those who have not read Sir Walter's book and even those who have read it, will not be able easily to find out anything that is foreign or incoherent or out of place in it. If we are to believe Bankim's words we must not rely upon a false conjecture that his first novel was written after reading Ivanhoe; for he averred that he never read Ivanhoe before he

wrote *Durgeshnandini*. Gajapoti supplies the place of the Fool in the courts of Western Princes. His stupidity and extravagant display of his little learning excite our laughter. Aviramswami is the friend, the guide and the philosopher of Birendra. In all these pictures we get the glimpse of a master-mind advancing to maturity.

Kapalkundala, 1867, shows Bankim's powers at their highest. Kapalkundala is nature's child, simple, artless and charming. She grew up among the vicissitudes of nature who trained her up as her own. Sportive as the fawn, she bore on her brow "the freedom of a mountaineer." Hers was

"A face with gladness overspread!
Soft smiles, by human kindness bred."

"A lovelier flower on earth was never seen". She learnt stateliness from the clouds in fair-weather: she borrowed grace from even the storms; and "beauty born of murmuring sound passed into her face". What a sad contrast we find when we see this simple child of nature by the side of the stern relentless Tantrik who, banishing the milk of human kindness from the heart, had hardened his mind to a stone! Shakuntala, though bred in the forest, learnt something of the world from her mates; Miranda, though brought up in a lonely island home, learnt something of the weal and woe of the world from her father. But Kapalkundala had no such opportunities. She was a bread-and-butter maid with absolutely no idea of the world outside. The influence of the Kapalik was undying upon Kapalkundala. A girl brought up from her earliest years in the company of an austere hermit who banishing all pity and shutting the gates of mercy on mankind, lives the life of hard penance far away from the dwelling place of man, cannot altogether accommodate herself to human society and slavishly follow its artificial man-made bordages. Hers was an ethereal spirit flapping its wings in the highly supersensuous region of unearthliness. Her independent and free nature every now and then tried to disentangle itself from the trammels of society and shackles of man's own creation. When she first gleamed upon the vision of Nabakumar, she looked like the morning star full of joy and splendour and glory, cheering and decorating life's vistas with the angelic light of another world and he took her to life's companionship. He did not know that Kapalkundala would break through the bars of society. Among men she looked like a plant transplanted from its native

soil. She always yearned for her woodland freedom in the wide sandy tracts of the billowing sea. Nabakumar judged her from the point of view of worldly men but what can the world do and how can the narrow standard of judgement be employed in the case of one who does not belong to the world? Nature revolted against itself and she sought relief in the surging waves in spite of the repeated and tearful persuasions of her husband who occupied seldom any room in her heart.

Padmabati's character side by side with that of Kapalkundala is like a bas-relief—a picture setting off the beauty, sweetness and innocence of Kapalkundala's character. She is cruel, licentious, selfish, boastful, ambitious, daring and well-acquainted with human nature as Kapalkundala is innocent, continent, simple, unselfish and unacquainted with the nature of men and the ways of the world. The two are brought up amid two different environments. Both were liberty-loving, but Kapalkundala was nature herself, beautiful, grand, and noble; "too good for human nature's daily food". She had the "skyie influences" of a world not our own. But Padma was self-willed and did what she liked. Growing up in the midst of corrupt and bad court influences, her vanity had run to dissipation and extravagance. An insatiable thirst for lust was her special characteristic. Her accidental meeting with Nabakumar was a crisis—a struggle between her higher and lower natures. She had to submit to the dictates of her better nature and became for a time passionately devoted to her husband, who, however, always kept her at arm's length and did not ever stoop to her amorous persuasions. The change was only temporary. She again fell to the modes of her wayward and immoral life.

Kapalkundala was the acme of Bankim's creative skill and greatness. This great work at once raised him to a higher place above all other writers. In reading the book we wander throughout in the airy region of high poetry. Bankim's productions between 1873 and 1882 smack of decadence. *Kapulkundala* assured his popularity. He no longer sustained himself in that elemental sphere of poetry but dropped from it.

In *Devichaudhurani* (1884) the two characters that draw our attention are Prafulla and Sagar. Prafulla was married to Brajeswar while she was quite young but she was forbidden to come within the precincts of her husband's house for some false report against her mother. Attaining maturity, she naturally sought her father-in-law's

house but Hariballav remained inexorable and refused protection, and when asked how she, a helpless maid, would get her livelihood, she was disdainfully ordered to earn her bread in the streets by following the ignoble profession of a marauder. She became the disciple of Bhabani Thakur under whose care, she acquired higher qualifications, both mental and physical, that fitted her to become the head and guiding spirit of bands of disinterested men who robbed the rich to give to the poor, and entertained the idea of bringing back the days of gold by an equal distribution of the wealth and property of the world among all men. Thus she lived for years, but her better nature revolted. She disliked the means though the end was good. Her mind was not in the task. Her heart yearned for something else. Highly accomplished as she was, she thought that the proper duty of a woman was to love her husband and live a peaceful life. She abandoned her responsible station as the sole mistress and arbitress of a vast dominion. She returned to her husband who now accepted her and devoted herself to peaceful domestic duties which she considered to be the woman's proper sphere for realising the true end of womanly existence.

Sagar was the second wife of Brajeswar. She was simple and child-like in nature. She was not in the least jealous. She was mainly instrumental in effecting a union between Prafulla and Brajeswar. Sagar's conduct was all along marked by the noblest examples of self-sacrifice and by her pity and sympathy for Prafulla in the hour of her misery and persecution, Sagar was the true type of a Hindu woman, noble, disinterested and simple.

Bisbriksha (1873) is a good popular novel. Suryamukhi, though she had reason to grieve, cannot be justified from the point of view of a Hindu, in leaving her husband's house. She was a faithful wife but when Nagendra was passionately attached to Kunda, Surryanukhi's feelings were wounded. No woman can bear a rival in love near her husband. This novel is certainly not, as many suppose it to be, an exposition of the evils of widow re-marriage as Bankim was not opposed to the reform which Vidyasagar tried in vain to bring about. Kunda is not the protagonist of the evils of a new social system but is only a type of characters in the galaxy of portraits by Bankim. Though the plot is not very happy, Bankim is master of his language here. His art is excellent and his characters are life-like,

In *Chandrashekhar* (1875) Pratap's unselfish love is unique. His love for Shaibalini was purged off that carnality with which that sacred virtue of the human heart is so often tainted and which is the cause of half the evils of the world. In spite of the offer of Shaibalini and many opportunities at his disposal, Pratap studiously avoided actual passionate union with that wicked woman who was false to the sacred duties of conjugal relationship. His love was so intense, so profound, so deep-laid in his heart and was so holy in its nature that it never showed itself in outward efflorescence with a frothy surface. If a right thinking and sensible man like Pratap were to stoop to the simple overtures of Shaibalini and give the slightest hint to her, he would then sap the very foundation of domestic happiness and would have been guilty of sloping the path of ruin which stared at the face of Chandrashekhar in whose honesty, purity and devotion to his wife he had a firm belief. The first and last expression of his love for Shaibalini was given on the blood-red field of battle when he was lying low with a mortal wound in the terrible jaws of death. His feeble frame was electrified with the flash of lightening when he was accosted of his attachment by Ramanada Swami. Shaibalini is the type of the desperate woman who when the passion of love is on them, is ready to sacrifice everything at the altar of Cupid. Divine retribution seized her and her life was miserable. Chandrashekhar is the type of unworldly men who seek relief and great pleasure in communion with books. It is no wonder that he would fail to win the love of a woman so passionate as Shaibalini. He loved his wife as much as his duty warranted him to love her, not more or less. He wanted that passionate ardour of the heart, that tyranny of love that leads men to wander in a narrow groove of exclusive enjoyment. Unequal combination is unhappy to both parties and domestic peace and purity in such cases end in moonshine. *Dharmatutta* (1888) is a treasure-house of valuable information and is the blessed fruit of his high culture and long study. *Kamalakanta* (1876) is a precious gem in our literature. There are lofty passages of high moral significance interspersed with touches of wit and fancy; there are also delightful lines where the play of imagination and humour is extremely charming and where an under-current of sadness is ever resent; the words which seem at random cast are full of pathos; and above all the careless, different and humourous expressions which seem to be mere weeds of imagination bring home

to our mind high lessons from life, raised above the low ground of bread-and-butter associations. Bankim wrote good many essays, both social and historical, critiques and other fragmentary writings which are instructive and would repay the trouble by supplying the enquiring mind with information on valuable things. They show his critical faculty, fine judgement, a thorough grasp of the subject-matter and the depth and vastness of his erudition. In his *Krishna-Charitra* (1886) he has tried to show that Krishna was a complete and thorough practical man. He was the greatest diplomat and ruler as he was the best teacher, the best friend and the best warrior. Action and imagination, strength and vehemence were all united in him. Bankim advanced reasonable explanations of all apparently superhuman actions of Krishna throughout his career as they appear to a rational human being, puffing off the dust of mythology and bringing out hidden truths of symbolism and contradictions. Discarding prejudice and superstition, Bankim has tried to solve by the dry light of reason, many polemical themes which have ever been so many bones of contention among moral teachers and divines.

Krishnakanta's Will (1878) which Bankim himself called his best, contains only two notable characters—Bhramar and Rohini. Bhramar is sensitive, somewhat proud and headstrong. With the object of curbing and bringing under control the wayward inclinations of Govindlal, Bhramar resorted to that feeble instrument of a will which, instead of strengthening the bond of connection between herself and her husband, snapped the cord altogether and was the unhappy source of all domestic calamities. Govindlal's nature was made of the same stuff of which scions of noble families are made. He was noble, passionate and self-willed. He was weak enough to fall an easy prey to the snares of the beaming eye-lashes of the beautiful Rohini, then in her prime and full-welling with the springs of passionate love. Being turned adrift on the ocean of life in the frail bark of a false woman's heart, he had shipwrecked on the treacherous rock of passion and had at last made a penance in staining his hand with the blood of his once beloved mistress. That is the fitting catastrophe of a dissipated life of pleasure and carnality.

PURPOSE IN BANKIM'S NOVELS.

By the end of the second period of his literary activities, Bankim began to take upon himself the function of a teacher to the detriment of his art. Purpose in a literary work is perhaps

questionable from the point of view of art, for it is hardly desirable that the poet or the novelist should stop from time to time to offer explanation to his readers. "There is no reason in the nature of things why it should be prejudicial and the true question is whether in a particular instance it has or has not led the author astray. Of course the danger is the serving of two masters: "Art and purpose may in certain cases be as irreconcilable as God and Mammon," are the words of a great critic. If a poet or a novelist tries continually to drive at his object in view, he is prone to become too much moralising, too much didactic. To avoid the taint of pedagogic flourish, the poet, the true artist, should stand aloof from the dangerous shoal of sermonising. Dry metaphysical disquisition or vapid uninteresting preaching of the Gospel is repellent and distasteful. The true artist composes "a fairy-tale or a little song which will touch, a lullaby or riddle which will entertain, a jest which will amuse or draw a sketch such as will delight dozens of generations or millions of children and adults," says Tolstoy. If I were to read a poet or a novelist for cut and dry moral maxims, I should be little benefitted. Why should I accept second-hand moral truths and not go to the original? Why should I read him for philosophy when I have better philosophical guides who instead of teaching philosophy lived philosophy? I go to the poet for pleasure, to find in his large sympathetic heart a reflection of my own feelings and emotions, to get in his comprehensive soul a drop of his impassioned love. A truly great work of art must transcend all bounds of cold objectivity and must rise to the sphere of the ideal so that it may yield an eternal food to the contemplative mind without seeking to restrict him to one single idea. *Kapalkundala* marks the beginning of a new period in Bankim's literary career. In the novels of the second period, there is a great decline in the highest poetical idealism, though in them Bankim has shown his masterly hand in character painting, in plot and pen-manship. They are the most popular of Bankim's novels. His conscious and deliberate treatment of interesting problems and desire to offer happy solutions gained prominence. He now felt a desire to occupy the chair of a moral teacher.

BANKIM'S WOMEN CHARACTERS

Bankim has powerfully conceived and admirably executed his women characters. He holds before our eyes female characters which, deprived of their local and geographical peculiarities, are well worthy of becoming world models. Bankim

had a chivalrous regard for the womanhood of his country. Happy and devoted as he was in possessing a devoted wife who presented him a model for the women of his imagination, he had an unflinching regard for the amiable sex. The influence of his wife in shaping his thoughts and ideas with respect to the creation of his women characters was indeed very great as he himself admitted it. His skill in painting such women as Suryyamukhi, Bhramar Prafulla, Shanti, Jayanti, Kundu and Kapalkundala is as exquisite as that in drawing the pictures of Hira, Rohini and Shaibalini. Thus his masterly grasp and minute observation of the high and the low, of the noble and the mean, of the virtuous and the sinful in womanhood, have reached the highest pitch of creative skill in the domain of literature and have established his reputation as one of the greatest novelists of the world. The depth, extent and variety of his creative power is nowhere more visible than in his women. While conceiving marvels of womanly delicacy, grandeur, virtue and passion, he has always kept an eye over what is ideal. He has never combined abnormal or unusual qualities in order to produce mere sentimental heroines or prodigies of virtue.

BANKIM'S HISTORICAL NOVELS

A scrupulous regard for truth is the object of the historian; and delineation of beauty is the aim of the poet. To transcribe facts is the duty of the historian; and to draw a decent drapery of comeliness over the ungainly and the ugly is the end of the poet. The one is ethereal unchained by time and space, but the other is matter-of-fact, bound to follow the course of events without any hand over them. The poet combines instruction with pleasure; he walks in the garden replete with the sweet fragrance of aromatic drugs and ambrosial flowers. Some of the novels of Bankim such as *Raj Sinha*, *Durgeshnandani* have a back-ground of historical facts, but he has very often over-stepped the limits of history with the object of bringing out the excellence and beauty of his characters. The poet or the novelist walks in the supersensuous world of beauty and familiarises with beauty in all things.

The sight of a cruel hard-hearted sinner and the prospect of divine visitation awaiting him unveil to our eye what beauty there is in virtue. The aim of a powerful writer is to draw a picture of purity, truth and virtue. To show the pure white ray of virtue is his skill. To teach the people virtue, history, and science of a high order is not an easy task,

but it is easier to draw their attention to the study of a good story or a charming episode. To improve men's idea of virtue ; to punish sin ; to repel people by showing the seamy side of life—all these are the duties of a novelist of a high order and all these Bankim has accomplished with a consummate art.

BANKIM'S IDEALISM

Bankim is a novelist of idealism. His novels are idealistic. The poet of realism cannot hope to rise to the high place which the poet of idealism occupies, because realism has an end but idealism is infinite. Again, idealistic novels are more useful than realistic novels. Beginning from Vyasa and Balmiki all Hindu poets have shown great skill in drawing pictures of idealism. Fortunately Bankim belongs to this class of instructors of mankind. Pratap is an ideal hero, disinterested and self-controlled in love. Kapalkundala is the exact picture of a woman brought up by nature from her earliest girlhood. Many of Bankim's characters, bear the unmistakable stamp of idealism.

MORALITY IN BANKIM'S NOVELS

The morality of Bankim's novels is not only correct but austere. He has very scarcely allowed iniquitous men to go scot-free. He has made some concession for their erring human nature and its frailty, but their characters have received their due share of sorrow and penitence at his hands. He has not spared their guilt or sin. Grief follows as a necessary consequence of sin, and severe castigation and hard punishment have been the lot of those who have strayed from the path of rectitude sanctioned by the moral code of judging humanity. Shaibalini the most audacious and desperate of Bankim's creations—paid a penalty for living a sinful life; Govindlal performed the expiation for his immoral and wayward life; Bhramar suffered no less for her unreasonable sensitiveness, Rohini's calamitous and tragic end is a lesson; and Nagundranath's ravings and repentance for neglecting that jewel of women, Suryyamukhi, are an eloquent appeal of a penitent soul, convinced of the wrong course of his action. Thoughtful readers will surely discover in Bankim a richness of wisdom and a clear insight into the springs of human action. He possessed much of the broad Shakespearean view of human life and he laid bare the motive force that lie deep and goads men and women to the path of action.

BANKIM'S STYLE AND ART.

Great critics have repudiated from time to time the distinction between prose and poetry. Rythmical adage is not, according to them, essential to good poetry. From this point of view Bankim's prose is poetry in disguise. With regard to style Bankim's performance exhibits him as a considerable master of prose. He shares indeed something of the older lengthy sentence and there is a tendency to elongate it as fresh thoughts occur to him. But elongations scarcely sacrifice clearness. There is a total absence of cumbrous classical constructions of the elders and at the same time, of the quaint colloquialisms which are a besetting sin of the modern stylist and which have become fashionable with a certain section of the modern press. Bankim invented a definite prose style of his own which suited him most in expressing his ideas. He is singularly destitute of mannerism. Many a time we come across many passages which, though written in prose, have a lyric strain beneath. He was a consummate master of an ample vocabulary, had a beautiful method of expressing his ideas and a dislike for archaism, vulgarity and want of perspicuity. When a series of ideas rise in him, he restrains them with a fine judgement. He does not slacken the reins of his imagination, nor is he carried away by the impetuosity of his thoughts. He cannot be accused of slip-shod. Elegance was his mode. Sometimes he has recourse to colloquialisms but none could use them with a happier effect. He writes in a plain style but he displays a capacity for magnificence. His influence tended to enlarge and develop the unused potentialities and energies of Bengali prose.

Bankim invented the art of writing well. His style is perfect—the standard of its perfection may be judged from the fact that he eludes imitation. It has been said that "style is the man." Now, what is style? It is a perfect understanding between the writer and the material with which he works. It is the test of excellence in an art that it is never old. A mere difference from the past is not so great a fault as to assign a bold innovator a place in the limbo of mediocrity. A great artist rediscovers this superannuated earth and clothes this familiar rugged world of ours with beauty. He takes away the veil of ungrainliness from the ugly face of our common earth. Bankim brought an imaginative mind to his work and crystallised all with the help of that sovereign quality. His contemporaries found fault with him for what they called damaging the

language. With regard to him we may say, "Caesar did never wrong but with just cause." Besides, his task was not easy. When he came to the field our language was not established. It was even then fettered by lexicon and grammar mongering. He invaded like a Monarch the high boundary line that lay between the spoken language and the language of books. The orthodox school made rigid distinctions and raised a strong barrier between the spoken tongue, which they called vulgar and the sonorous words of Sans- origin, which they called chaste. They were rather drillers in grammar and pedagogues of root and inflexion. Bankim pulled down the strong Bastille of classicism and destroyed the rigid literary model built by the uncompromising advocates of Sanskrit style. Subsequent writers caught illumination from his genius. His work broke upon the world as a total novelty and it drove the people into an obvious recognition of the fact that the stilted and hum-drum monotony of the style of earlier writers was a thing of the past and that a new chapter in the history of literature had been opened.

The great charm of his writings is their saving grace of humour. His greatest triumphs of humour lie interspersed through all his writings, but it is the backbone, the prop and pillar of his *Kamalakanta*. Kamalakanta is mirthful himself and the cause of mirth in others, imparting great philosophical lessons and conveying serious truths in his airy and light fashion.

In literary criticism Bankim has carried the palm. His criticisms are excellent pieces of creative literature. They are characterised by their deep penetration of reach. He was a relentless critic of shams in literature. He hated worthless productions. He considered them to be mere thorny weeds in the beautiful garden of the Muse. So he fell with a fury upon them. He wielded the whip but also welcomed what was beautiful and useful. He gave merit its due. Ephemeral writings he could not tolerate. He was a prince of critics. He displayed fine appreciation, good taste, excellent judgement and wisdom. Any one who could pass successfully through the fiery ordeal of his criticism might be said to have established his reputation.

BANKIM'S ACHIEVEMENT

The constitution of the Bengali novel began with Tek Chand but its regular construction as a perfect work of art was, once and for all, established by Bankim. By force of his august personality and extraordinary intellectual powers, he surmounted the immense difficulties on his

way. First of all he had to prepare the soil and create a healthy literary taste among his countrymen. He weeded out with Herculean energy the noxious plants that had been growing in the field of literature and then he sowed seeds which blossomed into useful plants, and, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing them decorated with rich flowers and fruits.

Bankim was indeed a towering intellect and a powerful writer who ever handled a language. His appearance in our literature at the time was epoch-making. All his writings are marked by the saving grace of humour which manifests the cheerfulness and geniality of his soul. He is ever sparkling, lucid and brilliant. Whatever he touched became gold. His judgement was independent. He possessed a comprehensive knowledge of human nature. He seldom failed to rise to the greatness of an occasion. He had a fearless temper and an unbiased and unprejudiced mind. He felt for "the kindly race of man" and was full of sympathy. Behind his geniality and humour is an all absorbing fatalism which over-shadows all his novels and is a great feature of all his writings. His calm physiognomy and the perfectly clear contour of his face throws in bold relief the placidity of his mind. He is an unique combination of Shakespeare's sympathy, Byron's force, and Goethe's wisdom.

Vidyasagar polished the language and advanced it a step, but he did not fully succeed. He rounded the keen edges and added grace and elegance. But he could not rescue it from the influence of Sanskrit. Michael felt no need of reform as the pure literary form of the language was more suitable to the expression of his ideas in composing his sublime poem. But Bankim found himself confronted with a great difficulty. His object was to popularise literature and to make his countrymen believe that great things can be written in Bengali, which might be readable and acceptable to educated men who were carried away by the magnificence and richness of the English tongue, and who looked down upon the tongue they learnt to lisp at their mother's knee and sucked with their mother's milk. For this purpose Bankim brought about a happy fusion of the two. He united the vulgar spoken language of the people with the purely literary language of books. In uttering great passions and pathos and sentiment, in expressing the tempest of the soul, some allowance must be made to the master-artist whose genius will tell him what words to use,

what to choose and what to reject ; for the secret of force lies not in the genealogy of nouns, adjectives and verbs as in setting a cunning proportion and form as much as art requires and the most sensitive taste finds satisfaction in, so that nice shades of thought, feeling and emotion are finely expressed. Though he milked other minds for aesthetic nourishment, his marvellous intellect and exquisite taste added incalculable qualities with which all his writings are replete—the enchantment of his style, the saving grace of humour, a bright imagination and a deep insight into human nature.

Bankim is universal and has no manner. What Dryden said of Shakespeare is also true of Bankim. "Within his magic circle none dared tread but he." Only poets of the second class find successful imitators. Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare in Europe, and Kabikankan, Michael and Bankim in our country have no school. Their imagination is incommunicable. They stand by themselves. Literary artifice is the degeneration of art and a first-rate poet has no artifice. Bankim had an unimpeachable judgement, and such a perfect poise of character that it enabled him to rise to the position of a world-poet.

BANKIM'S SERVICE TO BENGALI LITERATURE.

Two streams of thought which agitated Europe reached England about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The German philosophy and the French theory of the equality and fraternity of man began to be incorporated in English literature. The efforts of Coleridge and Carlyle in importing into the English soil the transcendental philosophy of Germany and the work of the Lake Poets and the upholders of the Theory of the Spontaneous prove the fact that new forces and influences had been working. About this time Sir Walter Scott flourished and popularised literature. The great "Wizard of the North" wielded his mighty wand and directed the course of English literature. What happened in England in the beginning of the nineteenth century happened also in Bengal in the fifties of the same century. Bankim's work in Bengali was like that of Scott in England. These two great men present striking resemblances. When Bankim wrote and when he established his reputation as a great writer, English education had begun to spread in Bengal. Those ignorant of English were considered as fools. That there was nothing worth reading in Bengali was the idea of the English educated gentlemen of the time. But instead of improving their mother tongue, they sneered at those few

men who devoted themselves to the study and culture of Bengali. They were glad to see the palace of others but neglected their own huts which provided them shelter from the sun and the rain. The greatness of English literature attracted their attention and they turned their back to the improvement of their own language. Bankim stood against this indifference. The publication of the *Banga-Darshan* disenchanted their illusion. It was like a mirror reflecting whatever was new and beautiful in philosophy, science, history, novel and poetry. It was the first monthly magazine that served the purpose of a great instrument for the edification of the educated Bengalis. It was also a great agent for popular education. The stream which, being so long "chocked with sedges worked its weary way", now became broadened, and flowing with a rapid motion carried off the obstacles that hindered the onward march of literature. It added vitality and freshness, and made it strong and vigorous. Thus the one great act, in fact his greatest service to Bengali literature, was that he popularised literature. He showed by example how the sublime and the beautiful can be handled and expressed in Bengali as the simple and the homely. His character won for him the confidence of his countrymen who will ever remember him as the greatest benefactor of their race for ages to come.

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THE PRESENT SITUATION

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BY
MR. G. A. NATESAN

N rushing the Rowlatt Bill and forcing it through the Imperial Legislative Council by a standing official majority, in the face of a strong, a strenuous and a singularly unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian members of all shades of opinion the authorities committed a grave blunder and there is no use disguising the fact that it has been the primary cause of a good deal of the present unhappy situation in the country. Non-Official members of the type of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru uttered in unmistakable terms, a grave note of warning that in trying to place the Rowlatt Bill on the Statute Book the authorities were courting a menacing situation. Such a sober representative of Indian public opinion like the *Indian Social Reformer* wrote significantly :

"The situation at present is one which demands sympathetic and soothing measures: high prices, epidemics, famine, are bearing heavily upon the people. They ask for bread, not for the stone of repressive legislation. No Government which is not entirely out of touch with the actual state of things in the country, will proceed with such proposals at such a time."

And yet in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Indian members, and the public condemnation of the legislation, the measure has been deliberately rushed through, and H. E. the Viceroy who could certainly have waited some time longer, gave his assent when it was in his power to have withheld it till at least the occasion for applying the law arose. This is blunder No. I.

In launching the Satyagraha movement and in devising and adopting means for the "breaking of other laws" without gauging the danger of mob power in India—and this in disregard of the best, the earnest and almost unanimous appeal and protest of experienced political workers and sincere friends—Mr. Gandhi undoubtedly committed a grave error of judgment and the consequence has been disastrous. This is blunder No. II.

The orders issued under the Defence of India Act preventing Mr. Gandhi's entry into Delhi and thereby fulfilling his engagements, his arrest, his forced return to Bombay under custody, the ignorance of the public regarding his destination, all these were undoubtedly the immediate cause of the outbreaks at Delhi, at Ahmedabad and at Viramgum. Mr. Gandhi's entire life has been

a living protest against violence in any form. His presence even in an excited atmosphere would surely have tended to restore confidence and peace. And he himself would have used all his influence in denouncing any attempt at violence or disorder if he had reason to believe that anything untoward would happen. We cannot therefore help thinking that the arbitrary and high handed manner in which he was dealt with is blunder No. III.

The riots at Amritsar, Lahore and Ahmadabad, and the wanton and brutal outrages upon lives and property are doings which no Government can possibly tolerate and all friends of peace, order and progress must certainly do the only duty that lies before them and that is to support the authorities in their endeavours to restore peace and prevent further disorders of any kind. The immediate task of Government must certainly be to root out the mischievous elements that have taken advantage of Mr. Gandhi's movement to foment discontent and encourage disorder and violence. Quite in keeping with the highest ideal of truth, which he has set up for himself, Mr. Gandhi has confessed his mistake and has with a penitence, which the noblest type of humanity alone is capable of, begun in right earnest to co-operate with the Government in restoring normal conditions. If the Government of India which has had at its command its experienced civil officials, who have been claiming to represent and correctly interpret the feelings of the people of this country have failed to properly gauge the power of the new impulse that has been lately surging from one end of the country to the other and the deep rooted nature and strength of the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill and the menacing situation it was producing, surely without in the least attempting to minimise the responsibility that lay on Mr. Gandhi one might be tempted to urge that in the case of Mr. Gandhi he was judging human nature by his own lofty standard and was relying a little too much on his experience in South Africa and the success of the Passive Resistance movement there. Mr. Gandhi has had the courage and candour to own his mistake and we believe that this has enhanced his reputation for truth and his abhorrence of all disorder and violence. Will it be too much to expect the Government of the Punjab to have the courage to own its mistake

and thus enhance its prestige and its influence and power over the people? For, if ever there was a time which demanded a frank and courageous statement of the present situation, it is now.

The Rowlatt Legislation may be forgotten. Mr. Gandhi's share in it may be forgotten too. But we venture to assert that some of the measures adopted in the Punjab to put down the disturbances there will not be forgotten, unless the Government of India, without any further delay, insist on putting a break on some at least of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's actions. We do not pretend to know the exact situation in the Punjab. We will even grant that the situation there warranted the introduction of martial law; but we cannot see the necessity for several of the orders and measures adopted by Lt. Col. Frank Johnson in his efforts to put down the disturbances. One is amazed to read in the papers some of these orders and ordinances. Even in times of panic the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, and such measures as those adopted regarding students, shop-keepers, owners of cars, carriages and bicycles, and the wholesale arrest of leading citizens without trial or without a public statement of the reasons which have led to such drastic measures cannot be lightly accepted as steps necessary for public safety.

We instance in particular the whipping of persons in the public streets, an act, which is now admitted by the authorities. It is revolting to the sense of civilised humanity and we are not surprised that two noble Englishmen have publicly protested against it. It is, as the *Indian Social Reformer* has rightly described it, "a flagrant measure of insult and outrage to Indian citizenship, a sin against Indian manhood, irrespective whether the victims are petty shop keepers or menials, as the military authorities allege." We write all this not in anger but in sorrow and humiliation for we cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that after the glorious achievements of Great Britain in the War, and the gallant, splendid and self sacrificing manner in which India had rallied to the cause of the Empire, when the whole world is ringing with joy that a new era of liberty, a nobler and truer conception of freedom is to be the result of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, that in India where the cry for equality of status with British citizenship all over the world is the battle cry of all, Indian citizens should be whipped in public streets even under a regime of martial law,

We sincerely deplore the recent outrages that have disgraced the fair name of India. We cannot help deplored too that it has not yet been possible for H. E. Lord Chelmsford the joint author of the great Reform Scheme, "to assert his authority as superior even to martial laws" and sternly set his face against the adoption of measures which even Britishers will be loth to defend.

May we add one word more. According to all accounts Sir Michael O'Dwyer's 'strong rule' is in a great measure responsible for all the bitterness of feeling and the sudden revolt against authority which expressed itself in many undesirable forms. In place of the martial law, and deportations and internments we would suggest an easier remedy for promoting the peace of the province. Let Sir Michael O'Dwyer be requested to bid goodbye to the Punjab as early as possible and his successor, towards whom we are assured, there is a feeling of friendliness and respect, be requested immediately to resume charge. Let there be a thorough and impartial enquiry into all that has taken place in that unhappy province. Let the *embargo* on the newspapers be removed. For as has been pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Sastri in his farewell speech at Bombay, "it is the primary duty of the Government to make a full publication, from day to day, or from week to week, of events as they happen and the situation as it stands from time to time. Whether in a democratic or an autocratic regime a Government that is self-righteous finds the safest refuge in full publication of facts."

Indeed every effort must be made to regain the confidence and trust of the people. For the words of the Chinese philosopher uttered centuries ago, are as true to day as ever:—

A disciple of Confucius inquired on one occasion what was essential in the government of a country; Confucius answered "There must be sufficient food for the people, an efficient army, and confidence of the people in their rulers."

"But," asked the disciple then, "if we were compelled to dispense with one of those three things, which one of them should go first?"

"Dispense with the army," replied Confucius.

"But still," the disciple went on to ask, "if one were compelled to dispense with one of these two things remaining, which one of them should go first?"

"Dispense with the food," replied Confucius, "for from old men have died; but without the confidence of the people in their rulers there can be no Government."

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

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T. E. LORD AND LADY WILLINGDON

We offer our sincere felicitations to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon who arrived in Madras on the 10th instant. Lord Willingdon took charge of the Government of this Presidency from the Hon. Sir Alexander Cardew, the Senior Member of Council who was acting Governor in the interval between the departure of Lord Pentland and the arrival of the new Governor.

There is something unusual in the appointment of Lord Willingdon as Governor of Madras. For according to the conventions that govern the appointments to high offices in India, it is a common practice—and a practice upheld by experience—that only fresh men from the noble families of Great Britain who have been brought up under the liberalising traditions of British public life should be sent abroad to offices of imperial responsibility. The idea is to secure the services of men who may not be tainted with the prejudices and narrowness that generally dominate the minds of those who have risen from the lower ranks of the public services in India. A nobleman of broad and generous sympathies, fresh from the free atmosphere of England and instinct with the traditions of parliamentary life, is expected to keep an open and receptive mind in the discharge of the delicate functions of a Governor of an Indian Province.

But this continuity of power vested in Lord Willingdon is not altogether without precedent in recent history. Lord Carmichael was for a time Governor of Madras before he was transferred to Bengal. And we recollect the generous welcome that awaited him in a province in which his services were peculiarly needed to pacify a public opinion that was sullen and discontented. It is the sincere wish of the people of this presidency that Lord Willingdon's term of office will be marked with similar success.

Lord Willingdon was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1913 and held his office at a time of a great crisis in the Empire. It is not our purpose to review his administration of the sister presidency for we are more directly concerned with the future and His Excellency's task in this presidency. In the autumn of 1918 the Government of India announced that he would succeed Lord Pentland as Governor of Madras and stated in a special *communique* that

Lord Willingdon's appointment to the Governorship of Madras after a lengthened tenure of office in Bombay is an exceptional measure, and it is a source of satisfaction to His Majesty's Government that his ripe experience and knowledge of the country will not be lost to India on the termination of his present appointment.

There is no doubt he brings to his new office considerable experience of Indian problems which it is hoped will stand him in good stead in dealing with the many intricate questions with which he may be confronted in this presidency.

It is well known that Lord Willingdon is friendly to the reforms and Mr. Montagu's choice must evidently be based on the knowledge that the new Governor will bring to the initiation and adoption of the reform proposals, that sympathetic imagination and wise conciliation which is the pith of statesmanship. Only very recently in the course of a speech in London on the occasion of a farewell dinner given in his honour he

expressed the earnest hope that in the new Parliament this sense of responsibility towards India would develop, and that honourable Members would appreciate to the full the fact that political reform of a very serious kind was absolutely necessary in India at the present time. He thought that those of them who had administered India had in the past made too much of "efficiency :" they had been too keen about keeping the administration efficient and had not sufficiently realised that they must give Indians some responsibility in their local affairs.

He then recounted the services of India to the Empire and reminded the audience that "it should never be forgotten that India had stood staunch and steadfast to the British Empire and never so staunch and steadfast as during more than four years of grave peril". India, he said, had done her part right well and had assisted in winning the great victory of the allies.

"I would trust India," he went on to say, "I would treat her generously, I would show her that we believe in her high destiny and look upon her as a sister nation amongst the great dominions under the Crown, I would take risks in legislation for India—a progressive policy must mean taking some risks—and above all things I would give up what has seemed like our policy in the past—the policy of doing as little as we possibly could, except as a concession to agitation."

Lord Willingdon then made a frank statement of his position regarding the reform proposals.—

It was our duty in India to give every encouragement to reasonable men and also to those ruling princes who had shown such splendid loyalty for many long years past and their subjects; but we should have

nothing to do with the extremist agitation going on in India at the present time. *We should give the warmest encouragement and support to the Moderate Indian.* Many of these, he knew, were very anxious to get responsible government as soon as they could, and in that sense most of them were Home Rulers—as he himself would be if he were in India—but they wished to remain in British Empire and under the guidance of that Empire. They realised to the full that they needed a considerable amount of training before they achieved the great end in view. It was his earnest hope that, when this Reform Bill was passed, he would find a team in Madras that was united and not divided.

Discoursing on the reforms he laid special stress on the urgency of decentralisation. The provinces are labouring under an extremely centralised administration. The local Governments have to make references to Simla and Delhi on most trivial matters and this has been hampering the development of the provinces.

He felt that a Governor should run his province in his own way in regard to local affairs, subject only to an annual audit by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. His own ultimate outlook, though he perhaps cast his vision too far ahead, would be a federation of States in the Indian Empire that were self-governed in local affairs, and responsible in Imperial matters through the agency of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and above them all, an Imperial Council dealing with Imperial matters.

Finally he referred to the relation of the services to the reform proposals. This is a subject on which an agitation has, as we know, been sedulously set up, an agitation which H. E. the Viceroy thought fit to pacify. It is interesting to read Lord Willingdon's view of this question. He said:—

There were many, too many people, who were inclined to look upon the question of reform from the point of view of how it was going to affect the great services. After all they were part of the machine and the real question was that of securing the greatest benefit for the great country of India. If they found that certain alterations had to be made in the machine, alterations affecting the services, they must not allow this to prevent the onward march. It was a fact recognised by the great service in very large degree that India had arrived at such a stage of development that she was ready for a considerable grant of responsible government at the present time. When she arrived finally at her goal of responsible government, this would be the consummation of the work of one of the most magnificent services by which any country had been administered, or which had ever been conceived.

Since his arrival in India Lord Willingdon has witnessed the great agitation against the Rowlatt legislation—a measure passed in the teeth of the opposition of all sections of the Indian public.

The Indian public has grieved not only over the Rowlatt Acts but equally over the excesses committed in a few places by excited mobs. Fortunately Madras has been free from such excesses though equally determined to get rid of this drastic legislation. Lord Willingdon in reply to the numerous addresses of the public bodies in Madras drew attention to the danger of such agitation to the smooth sailing of the reforms.

I think you are all well aware that I fully realise and sympathise with the hopes and aspirations of all those who are anxious for political advance on sound constitutional lines. Since my return from England, I have noticed with the deepest regret accounts of serious agitation accompanied by loss of life in other parts of India, especially regrettable at this juncture when the eagerly expected measure of Reform is shortly to be placed before the Houses of Parliament, and I venture to take this early opportunity of asking you, gentlemen present, representing as you do important classes of our people, to give my Government your help and support, in order that we may ensure that our Presidency may set a fine example of sound judgment and sobriety at this very critical time in the history of India.

H. E. LADY WILLINGDON

We cannot conclude this brief and perfunctory note without a word of special welcome to H. E. Lady Willingdon. The daughter of the well known Earl Brassey who was Governor of Victoria over twenty years ago she married Lord Willingdon, then Mr. Freeman Thomas, *aid-de-camp*, to her father. She has inherited her full share of the energy and public spirit of her father. Her work in connection with the alleviation of the distress caused by the war to the Soldiers and Sailors of the Empire has been amply appreciated by all who have known the success of the Red Cross and other philanthropic institutions she started and maintained with unequalled efficiency in Bombay. We have no doubt she will have opportunities of rendering social, educational and philanthropic work in this Presidency as well

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A LONDON LETTER

BY
“A FRIEND OF INDIA”

THE month just past has been full of anxieties and hopes. The hopes have been of peace; the anxieties have been that, in the effort to ensue it, we may revert to conditions of war. For the last fortnight we have been told that we are on the very edge of peace. Yet, as Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, mordantly remarked a few nights ago, it recedes from us like a willo' the wisp each time that we appear to approach it. The real obstacle in the way of peace is the condition of Russia. No-one quite knows what the situation is there. But sufficient is known to make us realise that we are face to face with a very grave peril—in its way, as grave as Kaiserism ever was. Indeed, Bolshevism has been wittily described as Kaiserism on its head with its feet in the air. Central Russia is in the grip of a terror as devilish as any that any country has known in the long course of history. I am not attempting to attack or defend the economic doctrines of Bolshevism (or Communism, or Spartacism), which may, indeed, be quite praiseworthy, acceptable, and practicable. But it would seem that the Bolshevik leaders, granting them every virtue of sincerity and earnestness—one can hardly speak of so limited a quality as “patriotism” in association with them—have definitely undertaken to promote the ambition of world-domination by an absolutely unscrupulous propaganda. Essentially, though their methods may differ in detail from those of Prussian militarism, they are pursuing an identical purpose. And just as the Allies felt compelled to take a strong stand against the evil thing that now lies gasping out its life, after having nearly destroyed European civilisation, so now it may have to take a similar stand against a menace that threatens civilisation in just the same way—the imposition upon all the world of a dominant idea by brute force.

The situation is, however, not quite so simple as it would seem from this statement; for it has many complications, without which the situation would be easily soluble, as the plain man would know exactly what was wanted and what to do. One of the complications is the fact that, associated with those elements engaged in Russia in fighting Bolshevism are the forces of reaction which rendered such ill service to the great Slav Empire during the Tsarist regime. Now the world's democracies are not only heartily tired of the war from which we have but just emerged,

and war in general, but for years they had been profoundly offended by the methods and aims of the Russian autocracy, and nothing will now induce them to consider the remotest possibility of helping forward a return to the hated regime. Accordingly, one of the most successful methods of Bolshevik propaganda has been to suggest that the forces arrayed against it, whether Russian or Allied, are really reactionary, and that Western European capitalism, in supporting the cause of the opponents of Bolshevism, are really working secretly for the return of the Tsardom, and its military forces are engaged in debt-collecting on a gigantic scale. Nothing is easier than to stampede the British, French and American democracies by such a cry as this, and the result is that the Governments are unable or unwilling to take any definite military steps against the Bolshevik power, which, it is believed, would crumble to pieces if they did, and whose strength lies not in its military enterprises, but in the poverty, listlessness, and anaemia of the surrounding peoples, and the ease with which this specious propaganda can be spread among them. The *Entente* Powers, therefore, are seeking to draw a “sanitary” cordon round Bolshevik Russia, by supplying the “Allied” Russians with munitions of war and technical services and feeding the adjacent territories. Whether, indeed, it will be possible to draw such a cordon round Bolshevism is more than doubtful, and one is not encouraged by the fact that already the cordon has been broken through by the defection of Hungary, which has “gone Bolshevik.” It ought to be noted that Bolshevism is much more a symptom than a disease in itself. It is as much a symptom as a malignant tumour, a rodent ulcer, or a cancerous growth. But the real fact is that the body is in such a condition of ill-health that the cells are incapable of normal growth, with the consequence that abnormality results. Large parts of Europe are to-day starving from malnutrition due to the economic blockade of the *Entente* Powers. There is no doubt that Germany and her Allies were slowly strangled to death in the grip of starvation. Add to this broken pride, hopelessness in the future, and a sullen revengefulness bred of defeat and the sight of the destruction of Imperialist habits and ambitions, and you have a proper breeding ground for economic unrest, utter irresponsibility, and despair, which are the immediate ancestors of Bolshevism and its crop of

attendant ills. Hungary has joined Bolshevik Russia not only because of this feeling of despair and hopelessness, but also because the brazen Imperialism of Lenin and Trotsky has appealed to the inherited Imperialism of Hungary—that near Eastern Prussia—which has balked at the prospect of the emancipation of the Czechoslovaks, the Yugo-Slavs, the Italians, and the Roumanians, whom it had kept under subjection for generations, though it was outnumbered by them by three to one. Whether the Bolshevik revolution in Hungary is a lasting one or only local and temporary remains to be seen. But it is symptomatic of much that may yet happen throughout Central Europe, until the Rhine is reached and the Danube crossed.

There are two main problems facing the *Entente* Powers in dealing with Germany. The first is how France is to be safeguarded from another sudden attack, such as that which nearly ruined her at the commencement of the war and from whose effects it will take her generations to recover. Some of France's fairest provinces are converted into desert land. Towns and villages have ceased to be. Her principal industries have been utterly destroyed—mines, factories, machinery, all gone. Her population has been decimated. She has been bled white. Should such another calamity befall her, she will never survive the shock and civilisation will know her no more. So France demands such guarantees as are independent even of the securities that may be offered by an as yet non-existent League of Nations. She insists that the control, management, and profits from the great Saar coalfield shall fall to her, to compensate her in part for the loss of productivity of her own coal-mines for years to come. She insists that, for all practical purposes, there shall be no exercise of German authority on the left bank of the Rhine for a generation. She insists that Germany shall not be permitted to erect any fortifications within thirty miles of the right bank of that river. She insists that the Rhine crossings, possession of which enabled Germany to use the Rhineland as a spring-board for the rape of Eastern France, shall be under the control of the *Entente*. Those who know most of France and her peril, her history, and her contribution to civilisation, believe that she is entitled to make good her demand.

The second of the two main problems is how to isolate Germany from Russia and prevent her drawing upon the vast Slav resources of men and materials. An attempt is being made to do so by encouraging the independent development of the

border states of Estonia, Courland, Livonia and Latvia, pending the reconstruction of a Federal Russian Republic, and the creation of a greater Poland, according to the terms of the Wilson programme. Here, again, however, the situation is one craving wary walking. The natural port of a re-united Poland is Danzig. But Danzig is, though geographically Polish, ethnically and socially Prussian, because by force and fraud Prussia established herself there a little over a century ago, with the approval of the British in order to spite the French. Indeed, West and East Prussia adjourn it on either side, and if the boundaries of Poland are drawn so as to run along the Vistula and include Danzig, it would result in cutting off a considerable part of Prussia which was formally a part of Poland, from Germany, and thus cause another territorial trouble of untold magnitude. How the Polish difficulty is to be settled is not yet certain. Meanwhile, there is just the possibility that if Germany's Imperial susceptibilities are hurt by too great an acquiescence in Poland's demands, she may end by throwing open her borders to the Bolshevik Armies, and the *Entente* Powers may be faced with the need to resume the war against their chief enemy, reinforced by the military forces of the very Power that was the first to withdraw from the fight through exhaustion.

A minor problem is how to reconcile the conflicting claims of Italy and Yugo-Slavia to the Dalmatian coast. Both countries demand it on historic grounds of one kind or another. Italy stands by the secret treaty with France and Britain. Yugo-Slavia refuses to recognise it as she was never a party to it. America will have nothing of secret treaties.

And next week the German delegates may be invited to inspect and admire the preliminary Peace Treaty. No one in Germany wants to sign it. No one wishes to take the historic responsibility. Whether it will be signed is, at least, doubtful. What will result in either case is still more so. To day's news from Paris is gloomier. The "Times," special representative complains bitterly that "the unprincipled capacity of financiers is playing far too large a part in various proposals" being ventilated there. But we here are already making preparations for peace celebrations. We are getting ready our bonfires, and are even promised a long list of peace honours, numbering from twenty to twenty-five thousand. It is a queer world we live in!

LONDON,
April 3, 1919.]

India and the British Congress Committee. 271

In the January number of the *Indian Review*, in noticing the proceedings of the Delhi Congress we had occasion to criticise the graceless manner in which the Congress chose to deal with the work of the British Committee in London. We ventured to call in question the soundness of the charges levelled against the Committee; and we condemned the action of the Congress as ill-advised and unworthy of a body of responsible men. Following this ungrateful resolution of the Congress a letter signed by five Indian gentlemen adversely criticising the work of the British Congress Committee appeared in the Indian Press. This action of Mr. Tilak, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar of the *Hindu* and their associates was condemned by the moderates as at once ungenerous and unjust to the self-sacrificing labours of a most honourable and distinguished body of Englishmen who have been giving of their best for the cause of India. Dr. G. B. Clark, acting Chairman of the British Congress Committee, has now addressed a letter to the General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress replying to the "inaccurate and misleading statements" of the five Indian gentlemen. "The Committee," says Dr. Clark,

"might have treated the letter with silence were it not for the fact that some of the signatories have influence in India, and the action taken at the last Congress regarding the financing of the Committee shows that it is necessary for the Committee to state the real position of affairs."

The letter continues:—

The British Committee has always been an independent body, mainly British in character and composition, working in association with Congress leaders whom it advised on the bearings of the British political situation upon Indian questions. Throughout its existence, it has fought the battles for reform of the Indian Administration, and for the extension of Indian self-government, against official hostility and public apathy. Its members have served without fee or reward of any kind. With them, working in harmony with the Congress leaders, it has been a matter of duty to endeavour to secure at the earliest possible opportunity the ideal of self-government held before Indian people in the Royal Proclamation on the assumption of the government of the country by the Crown. The policy of the Committee has always been to demand for India a measure of self-government similar to that granted to the dominions, which, while maintaining the supremacy of the Crown, will give a free hand to the Indian people in all solely Indian matters. The Committee will continue to press for

such a solution of the Indian problem, and will support all measures in that direction.

Most of the members of the Committee have been members of Parliament and all of them have had wide experience of public life and political agitation in England. To presume to give orders to this body of selfless and devoted workers who are in close touch with the currents of political thought in the heart of the Empire is, to put it mildly, somewhat presumptuous.

They know the political conditions and the methods of agitation best calculated to advance the cause of Indian reform better than the five Indian gentlemen, most of whom have spent only a few weeks or months in England.

And then the signatories are under a delusion that the British Congress Committee is entirely dependent on the Congress for its sustenance. As a matter of fact, the Congress has not been quite alive to the needs of the Committee and has not done all that it should or could have done to maintain this great organisation in London. Dr. Clark says frankly:

The signatories share a not uncommon, but erroneous, impression that the British Committee has been entirely supported by the direct contributions of the Congress. During the last six years (1913-18) the delegates' fees remitted amount to some £3,849, while the Committee's expenditure during that period was £6,378—the difference being met by contributions from Congressmen and other friends of Indian reform. In this connection it may be well to recall the words of Sir W. Wedderburn, quoted in the annual report dated November 28, 1901 as to the financial situation in the past. He then said: 'The real fact is that although the Congress votes and sanctions expenditure, it pays but a fraction of the amount it votes, and leaves the British Committee to perform costly and laborious duties with money found by themselves and their personal friends.' The work of the Committee has too often been crippled and retarded for want of money.

Regarding the journal *India* the maintenance of which is an important part of the propaganda work of the Committee, Dr. Clark says:

It became the property of a joint stock company in 1903 to save it from collapse owing to the failure of the Congress to supply the necessary funds. Like every other purely propagandist organ it does not pay its way. The deficit in 1918 was heavier than usual owing to the decline in the number of subscribers in India, and the greatly increased cost of production under war conditions. The Congress had pledged itself to the maintenance of the journal, which was especially desirable in view of the Reform proposals before Parliament, and the Committee

defrayed the loss sustained from its funds. The whole of the facts concerning cost, circulation, etc., were made known to Congress leaders by a letter from Sir W. Wedderburn, dated April 16, 1916, printed and circulated to every member of the All-India Congress Committee as well as in several letters to the general secretaries during 1918. The statement that 'the views of the India Office are reflected, if not actually voiced, by the British Committee and the newspaper *India*' only proves the imperfect knowledge of the five signatories of British politics and the views of the India Office.

Such a statement is thoroughly misleading; and as Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society who was one of the members of the Press Deputation but who was not consulted by any of the five signatories, points out in a communication to the press, is "absolutely without foundation." It is the height of ingratitude to charge its present Editor, Mr. Polak, a man distinguished alike by his integrity and devotion to our cause, with receiving inspiration from the India Office.

There can be nothing farther from the facts. Neither the Committee nor its organ has anything whatever to do with the India Office and I can characterize this attempt to blacken the fair name of the Committee and its organ by no milder term than 'Wicked'. The newspaper *India* is as independent in its attitude towards the Government as Mr. Tilak, or Mr. Iyengar or Mr. Ghose's own paper, as an unprejudiced perusal of its successive issues will show to any fair-minded reader of its columns. If I am right, its policy has always been to co-operate with the Government when possible and to oppose it when necessary, and I do not think the paper has, under its present editorship, departed even by a hair's breadth from that policy. Its present editor is at least as honourable and truly devoted, as any of the signatories, to the interest of India; he has made India's cause his own and has suffered for its sake.

Mr. Polak in a letter to the *Leader* of Allahabad exposes the misstatements contained in a communication published in the *Mahratta* of February 9, regarding an interview between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Polak in London. Now the interview itself was on Mr. Tilak's own request to remain a private one. But the London Correspondent of Mr. Tilak's organ has made a statement for which, says Mr. Polak, there was no justification:

It says that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress 'is not disposed to carry on any propaganda according to the special resolutions passed at Bombay and re-affirmed at Delhi. Mr. Polak interviewed Mr. Tilak on the subject. He is unwilling to do anything according to the Congress programme.'

What was the subject of the interview which Mr. Polak sought with Mr. Tilak? It was with

reference to certain hand-bills which Mr. Tilak caused to be circulated. Mr. Polak thought them frankly inexpedient. And then:—

In discussing the resolutions passed at the Bombay Congress, I told him that in many respects they did not seem to me to differ intrinsically from those passed at the Moderates' Conference; but that I considered that the demand for a time-limit was impractical and would be ineffective and that it was also opposed to what I understood to be constitutional practice in this country. I was, therefore, not disposed to advocate such a demand, which, I was sure, would be futile; but that regarding as I did the demand as an indication and symbol of the deep distrust and suspicion entertained by Indians towards the bureaucracy, I should, on all suitable occasions, as in fact I had already done, warn my countrymen against any impediments being placed in the way of the grant of complete responsible government to India, at the earliest date, and of the danger of attaching too much importance to the over-cautious counsels of reactionaries here and in India. There was a great deal of other discussion between us at this interview, but Mr. Tilak expressly asked me at the time to let our conversation remain a private one.

"So far as I am concerned," writes Mr. Polak in conclusion,

the statement contained in the letter to the *Mahratta* is inaccurate in most of its essentials. In the first place, the Delhi resolutions did much more than re-affirm those passed at Bombay. Secondly, at the date of the interview, their nature was not known here. Thirdly, I did not interview Mr. Tilak on the subject of these resolutions; but on quite a different matter, discussion on the resolutions arising only in the course of general conversation thereafter. Fourthly, I did not tell Mr. Tilak that I was unwilling to do anything according to the Congress programme. I very strongly protest against what I can only describe as a breach of confidence on Mr. Tilak's part and a quite unjustified distortion of my conversation with him and a misrepresentation of my position. I may add, in conclusion, that I have informed him that I hold myself released from any obligation of privacy in regard to this interview having regard to my treatment at his hands, and that I regret that in future it will be impossible for me to enter into any further relations of a confidential character with him or his friends.

The British Committee, feeling that their propaganda work would be handicapped without an effective journal, have urged leaders in India to take steps to make the journal self-supporting and efficient. They advise the Congress to send to London a fully qualified Indian journalist to undertake the duties of an Editor. "The Committee will be glad," writes Dr. Clark in conclusion, "the committee will be glad to meet the deputation appointed by the Congress and co-operate with it in order to make the new Indian Reforms Bill a measure of real Self-Government."

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

Japan's Place in the League of Nations

Mr. K. Hayashi, M. P., Professor of Diplomacy in the Keio Gijuku University, has contributed a very illuminating and thoughtful article on "Japan and the League of Nations" in the February number of *The Japan Magazine*. Though the idea of the League of Nations has first been regarded as a form of extreme idealism in politics, it has by this time gained such a strong ground as to demand serious consideration in the political world of to-day. In future, all attempts of Nations to stand aloof from the international family for purposes of selfish greed or aggression must be prevented at all costs, and it is quite obvious that Japan must be a party to it or stand apart to her peril. After looking at certain features likely to result from the enforcement of the policy of a League of Nations, Prof. Hayashi remarks that those Nations that have won their places in the world, gaining great advantages, will be guaranteed the *status quo* and be allowed to enjoy the superior advantages gained in the past, while the less fortunate Nations will be also kept in the *status quo* and remain unable to improve their opportunities for territorial expansion and National Progress. Such a policy will undoubtedly militate against the interests of Japan: and she "will be enable to expand without violation to the terms of the League of Nations. Therefore, Japan will agree to this principle, provided that Nations be assured of opportunity for natural development, subject to no artificial or fatal restrictions. Prof. Hayashi observes :

If the League of Nations ought to preclude the enactment of laws or regulations prejudicial to foreigners wishing to enter another country or live therein domestic laws must then be drawn up with a view to the convenience rather than the inconvenience of strangers. All must be based on the principles of humanity rather than on self-interest. Laws at least must be just and impartial. This justice or impartiality does not now exist between Nations. Are the

prospective members of the League of Nations ready to adopt such principles and honestly put them into practice?

No difficulty can arise about maintaining this absence of discrimination among white men. It is when we come to relations between these races and other races that the danger arises. There is no doubt that Japan has been discriminated against racially by Western Nations, and she is still suffering this injustice and indignity.

In America and the British Colonies the common people of Japan are excluded by law. Those few that are permitted to live in these countries have to submit to vexing restrictions in regard to land, and therefore are deprived of full liberty in regard to natural development and prosperity. This is quite contrary to the idea of the League of Nations as well as against the dictates of justice and humanity. The situation then is that the Japanese are not placed in a position of equality with Western races in any part of the Western world. With her very limited territory and rapidly increasing population this interference with natural freedom is very difficult to tolerate. Now when a nation is thus placed in a position where she has to make overseas expansion or suffer congestion and decline what is she to do?

Prof. Hayashi thinks that, unless the League of Nations guarantees to every race full freedom for the natural development of its talents and opportunities, it becomes only a pretext for the retention of certain monopoly, if there be any monopoly that can be fair.

The League of Nations, to ensure itself of permanence, must be more than a name. It must embody humane principles and practise them. No doubt the last thing that President Wilson would think of allowing would be injustice, unfair discrimination or any form of unrighteousness. But whether he allows it or not, the League he proposes might easily be managed to retain the present injustices to oriental races, unless the guarantees to the contrary are explicit. At all events Japan feels seriously bound to call the attention of the Allies to the above point as of vital importance to her. It is a principle for which Japan must stand up at all hazards.

The proposed League of Nations, in order to secure peace, must, therefore, see that Right is respected; and the rights of the small Nations equally with those of the larger Nation. If the League should ignore the rights of races it would be worse than no League, for it would be less easy to defeat. Japan's right to racial equality is still ignored. Will the League continue this injustice?

Bolshevik Aims and Ideals

The general prevailing ignorance of the true aims and character of the Bolshevik movement is not strange. Some papers with capitalistic bias and commercial interest have conducted an anti-Bolshevik campaign and have unfortunately misused the application of the term Bolshevik. They have grossly exaggerated the German character of the Bolshevik movement. While the Labour and Radical Press has been equally guilty in its attempts to whitewash the Bolsheviks as the champions of Democracy and open diplomacy. A historical analysis of the Bolshevik movement is given in the current number of the *Round Table* from which we learn that the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1898 was followed in 1903 by its demands for the creation of a Democratic Republic and the summoning of a Constituent Assembly made at a Congress. At this Congress was revealed a deep and radical difference of opinion on questions of party organisation between Lenin who advocated a thorough centralisation of power in the hands of the Executive Committee and a vigorous suppression of all independent activities, and Martoff who championed a democratic organisation and a further development of independence on the part of local organisations. Martoff was prepared to concede to the Liberal bourgeoisie at any rate a temporary justification of their existence, but Lenin was against any concession at all to the bourgeoisie. These differences of opinion led to the creation of two parties—*Bolshinstvo* and *Menshinstvo* the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Since 1905 the Bolsheviks have travelled far in their revolutionary journey to the extreme left. The Bolshevik regards that democracy is only a capitalist shibboleth and is a bar to all progress and his policy is the immediate establishment of communism by violent methods. The Menshevik

shrinks before civil war, but the Bolshevik stands for the merciless destruction of the bourgeoisie by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the international Bolshevik revolution.

In its inception Bolshevism was a purely intellectual movement and is even now controlled by men of the upper and lower middle-classes who have never worked with their hands. The rank and file of the Russian proletariat is genuinely Bolshevik in its sympathies; this is especially true of the semi-educated Russian workmen. The mystical Socialist who has no very firm party convictions and the degenerate criminal are also a large element in the Bolshevik group.

Lenin has regarded the national sentiment that warfare is merely an instrument to be exploited in the interests of the great class-war which has been always his ultimate aim. He felt that he had everything to gain by a war between Germany and the Allies and that Russia's peace with Germany was essential to the success of his experiment in Russia. The Bolshevik leaders recognise the essential difference between their *fundamental* policy and their *opportunist* policy. Though they have been forced into frequent inconsistencies, they have always preached civil war and no compromise with capitalism. Lenin's one consistent aim has always been the establishment of communism throughout Europe by means of the international Bolshevik revolution. According to him a communistic Russia cannot exist alongside of a capitalistic Europe. In Bolshevism itself there is little that is new. The evangel of the present revolution is still the one which was written by Marx and Engels; and the Bolsheviks are the only true exponents of Marxism. The machine which Lenin has created for the establishment of his communist state is based on the famous *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* which will mercilessly strangle the bourgeoisie and the land-owners,

The Bolsheviks are opposed by all the intellectual classes, by all the other Socialist parties including Anarchists and by a considerable body of the peasantry. The Bolshevik army is a conscript army composed partly of foreign troops, Letts, Hungarians and Chinese and partly of nondescripts of all classes. The Press Censorship is applied with a severity which far outrivals the worst repressions of the old regime. Their rule over the country districts is still uncertain. Their foreign propaganda is addressed to those elements in other countries whom they hope to convert to an imitation of their example. Their home propaganda is directed against capitalism, Parliamentary Government, constitutionalism, etc.

Some Characteristics of Gurukula Life

In a clear and highly instructive article on "Incidents from Gurukula life," Mr. Champuti Rao, M. A., Bhawalpur State (Punjab) draws a very vivid picture of a few but very useful incidents of which he was eye-witness during his stay at the Multan Gurukula, in the January number of the *Educational Review*. He begins by saying that the Gurukulatics regard character as the highest asset in life, and says:

The development of body and the refinement of intellect occupy, each, its proper place in the daily routine but to the moral side of human nature is attached by far the supremest importance. The invincible physique of a Bhima and the unmatched ingenuity of a Krishna form apply the Gurukula ideal. The danger of it is that these, unless controlled by a wholesome spiritual bias, may rather be instruments of evil than powers of good. By lessons and talks, by harangues and example, by a judicious regulation of the boy's routine, and by a constant watch kept over their conduct, an attempt is continually made to cast the students into an ideal ethical mould. In the Gurukula premises one feels one's self under the influence of an edifying atmosphere, silently working into the life of its inmates.

After giving some interesting details of the life led by students in those Educational Ashramas, which he had the fortune to see personally, Mr. Champuti Rai concludes with the hope that the Universities of India would join hands to produce such citizens for the *Bharat-Mata* and the salvation of the mother would not be far off.

The Future of Indian Women

In a recent number of *Overseas*, Shrimati Mrinalini Sen writes a very informing article on "Women of India: Their Part in Future," in which she pays a glowing tribute to the women who belonged to the golden age of India's history. First, she points out that no amount of Purdah and shallow education can blunt the intellect and kill the spirit of women altogether. Purdah does not really prevent women from getting education, though it is a barrier to true progress. She hopes that many have discarded it and that we shall be able to abolish it altogether. Ladies as landowners have also been remarkable for their ability and management and Maharani Swarnamogee of Bengal is a living example of the above. While condemning early marriage, Shrimati Mrinalini Sen confesses that that has also a bright side and that such marriages are not devoid of love and romance. As regards the part that Indian women played by the side of their husbands and brothers in the War, and their future, she writes:

The modern educated women of India are heart and soul with their educated brothers for a progressive India. Love of their country is gaining ascendance over every other love and interest in their hearts. We had Rajput mothers in mediæval India as brave as Spartan mothers.

Our women in India have borne as bravely and patiently their irreparable losses as Western women have done. Our women have sent their dearest and best beloved across thousands of miles of water to an unknown land. Their hearts have been torn with many misgivings and the torture of separation, but they have not once murmured it aloud. The tragedy of the War is not only being acted on the battlefronts, but in millions of hearts as well all over the world.

We women of India are often criticised, misrepresented and pitied in this country, which we naturally resent. We should have had no fear of meeting opposition at our men's hands to a demand for suffrage if they were in power. We want more facilities for education and enlightenment, which the Government alone can accord. We want to see the number of educated women, a mere handful now, daily increasing. This handful is working hand-in-hand with the leading men for their country, and is becoming a power in the land. It would be a glorious day for India if all the men and women, or at least the majority of them, were able to take parts in their country's affairs, which is a dream, I hope, not far off from being realised.

Economic Thought in India.

The following is a summary of the first part of an article by Mr. Shah to *The Journal of the Indian Economic Society* on a historical and critical view of the Indian point of view in Economics. We have scarcely any settled opinions among us which may be properly termed doctrines; and the few opinions that we have are in the melting pot and we are not sure whether they will come out of it in their original form. And it is not also possible to determine a particular point of time when the Indian point of view in Economics rose. Dadhabai Naoroji was the first to handle economic subjects side by side with politics and tried to present to Government what he thought to be the Indian point of view in those subjects. He strenuously strove to prove the abject poverty of India and to show that it was the result of the politico-economic drain from the country. Digby tried to prove beyond doubt that India had retrograded in material prosperity under British rule. R. C. Dutt was a believer in the 'drain' and asserted that there was extreme poverty in the land which was visible in the increasing number and intensity of famines and that it was due to the over assessment of the land-revenue by the Government and the uncertainty engendered through tenures, other than the Permanent Settlement. These three may be grouped together since they show a tendency to pitch upon one single thing as the cause of most evils and since they represent very well the old school of thought whose existence extended over forty years down to the beginning of the present century. Their criticism was negative and to a certain extent irresponsible; partly due to the entire impotence of Indian opinion then. For the removal of the drain evil, remedies were proposed, but hardly any of them was feasible; another defect was that the evil was sometimes exaggerated. About Indian poverty, various estimates were made on each side, and the two remedies proposed by the old Economists were

reduction in the land-assessment and stoppage of the drain. The former, if carried out, will be very insufficient; and the latter is impracticable. The demonstration of Indian poverty by instituting comparisons with England etc. is really absurd, and it will prove more the industrial and agricultural development of the latter than the material retrogression of the former.

Ranade who came next discarded the old time of thought and emphasised the fact that our plans ought always to be constructive. He strongly insisted upon the necessity of a Political Economy which took notice of Indian conditions instead of the conditions of the West. And above all he declared that foreign competition has killed our trade and industry—not because it is foreign, but because it is the competition of Nature's powers against Man's labour and of organised skill and science against ignorance and idleness. He considered that Government help is subordinate to many other factors which must bring about the economic regeneration of India. Lastly he ought to be remembered best in connection with his making out a strong case for the Indian point of view of Economics—a study based on the lines of the German economist List and the American statesman Hamilton,

The Policing of Asia

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate writes in the March number of *The Nineteenth Century* against the talk that is going on in many places of the United States being given the care and control of the Middle East. The American Republic has no axe to grind in Western Asia and has moreover for over a century been wielding great influence over Turkey in Asia and Western Persia by means of its missions. An idea has been inspired by the Knights of *The Round Table*, the political pilots of *the Observer*, by Sir Valentine Chirol, Lord Denbigh and Lord Bryce to this effect. These British advocates of the United States' control of Constantinople, and Turkey in

Asia proclaim 'disinterestedness' to be the base upon which they found their advocacy. But disinterestedness is a mere negative attribute and is in no sense entitled to outweigh the almost immemorial interest of Great Britain, France and other European Powers.

It is Britain that freed the Hedjaz, and Yaman and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from Turkish rule. It is she that has taken over from German management the Baghdad Railway. It is she that has to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea on the West with the Persian Gulf on the East whether *via* Alexandrotta, Aleppo and Baghdad or across the Arabian plateau. It is an Arabia under British control that the Emir Feisul invites. British activities in the commercial, industrial, educational and agricultural centres of the Middle East are attested by ample evidence, which comes from Palestine and Mesopotamia, from Baghdad, Basra, Jerusalem and Aleppo. Britain has advanced Egypt from bankruptcy to more than solvent prosperity in the course of the last 30 years. Moreover she is concerned as the mistress of India with the buffer States which lie between Europe and India. In the late War, the Indian army has carried the banner of Britain not only to Mosul, Jerusalem and the Taurus Range, but also to the Caucasus and the Caspian and along the Trans-Caspian Railway; and Indian troops now keep the peace on the Oxus. Afghanistan and Persia are vital to the Indian Empire; and throughout the late War the aegis of British protection has extended itself over a vast territory stretching from the Helmand and the Tigris to the Oxus and the Araxes; and when Russia failed, Britain stepped into the breach. It is therefore Britain and not America that has the greatest interest in the Middle East; and that which Britain has shielded, she has won the right to administer. Europe will police Asia, or at all events the Near and Middle East and Europe in this connection means primarily Britain.

The Care of the Poor

Mrs. Annie Besant, writing in the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for February 1919, deplores the nests of misery, horror and degradation found in the slums of great Western Cities like London, Edinburgh, Sheffield, etc.; and plaintively describes how the miserables in these slums drag out lives that are a hell compared to the free life of the savage.

With increasing municipal life during the latter part of the 19th century, many efforts have been made to improve large cities. Changes have been effected which have rendered possible more decency of living for manual workers, like political power followed by free and compulsory education, trade unionism compelling better wages, building societies, enabling thrifty workmen to build and ever their own houses, garden cities for workmen outside the factory districts etc. Child welfare has also become a matter of admirable endeavour in some towns. Children are now seen as assets of the nation, and if parents are helpless or incompetent or indifferent the children must be saved, for they are the nation's future citizens and wealth. The housing problem is to be taken up in right earnest.

India should learn from English experience to avoid some of the miseries which grow out of a policy of drift, *Laissez Faire*; and Indian municipalities must take up in hand the work. The task must be immediately faced, for delay will worsen the evils and

Slums have already appeared here, following on the introduction of power-machinery, as they followed elsewhere. But they are not yet unmanageable. Visit the hovels in which dwell the workers of the Perambur and Choolai Districts. Or the hovels of the outcastes in the Paracheries of Madras. Are they fit for human beings? Examine the children of the Poor Schools of Madras. In the Olcott Panchama Free Schools, on a Medical Examination, 78 per cent. of the pupils were found to be ill-nourished, with all that implies. Consider the excessive infantile mortality, which brings down the average life period of the Indian to 23.5, while in England it is 40, and in New Zealand 60 years. Look at the milk supply, the dirt in which the cows are kept, the hands which milk, and the vessels into which the milk is drawn. These are remediable ills, and remediable ills are social crimes,

Jain Antiquities of South India

An article of great archaeological interest appears in the latest number of the *Calcutta Review*, from the pen of Mr. M. M. Peris. It deals mainly with the remains of Jain Power in South India and of the colossal monolithic figures which baffle the modern sculptor. The writer, Mr. M. M. Peris, gives, as a sort of introduction, a few details of the race to which the quaint edifices owe their existence, and of the type of Jainism that is struggling to live in South Canara. "The Jains of South Canara are for social purposes sub-divided into two main sections, viz., the *Indras* or Priests who follow the ordinary rule of inheritance, and the *Srawak*, or laity who follow the national or *Alia-santana System*." Jains and Bunts form the landed classes of the Districts and observe the same social customs. Then the writer quotes authorities to prove that Buddhism never invaded South India and that Jainism was rampant only in South Canara. The evidences are:

The repeated struggles for independence which constitute the later history of the Hindu Ballal Kings of Mysore and their Jain neighbours, the Bairasu Wodears of Karkal, ended in the assumption of supreme power by the latter. An influx of Jain stone workers of Mysore followed the change, and Canara was flooded with Jain architects. The whole Province was speedily dotted with temples, images and pillars, of which those constructed at Barkur were destroyed by the Lingayat Chiefs of Mysore about the year 1608. The style of architecture followed by the Mysorean builders in their new field of activities was copied from the existing models which were a curious combination of Jain and Hindu ideas. At one time the friendliest of relations subsisted between the followers of the two creeds. The ruins of Barkur extend for a couple of square miles, and reveal from time to time interesting specimens of the carver's work. They are also supposed to conceal fabulous treasure, an occasional tangible proof of which is unearthed by the natives of the place. The Jain authority in South Canara was represented by the Choutar of Mudbidri, Buangar of Nandavar, Ajalalar of Aldangadi, Mular of Bailangadi and Savanta of Mulki when it was finally overthrown by Tippu. Families may still be met with who claim direct descent from one or the other Royal House named above and who are permitted to enjoy the possession of a portion of the lands which compose their original domains.

After dealing with the various evidences that prove conclusively that South Canara was the

stronghold of Jainism in South India, Mr. M. M. Peris gives the following brief description of the seats of Jain antiquities in Canara:

The seats of Jain antiquities in Canara are four, viz., Karkal, Venoor, Mudbidri and Guruvankere, of which the first-named two possess huge detached statues in addition to temples. The largest statue in the world is, by the way, to be found at Sravana-Belgola in the Hassan District of Mysore. These detached statues are locally known as *Bettus* from the fact of their being enclosed by a crenelated stone wall. *Basties* of temples, and *stambhas*, or pillars, form the other two classes of Jain architectural remains. All the three figures represent Gumpata Raja, the first of the Thirthankaras, in gigantic proportions. Of the Canara images the one at Karkal is the larger, being 41 feet 5 inches and was, as recorded in the inscription at its foot, completed in 1432 A.D. Compared to its rival in size at Belgola, it is very modern. The Belgola statue is 57 feet high and set up by the Minister Chamunda Raja between the years 977 and 984 A.D.

The Egyptian Ptah-Hetep

J. L. Davidge writes in the current number of *The Theosophist* about Ptah-Hetep, one of the Sage law-givers of antiquity who is looming through the mists with Hammurabi and Job. Nearly 6,000 years have passed since Ptah-Hetep wrote his classic collection of ethical and philosophical precepts. He was born in the 40th century B.C., in the reign of Unas, the last Pharaoh of the great Fifth Dynasty. His book though scarcely the oldest book in the world yet enshrines the most ancient wisdom of the Egyptians; and as we read him, we seem to hear his moral maxims echo down the centuries in Khensu-Hetep (civ 1,500 B.C.) and in the *Proverbs* of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus. To Egyptian influence in no small degree, is due the infusion of the Hebrew Scriptures with the virtues of right and wise living, fulfilling the promise of the Almighty recorded in *Genesis* XL, XV. 3. "Fear not to go down to Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation." Egypt gave to the Israelites the secrets of her applied sciences, arts and crafts as well as the mysteries of religion, and many of the traditions and beliefs in the Old Testament are directly traceable to Egyptian origins. Memphis was renowned in the days of Ptah-Hetep as the seat of Government with a

magnificent court and a centre of learning ; and it is in this spacious and stimulating environment that Ptah-Hetep wrote his book which must have obviously assisted in the building up of the social idealism of his nation.

Pride, anger, ambition, arrogance, falsehood, meanness, idleness, disobedience—these are the vices denounced by Ptah-Hetep. In his *Precepts*, as in the Negative Confession of *The Book of the Dead*, high place is given to the moral virtues of truth, honesty, kindness, gentleness, benevolence, industry and contentment. Duty to the family was in his economy the best school of patriotism, the domestic hearth being the foundation-stone of the social structure. His counsels to young men as to false love, to married men and women on conjugal felicity, on the secrets of success in work and on home education, reach a summation in his instruction to fathers how to train up their children. The highest of all duties is the right education of children, a duty which the Sage of Memphis regards as of far greater importance than the mere acquiring of wealth, useful as wealth undoubtedly is. The duty of a son to his father is couched in almost the same language as the Fourth Commandment.

To every branch of the Civil Service—judges, tax gatherers, public storekeepers—Ptah-Hetep addresses timely advice, urging application and honesty in business, self-mastery, good manners, and all the domestic and social virtues dictated by prudence, efficiency and well-being. His gracious urbanity permeates, like a fragrance, the wit and wisdom which he applies with unerring strokes to the commonplace things of everyday life. For centuries such sayings were written by Egyptian schoolboys in papyrus "copy books."

Women in Society

Mr. A. R. Shaikh, writing in the February number of *D. J. Sind College Miscellany*, dwells on the importance of women as a factor in social progress and national regeneration. That woman exercises a great influence over the lives of many men must be obvious, though her power was hidden from public eye. The glorious pageant of Greek and Roman History wherein the noble dignity, curtained chastity and chivalrous deeds of many a Spartan mother and Roman matron are immortalised in golden letters, is still preserved to us as an inspiring example of ancient cultured womanhood. The woman as a mother, sister or a wife is largely responsible for the creation of the atmosphere which surrounds the home. 'A nation is but the outcome of its homes.' The past history of woman's subjection to man shows how

man acquired mastery over woman when physical power was an indispensable possession ; woman had to rear up her offering, while man provided maintenance for them. But fortunately this era of servitude passed away and Time, the ever-watchful instrument, ushered in such changes that eventually raised the status of woman. It was in the nineteenth century that poets like Tennyson and Ruskin sang about equal opportunities for womanhood. Coming to recent events, the Great War has considerably affected the position of women. The work done by them in the various Departments of the State, i.e., in industries, as nurses, clerks, is a standing testimony to the woman's glorious work in the War. Our ideas of woman's true place and power have thus undergone an important modification. In future, she will no longer be the solitary student of the culinary art, depending and dependant, but a puissant soldier defending her rights and privileges with becoming modesty. Education of woman alone is but the preparation for such a vast future, and it is very essential to her. Mr. Shaikh prettily concludes :

"The hour for her emancipation has now arrived. In the near horizon shines with a dim yet radiant lustre the bright future of womanhood. The time is not far off when woman will work in sweet concord with man—the constant partaker of his joys and sorrows on earth, his fellow student in the great school of nature, the sympathiser of his hope and yearnings, and his light and guidance in moments of doubt and difficulty."

Federation of Ceylon

The Young Lanka for February, in a very interesting editorial note, puts forth a strong plea for Federation of Ceylon with India and observes :

There is no more healthy sign perhaps in the present political situation in Ceylon than the growing desire on the part of most thoughtful men who are abreast of current political developments for some sort of federation with India. It has of recent years become increasingly apparent to all careful students of politics that our political salvation is indissolubly bound up with that of our great and powerful neighbour of the north. The tide of opinion has been so strong that even some of our most Conservative leaders have been drawn perhaps much against their will into general acquiescence in the proposition.

A Convertible Rupee

Under a gold exchange system, token coins such as the rupee are convertible into gold at a more or less constant rate for purposes of foreign payments but are inconvertible for purposes of internal currency. The rupee is thus partially convertible. An article in the *East and West* for March discusses the question whether it is desirable to encourage the use of gold as currency and whether if Rupees were made fully convertible, gold in circulation as currency would increase.

The Fowler Commission recommended that sovereign should be made legal tender and an attempt was made legal in 1900 to introduce gold into circulation. The Comptroller of Currency, in his report for 1899-1900 said that the receipts of sovereigns continued large and considerably in excess of the issues and that therefore gold had apparently not yet begun to circulate freely as money. But the mere fact that gold was coming into the treasuries showed that the people were using gold as money should be used. In 1910-11 the Comptroller modified his view and declared that the apprehension that the sovereign would not be popular was not well-founded, but pointed out that the acceptance of the sovereign was not general. The Currency Report for 1911-12 showed that a considerable portion of the gold absorbed in the Punjab was actually in circulation as currency and that gold was at a premium. Enquiries made in Bombay showed that gold was not being hoarded or melted to the same extent as before and that the gold circulation was steadily increasing; and enquiries made in U. P., Madras and Burma showed similar results. It is therefore impossible not to conclude that there was a genuine demand for gold as currency before the War. But the Chamberlain Commission reached a different conclusion, viz., that the people neither

desire nor need any considerable amount of gold for circulation as currency.

The chief objection to a gold currency for India seems to be that the circulation of gold on a large scale in the country would weaken the reserves now maintained for the support of exchange; and the weakening of the reserves means a weakening of the position of Government at a time of exchange difficulties. But mere stability in exchange is not everything and we must be careful whether we are not paying too heavy a price for a stable exchange. If the token currency should become inflated, though the exchange value of the rupee in terms of gold should remain stable, we will be put to great difficulties. Again, in the end the depreciation of the rupee in terms of commodities would also affect its exchange value in terms of gold. The form of currency for a people is very largely a question of sentiment and depends also upon the general scale of wages and incomes. Even from the point of view of the stability of exchange, the gold exchange system is not an ideal one. When the metallic value of the rupee should rise above its currency value, the gold exchange system will come to an end.

The War has necessitated a revision of the Report of the Chamberlain Commission. India's demand for a gold currency is genuine and this may be done either by the issue of notes payable in gold or by making the rupee convertible into gold for purposes of internal circulation.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICAL

SMALL HOLDINGS IN INDIA. By D. A. Shah. [“Journal of the Indian Economic Society,” December 1918.]
CO-OPERATION AND FAMINE IN BOMBAY. By R. W. Ewbank, I.C.S. [“The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly,” March 1919.]

THE FRANCHISE AND FUNCTIONS COMMITTEES. [“The Round Table,” March 1919.]

THE PHENOMENAL POVERTY OF INDIA. By Dr. Arthur R. S. Roy, P.H.D. [“The Hindustan Review,” February 1919.]

THE AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN. [“The Theosophist,” April 1919.]

PROFESSIONAL BEGGARY IN CALCUTTA. By Rat Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S. [“The Modern Review,” April 1919.]

Egyptian Demand for Home Rule

Earl Curzon, made the following statement in the House of Lords :—

In November last a deputation of Egyptian Nationalists called at the British Residency to advocate a programme of complete autonomy in Egypt, which would leave Great Britain only the right to supervision in regard to the public debt and facilities for shipping in the Suez Canal.

They demanded that they should be allowed to proceed to London at once in order to put forward their demands.

Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister (of Egypt) suggested that he and the Minister for Education should visit London in the immediate future in order to discuss Egyptian affairs. He further urged that the Nationalist leaders should also be allowed a hearing in London.

The Government, in reply, said that while sympathising with the idea of giving Egypt an ever-increasing share in the government of the country, they could not abandon their responsibility for order and good government in Egypt. No useful purpose would be served by allowing the Nationalist leaders to come to London and advance immoderate demands which could not possibly be entertained.

As regarded the two Ministers, the Government said their visit would be very welcome, but it would be better that it should not be timed to coincide with the first weeks of the Peace Conference, when Mr. Balfour would be absent in Paris and fully engaged. The two Ministers then tendered their resignation.

At the beginning of January the British High Commissioner, Sir R. Wingate, was summoned to London to report on the situation, and an invitation was addressed to the two Ministers to come here in the middle of February, but they replied declining unless the Nationalist leaders were also allowed to come to London. The Government were unable to accede to this condition.

Steps were then taken for the formation of a new Ministry, but the Nationalists, on hearing of the refusal of their demands, endeavoured to prevent a Ministry being formed. The Sultan had to appeal to the Acting High Commissioner for protection against insult and intimidation, and authority was given for the arrest and deportation of four Nationalist leaders who had played the most conspicuous part in the recent agitation. There had since been some demonstrations and riots in Cairo and in one or two provincial centres, chiefly organised by students, who had enlisted the help of the town rabble. Collisions had occurred with the British troops, and there had been some casualties while a few rioters had been shot. There was every reason to believe from the latest information that the situation was well in hand.

India and the Peace Conference

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes in the *Pall Mall Gazette* :—

India is keenly interested in the settlement of the vast region stretching from her North-Western frontier to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, known as the Middle East, because the gap through the Hindu Kush mountains has proved, since the days of the Aryan conquest, her most vulnerable point. Educated Indians are much too freedom-loving to demand any portion of this area, simply because Indian effort, almost by itself, has conquered it. But for the sake of Indian security they must insist upon such a settlement of the region that no unscrupulous Power can once again menace India's security, and that this area may not become a storm-centre such as the Balkan Peninsula was. Nor can any Indian consider any settlement satisfactory that does in any way embitter the Moslems, whose shrines are strewn all over this region, and of whom there are more than 70,000,000 in India alone.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Lord Sinha on the Katarpur Riots

In the House of Lords on March 4th, in reply to Lord Sydenham's question regarding the Katarpur riots and their alleged connection with the demand for Constitutional Reforms in India Lord Sinha said :—

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots ; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasions of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Gov-

ernment, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur ; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any control to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and with the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years, long before any constitutional reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions, known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefits but for mere material benefits ; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the officials with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the officials of the Government, the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences,

The Osmania University

The charter of the Osmania University which is now published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* says among other things :—

" We are pleased to order (1) that a University called the Osmania University be established at Hyderabad on the first day of Moharrum 1337 Hijri. (2) the object of the Osmania University is to impart higher education, and further research in and promote the study of religions, morals, literature, philosophy, science, history, medicine, law, agriculture, commerce and other branches of useful knowledge and useful arts and industries. (3) the chief characteristic of the Osmania University will be that instruction will be imparted in all branches of learning through the medium of the Urdu language while a study of the English language and literature will be compulsory. (4) The University shall have power—(a) to provide for instruction in all such branches of learning as the University may decide and also for research, and for the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, (b) to grant to and confer degrees and other academic distinctions on persons who shall have pursued a prescribed course of study in, and passed the examinations held by the University."

Health in the Kolar Fields

In their order on the Administration Report of the Kolar Gold Fields Sanitary Board, the Mysore Government says :—

The public health during the year was generally good and the Sanitary Board area enjoyed comparative immunity from epidemics. There was a decrease in the number of deaths by 528. It is noted that the number of vaccination done during the year showed a marked increase over that of the previous year, being 12,180 against 6,825 in 1916-17. This is satisfactory. The management of the affairs of the Board continues to be satisfactory.

University of Mysore

The Senate of the University of Mysore last year made proposals to make University education in arts course free. On this the Government of Mysore states the scheme of scholarships and studentships in the University at present is sufficiently liberal to enable the poor and deserving students to get benefit of University education. The Government however with a view to encourage higher technical and scientific training has increased the percentage of free studentships in the College of Engineering for the period of three years and that for the same period B.S.E. students in chemistry and physics may also be treated as free students.

Town Planning in Indore

" It may be boldly affirmed," writes Professor Patrick Geddes in his Report to the Durbar of Indore, " that Indore may be made—and this with moderate outlays well within the resources of the City, the State and the community, and even trifling when their results come to be estimated—(1) one of the healthiest cities of India, and this within the next two or three years; (2) that it can be made exceptionally healthy and prosperous, convenient and beautiful, and within five or six years; and (3) a renewed and leading City within half a generation. And this in much that makes a City illustrious—as for single instance, a distinguishing centre of education, science and learning, and so of the practical productivities and the ennobling idealisms which appear with each renewal of these."

The Maharaja of Nepal

The marriage of His Highness the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal was celebrated the other day with suitable pomp and splendour. Following the ancient custom of the house His Highness was married to two Maharaniis both being daughters of an ancient pure Rajput family of India.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Grievances in South Africa

The Union House of Assembly adopted the motion appointing a select committee to enquire into the grievances of British Indians in Transvaal with an amendment by Minister Sir Thomas Watt including an enquiry into the alleged evasion of the 1885 law which prohibited Asiatics holding property through Indians becoming property owners by forming themselves into limited liability concerns. The mover of the resolution asserted that the Transvaal Municipalities discriminated against Indians in the issue of licences. One Municipality recently ordered an Indian to close up his shop under the Gold Law, and it is feared that similar action will be adopted towards Indians within the proclaimed area.

In connection with the appointment of this Select Committee in South Africa to consider the grievances of Indians carrying on business in the Transvaal, the *Times* Capetown correspondent says : The Indians specially protest against the restrictions imposed on their trading rights under the Gold Law of 1908. These restrictions have never been applied by the Government since the settlement was arranged between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi but the Indians assert that municipalities and individuals take advantage of the terms of the Gold Law whenever they want to benefit themselves.

Immigration in British Columbia

The *Times* learns from Vancouver that owing to unemployment, immigration questions are being keenly discussed, especially the immigration of Orientals, and there is some criticism of the recent Order in Council. The *Vancouver Daily Sun* says that the order will strike a note of uneasiness in the Province, if it does not lead to agitation on the whole question of Oriental immigration. It must be distinctly understood, so far as British Columbia is concerned, that this order is not opening a door for any wholesale immigration.

Indians and East Africa

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes in the latest issue of *The Home Ruler* of Karachi :—

India has no need of colonies to-day, nor does she really stand in need of outlet for surplus population. Finally, East Africa should be developed, mainly in the interests of the African people. On the whole, it would seem, balancing all the arguments pro and con, that it would be better for German East Africa to be administered by Great Britain as the agent of the League of Nations, or else that the two territories should be jointly administered by Great Britain on the basis of equal opportunities for Africans, Indians and Europeans, with no racial discrimination of any kind whatever, no differentiation in favour of one class or another, and with adequate Indian representation in an enlarged and more democratic Legislative Council. In such a case, Indian enterprise would have the fullest opportunities, Indian emigration would enjoy a natural and not an artificial stimulus and would not be at the expense of indigenous population. The status of Indians would be enhanced and their position rendered stable.

Indians in America

The Punjab Government have received a copy of the address presented, on the conclusion of hostilities, to His Majesty's Minister at Panama, Central America, by the Indians resident there.

The address reads :—

We the undersigned humble subjects of their Majesties the King and Queen, on this glorious day marked by the "Victory and Triumph" of their armies, together with their Allies, join with all our heart in sending our congratulations and felicitations to Their Majesties the King and Queen, their never erring diplomats and their never failing armies and navy who joined and fought in this world's "Greatest of Wars" for the liberty and freedom of mankind, and who thus have brought peace and joy to us all,

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

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Mr. Gandhi and the Tramwaymen

A large number of Tramwaymen met Mr. Gandhi on the morning of March 2 at his residence while in Madras. Mr. Gandhi addressed them as follows :—

I have heard something about your strike. I know on the surface what your demands are. But I have not gone deeply into the whole matter. Nor do I know the Company's side of the question. I, therefore, cannot say as to whether your demands are absolutely just or not. But assuming that your demands are just I am sure that you are quite justified in declaring a strike. Whenever a body of workmen state their legitimate grievances before their employers and the employers do not listen to them the only clean weapon in their hands is a strike. So, for a good and successful strike the first thing essential is that the cause should be good and just. The second thing is that the strikers should never resort to violence. That is to say, you may not hurt your employers nor may you hurt those who do not join you in the strike. And you should always, no matter what difficulties you have to suffer, stick to truth. And in going, therefore, on strike you must be prepared always to suffer whatever difficulties you may have to go through, even privations. That strike is a religious strike and is always bound to be successful. I hope that your strike is of that character. I am simply filled with delight to see that you are all acting in such perfect co-operation and that not a single employee is working there. I am also delighted to see that you are conducting yourselves in a most orderly way. And having gone so far I hope that you will continue your strike till your demands are granted. But I would like you to bear this in mind that your demands should be reduced to writing and every one of you should know what those demands are and when the time for a settlement comes not to increase those demands. If you increase your demands from time to time or change them you will place yourselves in a wrong way. If an arbitration is suggested, of men in whom you can place perfect reliance, I should like you to agree to the arbitration, because the arbitrators will be able to say to you, to the company and to the world whether your demands are just or not. Lastly, granting that your demands are just and that you are satisfying the other conditions that I have laid down, what are you to do if

the strike is prolonged ? Now I know that all of you do not possess money enough to go on with an indefinitely prolonged strike. You are all workers, able-bodied men, and I would advise you not to rely for your bread and butter on public support. It is beneath the dignity of a man who has got strong arms and legs to depend for his bread and butter on public support. I will, therefore, advise you to seek some work which all of you can do, of a temporary nature. No honest work is dishonourable for any man on this earth. Therefore, if I were you, and if I get spade work I would do it and would prolong the strike indefinitely. I have not got the time to tell you the history of the strike in Ahmedabad where the strike continued for twenty-three days. You will ask some friend what that strike was. But this I want to tell you about that strike, that the men earning Rs. 40. per month did not mind doing spade work and carrying mud from place to place. And so they supported their families on As. 4 a day. The result was that ten thousand men who were engaged in it were entirely successful. I hope that your demands are just. I hope that you will behave in the manner that I have ventured to advise you and in that case you may depend upon it you shall have success. I thank you very much for having come here all the way to see me.

It is satisfactory to note that the tramway men and their employers had since constituted an independent Board of arbitrations whose decisions were accepted by both parties. The strikers have now joined work. The compromise is honourable to both sides.

A New Indian Enterprise.

The hospital ship *Loyalty* belonging to H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior has been sold to an Indian syndicate consisting of the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Messrs. Narottam Morarji Goculdas and others, for a sum of Rs. 25,00,000. The *Loyalty* which is a first class steamship will run regularly between Bombay and Southampton, the first voyage commencing during the first week of March. The object in the transaction has been in regard to the scarcity of passenger freight for the ensuing period, when the enterprising purchasers intend to reap a huge profit on fares.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

The Madras Agricultural College

A meeting of the members of the Madras Agricultural Department, including the staff of the College, the Research Institute, and the Board of Examiners, was held on the 11th instant to witness the presentation of certificates of proficiency to the successful students. Mr. R. Cecil Wood, the acting Director of Agriculture, presided at the function. Mr. W. M. McRae, the acting Principal, in opening the proceedings, made an interesting speech, paying a tribute to Mr. Wood, the previous Principal, and congratulating the men who had completed the short course for which certificates of proficiency in Agriculture are presented. Twenty-one students had gained the certificate out of 29 who appeared for the examination. This is not nearly so good as last year's record. He then gave an interesting account of the athletic record of the institution, and in conclusion bade farewell and wished success to the students who were leaving the College for good.

Mr. R. Cecil Wood then presented certificates of proficiency to the students, in their order of merit and made an interesting speech, from which we take the following:—

"The agriculturist in all countries has come into his own, and is recognised as he never was before as being a person of considerable importance. Not only this, but owing to the universal increase in prices his position has become much more favourable from a financial point of view. The difference between the professional classes at fixed incomes and those which enjoy an income derived from business of one kind or another is becoming more and more in favour of the latter. The prospect of agriculture in South India is indeed encouraging, and there is room for all. Though, again, as I have stated before, it is the man with ideas, the man who can produce policy which should be cautious without being life-less, who will reap the greatest harvest. There is no use

disguising the fact that at present agriculture as a profession is not looked upon with favour by the young men of this country. It seems almost incredible that after ten years' steady work a single Agricultural College should still prove more than enough for the whole of Madras. That things will change, and change for the better, there can be little doubt. Like Mr. Montagu I have faith and can look forward to a time when this College, in the development of which it has been my lot to be so largely interested, will be the forerunner of other colleges."

Irrigation in the Punjab

The Lt. Governor of the Punjab addressed the Punjab Engineering Congress which opened at Lahore on the 10th instant. He said that never had the importance of P. W. D. been so fully realised as during the war, mostly through facilities such as railway facilities and greater dependence on roads, but more especially in the work of the Canal Department which provided an invaluable source of food supply not only to India, but also to the armies of the Allies.

His Honour continued:—The irrigation branch of the Public Works Department is preparing three projects of the greatest magnitude, each of which is likely to cost about 1,000 lakhs of rupees and to yield a net financial return of from 6 to 8 per cent. per annum on the capital expenditure. These projects are a canal from the Indus at Kalabagh to irrigate 5 million acres or 8,000 square yards of wilderness lying between the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, a reservoir dam 350 feet high to be built across the Sutlej in order to store up 110,000 million cubic feet of water for purposes of irrigation during winter and the Sutlej valley project of a canal from the Sutlej near Ferozepore for irrigation, chiefly of the territories of Bikaner and Sahawalpur.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Secret City. By Hugh Walpole, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

Mr. Walpole's new novel provides some very vivid portraits of Russian life in the earlier stages of the revolution. The scene is laid in Petrograd and the story is unfolded of a group of Englishmen who are brought into intimate contact with a typical Russian family.

A Bouquet of Kisses. Arranged and Edited by A. K. Seyne, The Indian Press, Allahabad.

This book, as its title shows, is a novel collection of love-poems compiled from the works of no less than sixty-eight authors. There are some delightful verses that will bear quotation but the collection as a whole will be chiefly of use to those in need of a handsome prize book for girls and boys in quest of love.

The Path Eternal and other Poems. By John Renton Denning, The Pioneer Press, Allahabad.

Mr. Denning is already well known by his publication of "Indian Echoes" a volume of verses that has deservedly attracted the attention of some discerning critics. "The Path Eternal" is a collection of miscellaneous verses written from time to time to different periodicals. They are, as might be supposed, on a variety of subjects prompted by the occasion. Mr. Denning is quite at home in his subjects and he commands an unfailing mastery of diction and rhythm.

Manual Training for Indian Schools.

By J. Y. Buchanan, Oxford University Press, Bombay and Madras.

This hand-book is intended to be a guide to teachers of practical education in schools. The course of manual training is fixed for a period of four years, and the lessons on tools and the general equipment of rooms and the working notes on the subject are full of practical suggestions. The book is prefaced by an introductory note by the Hon. Mr. J. A. Richey, M. A., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

The South Indian Art Gallery. By M. S. Sundara Sarma, B.A., Kalvi Publishing House, Madura.

This handsome little pocket book opens with a foreword from the pen of Dr. Subrahmania Iyer. Mr. Sundara Sarma's Essay on the subject of South Indian Art—which is essentially and primarily the great temple architecture of South India—shows the easy familiarity of one who is not only well read in the criticism of contemporary art but who is himself a practising artist of some distinction. The reproductions, though by no means happily turned out, are interesting specimens of the grand style of Indian architecture.

A Comparative Study of Modern Constitutions. By M. H. Nanavati, M.A., LL.B., D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This book, as its name implies, is a study of modern constitutions. Now that we are engaged in evolving a new constitution for India, Mr. Nanavati's comparative study of world constitutions is apposite. His essay on the subject is supplemented by an instructive analysis of some of the most advanced and typical constitutions of the progressive countries of the West.

Short Stories. By Mrs. Ghosal, Ganesh and Co., Madras.

The name of Mrs. Ghosal, or better known as Shrimati Swarnakumari Devi, a talented sister of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, is not unfamiliar to the readers of the *Indian Review*. The stories collected in this book originally appeared in Bengali in her magazine, the 'Bharati,' and their publication in English is mainly intended, to serve as an eye opener to the people of the West who have no clear ideas of the domestic, and social life of the Hindus. Mrs. Ghosal's style is simple, vivid and free from bombast and giddy imagery, and the stories afford delightful reading.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 19. Sir James Meston moved the Excess Profits Tax Bill in the Viceregal Council.
- March 20. The Maharaja of Bhowanagar has issued a resolution urging the abolition of a large number of liquor shops.
- March 21. Mr. Jatra Mohun Sen has been elected President of the Bengal Provincial Conference.
- March 22. The Government of India has issued a *communiqué* on the Arms Act.
- March 23. Loss of the *Sanctoria* in the Hooghly.
- March 24. A meeting was held at the *Leader* Office, Allahabad, at which the U. P. Liberal Association, was inaugurated.
- March 25. Mr. Gandhi in a communication to the press suggests that the 6th of April should be observed as a day of humiliation.
- March 26. Sir Ashutosh Mukerjea who has been serving as a member of the Calcutta University Commission rejoined the High Court Bench this morning.
- March 27. H. E. the Viceroy arrived this morning at Hyderabad and was received by H. E. H. the Nizam.
- March 28. The Soviet Government of Hungary declared war on Serbia and the neighboring countries.
- March 29. A conference of members of the Legal profession was held at Lahore to-day.
- March 30. Satyagraha demonstrations in Delhi. Affray between the military and the crowd.
- March 31. Swami Shraddanand has issued a statement on the Delhi tragedy.
- April 1. Orders have been served on Dr. Kichlew and Satyapal prohibiting them from writing or speaking.
- April 2. It is announced that quiet has been restored in Delhi.
- April 3. Indian and Dominion representatives breakfasted with Mr. Lloyd George in Paris.
- April 4. A Government *communiqué* explains the Rowlatt Acts and contradicts misleading accounts of the effect of the acts.
- April 5. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry delivered the inaugural address of the Madras Liberal League at Mr. G. A. Natesan's premises.
- April 6. The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya resigned his seat in the Imperial Council. Satyagraha demonstrations all over the country.
- April 7. The Bombay Satyagraha Sabha issues a note on the violation of registration of newspapers and the sale of prohibited literature.
- April 8. Leading Satyagrahis in Bombay are selling reprints of proscribed leaflets.
- April 9. It is officially confirmed that the allies have evacuated Odessa.
- April 10. H. E. Lord Willingdon took charge as Governor of Madras.
- Mr. Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi and sent back to Bombay.
- April 11. A few of the ringleaders of the disturbance in Bombay were arrested to-day. The telegraph office and the Collector's office at Ahmedabad were burnt down.
- April 12. Collision between the crowd and the police at Lahore.
- Troubles in Bombay and Amritsar. Riot and bloodshed following demonstrations in Calcutta.
- April 13. H. E. the Governor of Bengal had a conference with the representatives of Marwari and Bhatia communities at Calcutta.
- April 14. H. E. Lord Willingdon received addresses from important public bodies in Madras. Government of India has issued a *communiqué* on the Satyagraha crisis.
- April 15. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi negotiates with the leaders.
- Martial law has been proclaimed in different parts of the Punjab.
- April 16. An influentially signed Calcutta moderate manifesto condemns passive resistance.
- April 17. Deportation of leaders in the Punjab. The *Patrika* security has been forfeited.
- April 18. The Government of India has published a *Gazette Extraordinary* promulgating further ordinances and rules.

Literary

Popular English Writers.

In a recent number of the *Saturday Review* a writer laments "the disparity between England's output in the sphere of action and her output in the sphere of imagination," at the present moment. He points out :—

One naturally associates Mr. Wells, with Mr. Shaw, Mr. Chesterton, and two or three other much-talked-of and ingeniously advertised authors to-day. In another observed group one should, perhaps, class Miss Marie Corelli, Mr. Hall Caine, Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Mr. Garvice, and Mrs. Barclay. They have one and all large publics, they are acknowledged the best sellers in the print market. We do not think it is a good thing for English people in any numbers to be seriously influenced by, or engrossed in the work of all or any of these writers, for they are none of them first class—which is putting it with strict moderation—and they do not at all answer to the immense power and genius of the British race in the world to-day.

It is when we turn to the popular figures in the literary effort that the result is so disappointing—no novelist, no poet, no dramatist of the first rank, or near it, among the familiar and widely accepted performers. We have plenty of smartness, adaptability, popularity, plenty of stuff which catches on, is just what is asked for by those who do not want to go deep, and who will not be at the nuisance of thinking for themselves.

Commonplace cleverly tricked out, the ordinary to appear extraordinary, and served up hot and hot just when the appetite is ready for it, that is the thing which is catered for by the successful performers. It was so for several years before the war, when England was cutting a miserly figure in the sphere of action; It is the same now, when England is cutting a mighty figure in that sphere.

Compare the English literary men with the popular men of imagination to-day in Russia, in France, in Scandinavia. As to the first of these countries, the giant school is by no means worn out, and Tolstoy and Dostoevsky are yet living in the hearts of a great public. Or take France: she has Anatole France, whose irony, wit, style, would adorn the literature of any age. She has Romain Rolland, who may have fallen off from patriotism, but who has not fallen away from an art which, whether agreeable or not, is certainly impressive. And we think we could name a popular poet in Italy who is a poet. Our objection to the starred popularists to-day is not based on monarchical or on political or on ecclesiastical grounds. We simply object that they are not imaginatively and intellectually good enough to go to the world.

Swami Vivekananda as a Journalist.

In January 1899, says the *Prabhuddha Bharata* the Swami projected a monthly magazine, named *Udbodhan*, to popularise the teachings of his Master, Sri Ramakrishna. In the course of one of his evening talks, the Swami spoke to the editor of the new monthly of how it should be conducted. He said: "In the *Udbodhan* we must give the public only positive ideals. Negative thoughts weaken men. Do you not find that where parents are constantly taxing their sons to read and write, telling them they will never learn anything, and calling them fools and so forth, the latter do actually turn out to be so in many cases? If you speak kind words to boys, and encourage them, they are bound to improve in time. What holds good of children, also holds good of children in the region of higher thoughts. If you can give them positive ideas, people will grow up to be men and learn to stand on their own legs. In language and literature, in poetry and the arts, in everything we must point out not the mistakes that people are making in their thoughts and actions, but the way in which they will gradually be able to do these things better. Pointing out mistakes wounds a man's feelings. Of Sri Ramakrishna we have seen how he would encourage even those whom we considered as worthless, and change the very course of their lives! His very method of teaching was a unique phenomenon!"

The Indian Patriot.

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—We learn with sincere regret the withdrawal of Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon from journalism. He is one of the foremost journalists of Southern India, and, after Mr. G. Subrahmanyam Iyer, was for a time Editor of the *Hindu*. When he left the *Hindu* he established the *Indian Patriot*, which for long held an established position amongst Indian journals. We wish him a long, well-earned rest after a continuous service in the cause of India for the last 30 years.

Educational

A Great Educational Programme

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, speaking recently at Sheffield, said that his ambition was to create a great inter-connecting system of roads leading across the period of youth to the period of manhood and womanhood, and not merely to have one broad highway. More than half a million children every year passed out of elementary schools without receiving any further education. Under the Act of 1918 they were providing many forms of education for the partly educated children. He hoped to see a scheme of junior technical commercial schools for the ages of from fourteen to sixteen, and free part-time continuation education from fourteen to eighteen.

Education and Social Problems

Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, addressing the local Legislative Council the other day, observed :—

I desire to say something in regard to the general question of social reform especially in regard to housing, sanitation, primary education and the like. I conceive that there is no greater thing that Government can do than to apply itself to the task of ameliorating the lot of the great mass of people who labour in its urban and rural areas. Rhetoric on these questions—pious aspirations and the like are easy to indulge in, easier still when the speaker feels urgently as I do on these matters. Far more difficult is it to find a remedy for evils which have been allowed to grow up and choke the very foundations of social life in our midst. Better conditions are useless without education, education futile without better conditions—the two must be provided at the same time so that the advantages of each may re-act together. No single specific exists—no single decree of Government can cure the malady, the problems

which confront us in this city as urgently as any city I have ever seen can only be solved by the co-operation of all concerned.

I have only this to say therefore that Government alone cannot solve these problems: it can, it must and it will provide the impetus to these reforms and assist in a practical manner the authorities in this city and elsewhere who are directly responsible, but unless the public bodies themselves show zeal and enthusiasm little can be achieved.

Education in Bengal

A resolution on the report on public instruction in Bengal for 1917 issued about the middle of last month says that two-thirds of the European officers of the Indian Education Service have been detached for duty in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers in addition to officers on deputation to the Government of India or the University of Calcutta. The growing demand for education among the people of Bengal and the natural growth of population led to an increase in the number of educational institutions. Of the scholars nearly 2 millions were in various stages of education, there being approximately one girl at school to every five boys. The total expenditure on education amounted to two hundred and fifty-five lakhs. The number of Arts Colleges in Bengal increased to 34 or one-fourth of the total number in British India, and there is a persistent demand for more. Altogether 25,265 students were reading in different colleges and including one hundred and ninety-one ladies. Nearly one-third of the total number were Brahmins, while under one tenth were Mahomedans. There was an addition of fifty-nine high and middle English Schools, while middle vernacular schools decreased by 35. The total number of boys attending primary schools was nearly 11,83,000. The number of Hindu pupils in primary schools fell by one thousand, and Mahomedans under instruction out-number Hindus by 35,000.

Legal

Mr. Andrews on the Rowlatt Bills.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes as follows on the Rowlatt Bills :—

I have never concealed for a moment my detestation of the Rowlatt Bills. My only regret is that I did not make it public before. One new point which I would wish to add to what has been said is that a subtle and very deep evil lies beneath the surface of Indian life especially in the student world. "Spying" is already a terror and a dread, but it will become armed with fresh powers of evil if these Bills are carried into law. To show by example what I mean : while I was teaching in the college two of my own students whom I trusted were found out to be paid Government spies introduced into the college for that very purpose. I had myself experience of catching redhanded a Government spy in my own room in the college searching my private papers. He confessed to me that he had been sent to spy upon by the C.I.D. I could give a large number of such personal experiences and there are many others who could do the same. If the Government of India is prepared deliberately to increase this spying evil and to rely still more upon this weapon it may do so, but it will lose the respect of those who have wished all along to hold it in esteem.

The Rowlatt Bills : An Explanation.

The following *communiqué* was issued by Government on April 5 :—There is reason to believe that misleading accounts of the effect of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (commonly known as the Rowlatt Bill) are being circulated among the more ignorant sections of the population. Thus, in Delhi, it is reported that large sections of the populace believed that the Act empowers any Police Officer to arrest without a warrant any three Indians whom he may see engaged in conversation, and to enter and search without

a warrant any house. These beliefs, sedulously propagated by evilly-disposed persons and allowed to pass uncontradicted by others, doubtless account largely for the high state of excitement prevalent among the crowds that came into conflict with the Police and Military at Delhi on the 30th March with fatal results. It is hardly necessary to state that the Act contains no provisions of the nature indicated ; it confers no powers of arbitrary arrest or search on the Police, and the only reference it contains to arrest or search is in Section 34 (1), which authorises the arrest on the written order of the Local Government of a person where there are reasonable grounds for believing that he has been or is concerned in certain serious offences in any area to which Part 3 of the Act has been extended. The same Section permits the search under similar authority of any place in such area believed to have been used by such person for any purpose connected with an anarchical or revolutionary movement. No part of the Act is, as yet, in force, nor can any part be brought into force within any Province or area unless and until the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted in such Province or areas.

Passive Resistance.

The Bombay Correspondent of *Capital* writes :—

Politics have again become sultry. As public protests have had no effect on the Government of India who are determined to put the Rowlatt Bills on the Statute Book, Mr. Gandhi is promoting a campaign of Passive Resistance. What bothers him most is the surrender of Lord Chelmsford to the India Civil Service and the British commercial interests. His conclusion is that the Rowlatt Bills are intended to sacrifice the people of India to the tyranny of the former and the greed of the latter. Hence the "Satyagraha vow."

Medical

Curing Tuberculosis

Professor Monaco of Rome is said to be working on a novel plan of curing tuberculosis. It consists of hypodermic injections of sugar to destroy the secretions in the lungs on which the tubercle bacillus exists. This plan is said to be a more thorough means of eradicating the bacillus than attempting to destroy it direct and leaving its breeding ground intact for renewed growths. It is reported that experiments on tuberculous soldiers have resulted in the cessation of cough, night sweats and fever.

First aid in Snake bite

As soon as a person is bitten by a snake, writes the *Ceylon Economist* the limb should be bandaged tightly so as to stop circulation of the blood and then curds mixed with black pepper or 30 drops of Liquor Ammonia, mixed with a little quantity of water should be administered every 15 minutes till the Doctor arrives. The patient must be kept awake and made to chew margosa or neem leaves.

War Baby Harvest

The following statistics of the birth rate in some of the large European cities, compiled by a reliable authority and published in the *Popular Science Siftings* will be read with interest :—

Milan (Italy) has suffered the largest reduction in births of all the allied and neutral nations in the world. Figures for Germany and Austria are unobtainable as yet.

In 1913 Milan had a birth rate of 21.67 to the thousand. To-day her birth rate is 12.02, a decrease of 45 per cent.

Stockholm, in 1913, 17.72; in 1917, 16.55, a decrease of 7 per cent.

Zurich, 1913, 19.73; in 1917, 13.16; a decrease of 33 per cent.

Birmingham, in 1913, 27.70; in 1917, 19.68; a decrease of 29 per cent.

Bradford, in 1913, 20; in 1917, 13.06; a 35 per cent. decrease.

Edinburgh, in 1913, 20; in 1917, 14.75; a 27 per cent. decrease.

Florence, in 1913, 19.98; in 1917, 11.45; a decrease of 43 per cent.

Glasgow, in 1913, 27.78; in 1917, 21.72; a decrease of 22 per cent.

Lyons, in 1913, 15.84; in 1917, 9.48; a decrease of 40 per cent.

Manchester, in 1913, 26.04; in 1917, 16.85; a decrease of 35 per cent.

Paris, in 1913, 16.82; in 1917, 11.53; a decrease of 35 per cent.

Amsterdam, in 1913, 23.22; in 1917, 22.39; 4 per cent. decrease.

Barcelona, in 1913, 23.43; in 1917, 23.24; a 1 per cent. loss.

Maintenance of Lepers

Mr. Debendra Nath Mullick, of Calcutta, has put in trust property of the value of a lakh of rupees the income from which will provide for the maintenance of a considerable number of lepers. In addition Mr. Mullick has given a sum of Rs. 6,000 towards the cost of the erection of a new leper asylum in South Arcot. The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rahim and his friends have also contributed over Rs. 8,000. to the funds of the Mission and Sir R. N. Mookerjee has sent in a donation of Rs. 1,500.

Children and Teething

Teething is a natural process to which young and inexperienced mothers look forward almost with dread, simply because every trouble or illness incidental to this period of infantile life, are set down to teething. The habit of rubbing the gums with a wedding ring, or a silver coin or thimble increases the pain and may cause inflammation. Lancing is free from this danger and really much less painful. A black strip of flannel or ribbon tied round the neck acts like an amulet in most cases. Twisted wires of copper and zinc sewn up in velvet—will also act similarly.

Science

The Life work of a Hindu Chemist.

In the course of a review of Sir P. C. Ray's "Essays and Discourses" (recently published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3) Mr. T. E. Thorpe writes in the columns of *Nature* for March 6:

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, professor of chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta, is well known to chemists in this country as the author, either alone or in collaboration with his pupils, of more than a hundred papers, chiefly on the inorganic and organic nitrites. In his own country he is also known as the founder of a successful chemical industry, which, from small beginnings, now occupies factories spreading over an area of eight acres. It is one of the most successful concerns in India, and proved of considerable service to the Government during the war, when the supply of Western chemicals and drugs was seriously interfered with. It is entirely staffed with Bengali workers, and its research chemists are of its creator's training.

Naturally, such a man has had a great influence in India. He has succeeded in founding a school of native chemists capable of attacking and elucidating modern scientific problems. He has roused and quickened the Bengali brain from the torpor which had overtaken it, and by his example and precept has proved that the Hindu only needs training, encouragement, and direction to revive the ancient glories of his race in philosophy and science.

It was to be expected, therefore, that Sir P. Ray should, as he expressed it, sooner or later find himself "the property of any body and every body," and be called upon by various educational institutions, by conferences, and by the periodical Press and leading newspapers interested in the social reform and development of the industrial and

political life of India to address his countrymen on subjects which so closely affect their national welfare and prosperity; and it was equally certain that a demand should arise that these essays and discourses should be collected and published in some permanent form.

The little book before us is the outcome of this demand. It contains a series of addresses and articles on scientific education in India; on the pursuit and progress of chemistry in Bengal; on science in the vernacular literature; on the antiquity of Hindu chemistry; on the Educational Service of India; on the Bengali brain and its misuse; on Government and Indian industries, together with a number of appreciations of men who have signalised themselves in the national evolution of India.

It is impossible not to recognise and appreciate the earnestness, courage, and sense of duty of the author, or fail to perceive his sincerity or the strength of his convictions in warring against the galling restrictions of caste, of social inequalities and depression, which are at the bottom of India's degradation. Her elevation will not come in Sir P. C. Ray's time. A small, spare man, in feeble health, and a confirmed dyspeptic, he will be spent in her service. But the memory of these services will survive, and the little book to which we direct attention will serve to perpetuate it.

Lamp for Developing Room.

A novel lamp for the photographer's dark room consists of a single-cell electric battery in a clear glass jar, with a test-tube in the centre holding a small incandescent-lamp bulb. A cover has holes for a zinc and a carbon rod, which constitute the electrodes, with one between them for the test-tube. The jar is two thirds filled with a solution of potassium bichromate and sulphuric acid in water, and the light generated in the bulb is given the necessary non-actinic colour by shining through the clear red liquid. Lowering or raising the zinc closes or opens the circuit.

Personal

Imperial Council Resignations.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah resigned their seats on the Viceregal Council and addressed the following letters to H. E. the Viceroy :—

I. HON. PANDIT MALAVIYA.

Having given the matter my most anxious and careful consideration, I regret I have been driven to the conclusion that in view of the attitude which the Government considered it necessary to adopt in the matter of what is known as the Rowlatt Bill and the proceedings of Council in relation thereto, I ought not to continue to be an additional member of the Council as it is constituted at present. I therefore beg respectfully and with deep regret to resign my office as such member.

II. THE HON. MR. JINNAH.

The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India and the assent given to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is a legislative but in name, a machine propelled by a foreign executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the Non-official Indian Members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect. The Government of India and Your Excellency, however, have thought it fit to place on the Statute Book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at the time of peace, thereby substituting executive for judicial. Besides, by passing this Bill, Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced, but a year ago, when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference, and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the

War. The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the State by an over-fretful and incompetent bureaucracy, which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion, and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused. I therefore, as a protest against the passing of the Bill and the manner in which it was passed tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside. In my opinion the Government, that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace, forfeits its claim to be called a civilised Government.

Since the above was in the press we have learnt that the Hon. Mr. Haque and the Hon. Mr. Shukul have also resigned their seats in the Viceregal Council.

A Peerage Romance.

In a small village not far from Fyzabad, where some British troops were engaged in peace manœuvres, a seemingly pure native came to the General and in the course of conversation in Hindustani, the only language he knew, stated that he was Earl Gardner, and produced papers in support. From these it appeared that many generations ago a younger son of the then Earl got into some trouble, and enlisted in the Royal Artillery. After serving his time he married an Indian woman and settled in India. Each generation in turn married Indian women, so that all trace of European descent disappeared. Meanwhile all other direct heirs to the title had died out, so that the little Indian village headman claimed that the title was his.

Political

The Madras Liberal League

At a meeting held at the "Sudharma," Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's house on the 23rd March, an Association called "The Madras Liberal League" was started with the object of bringing together all those who were of one way of thinking on the Indian Constitutional Reforms and other connected questions. Several influential citizens have joined the League of which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar is the President and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer is the Vice-President. There are already over fifty members many of whom attended the inaugural meeting on Saturday the 5th April at Mr. G. A. Natesan's premises, when the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered an address on "The Present Political Situation," defining the scope of the League's activity. Mr. Sastri delivered another lecture at the Servants of India Society's premises on the 11th instant on "The work before us." The League condemned the Rowlatt Acts, deplored the inauguration of the Satyagraha movement and passed a resolution praying the Crown to withhold sanction to the Rowlatt Acts. It was resolved to send delegates to the ensuing Moderates' Conference. The League also expressed its confidence in the Hon. Mr. Sastri and elected him as its spokesman and delegate during his stay in England as a member of the Moderates' Deputation.

At the meeting of the League held at Mr. Natesan's premises on the 18th the subjects discussed included :—the recent outrages in the Punjab; appeal to Mr. Gandhi *re* the Satyagraha movement; the recent resolution of the Government of India on the situation in the Punjab; the need for an independent committee to inquire into the firing on the mob at Delhi and the Reform Scheme. Resolutions on these subjects were passed and sent to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi,

Indian Reforms in England

A meeting was held on April 1st of the non-official members of the House of Commons disposed to assist in the passage of the Bill for the Indian Constitutional Reforms on the general lines of the announcement of 20th August. A committee was formed consisting of Sir John Rees, Chairman, Mr. Bennet, Secretary, and Messrs. Arthur Murry, O'Grady, Godfrey and Collins, Sir S. Hoare and Mr. Ormsby Gore. The meeting resolved to afford delegations from India opportunities to state their views.

The Indian District Officers

During the Rhodes' lecture by Sir J.D. Rees on Indian institutions at University College, London, on February 24 a letter from Mr. Montagu, who is in Paris, was read paying a warm tribute to the work of district officers in India. Mr. Montagu said it was difficult to exaggerate the services of the District officer in the development and well being of India. Whatever might be the exact plan which Parliament would ordain for the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, the District Officer would play an essential part. The record of service which this fine type of public servants had ungrudgingly given to India in the past entitled them to look forward confidently to the share he would have in the development of self-government.

Passive Resistance

A manifesto over the signature of Raja Peari Mohan Mukherjee, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, Sir R. N. Mukerjee, Sir B. C. Mitter and Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, says :—The Passive Resistance in connection with the Rowlatt Act is unsound in principle and impossible in practice. We recognise the high motives of the illustrious author of the movement, but we cannot help thinking that he did not anticipate the grave results which have followed in its train and which the whole country now laments.

General

Titles

Sir Harry Johnston describes in the *Cambridge Magazine* how the Ministers are personally benefitted by recommending the conferring of titles and honours on title-seekers. He says:—

"Premiers (and Prime Ministers to be) have long looked upon the Peerage and Knighthood Knight-Bachelor hood—as the Baronetcy, the Privy Councillorship,—their perquisites, while in office or when speculating on office; something—in plain language—to sell: with the Party Whip or "Patronage secretary" as the handy medium to do the actually unpleasant part of the business. The money, of course, goes to the Party funds, and the Prime Minister only profits from it indirectly, in that by retaining or obtaining office, he draws a very handsome salary and allowances, and has a rent-free house to live in and almost sovereign power; while when he is out of power he has the party funds at his disposal and the small committee, in whom they are vested, probably, if he is a needy man, makes him a comfortable allowance out of them. Another method of using honours for personal ends is as a means of bribing persons of influence,—possible enemies or useful friends—who would be quite beyond monetary temptations."

A Successful Polar Expedition

A message from Alaska announced that Storkerson and five other explorers, who got on to a floating ice pack in the Polar Basin last May in an effort to float across the North Pole, landed safely on November 7th. Storkerson was Stefansson's assistant.

The Canadian explorer Stefansson says: Storkerson's arrival at the Alaskan Coast ends the work of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Stefansson intended to command the party but was taken ill with typhoid. Storkerson left the Cross Islands, north of the coast of Alaska, on March

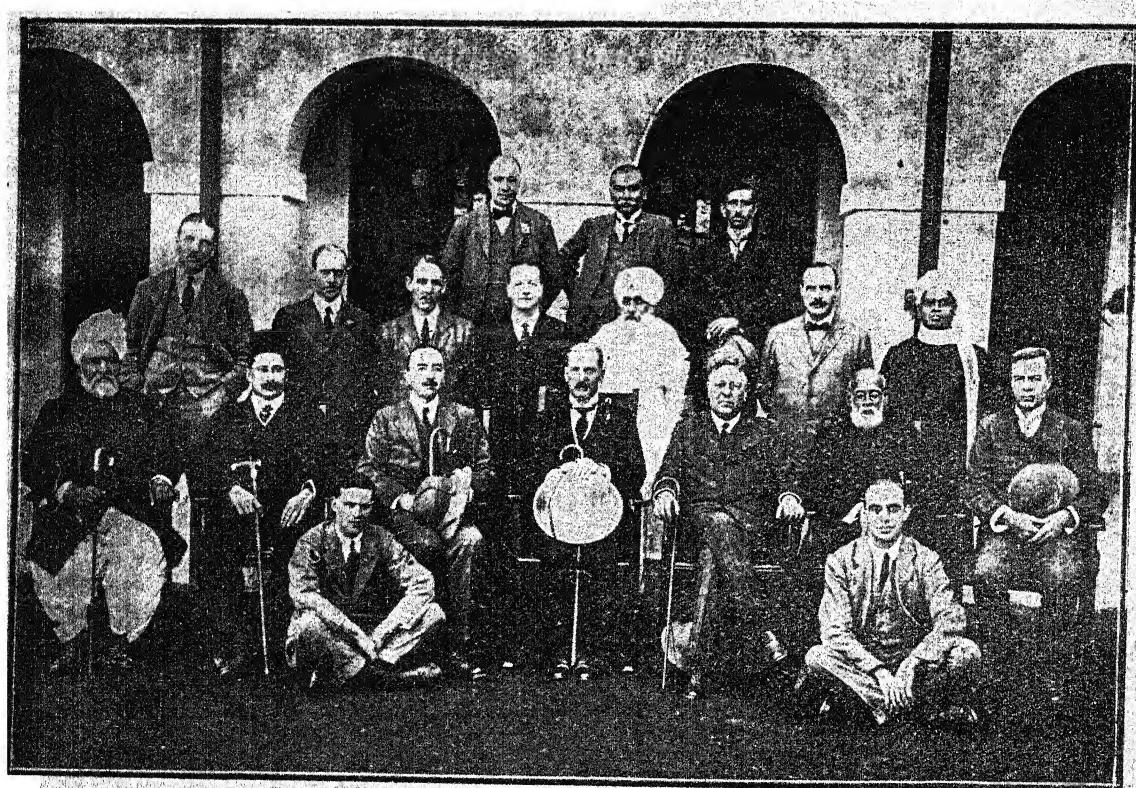
15th last year. The party, consisting of nine Whites and four Esquimaux, travelled a fortnight northwards when four of the men were sent back. The party then drifted with the ice pack carrying no provisions and subsisting on the meat of the seals and polar bears. It is expected that they were carried westwards but drifted round the great Eddy Drift and reached seventy-four degrees north, 150 miles further north than any one has hitherto gone in this part of the Arctic.

Noble part of Indian Troops in the War

Lecturing before the Royal Institution in London in the first week of last month Mr. J. W. Fortescue paid a very high tribute to the part played by Indian troops in the recent war, in which he declared India had rendered enormous service. Her troops had shown astonishing gallantry and her chiefs a loyalty for which he ought to be devoutly thankful. He believed that the King had contributed not a little to that great result. He was with His Majesty in India in 1911. The King went to India against the wishes of his Ministers. He was perfectly sure that he could render service, and being anxious to bring India closer to England His Majesty led a wearing life. During the first three weeks of his visit he had never a moment to himself. He was giving interviews to Indian rulers every day and all day, and always looked happy and glad to see them. The devotion with which His Majesty was regarded by all the great Indian chiefs, all of whom came forward in the war, was very touching.

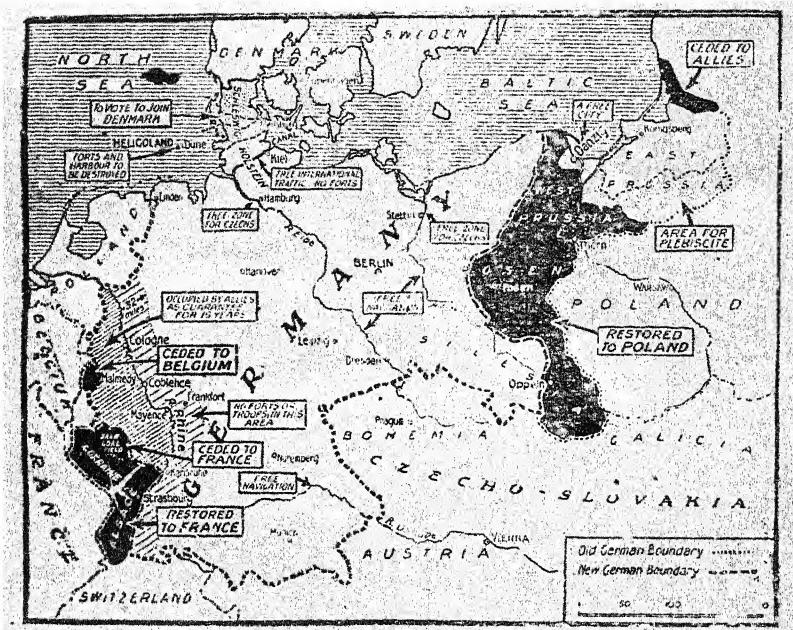
Aerial Postal Service

An aerial postal service has been instituted between England and the Continent, in order to carry the mails to the army of occupation. The mails thus carried will reach Cologne in ten hours, instead of five days as hitherto. The mails arrive at Folkestone by train and are taken in motor lorries to the aerodrome, where machines are in readiness to load up. Twenty-three bags were taken across on the first journey by four machines.



REFORM COMMITTEE DELHI, FEBRUARY 1919.

Ground: Mr. J. D. V. Hodge; Mr. P. C. Tallents. *Chairs:* Maulvi Sir Rahim Bakhsh; Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan; Mr. R. Feetham; Lord Southborough; Sir Frank Sly; Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea; Hon. Mr. M. E. Couchman. *Standing:* Capt. M. Reader; Mr. A. C. Clanson; Mr. G. Rainy; Hon. Mr. M. V. Hogg; Sir Prabhshankar Pattani; Mr. J. P. Thompson; Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry. *Back Row:* Mr. W. M. Hailey; Mr. H. L. Stephenson; Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad.



THE MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE
As Redrawn by the Peace Conference.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN

In the absence of the accurate and authorised text of the Bill and of the rules to be made thereunder it is difficult to attempt anything like a criticism of the measure now before Parliament. The recommendations of both the Franchise and Functions Committees approved in the main by the Indian public are to be embodied in rules and schedules and are to be considered by the Joint Committee and then presented for final decision to Parliament. But not only this; even some of the most vital points have been reserved for the Joint Committee and the Bill before us is nothing but a skeleton, a bare framework. It is a matter for great relief that many of the reactionary and retrograde proposals of the Government of India are not accepted by Mr. Montagu. The ring of sincerity which runs through every line of his speech on the occasion of the Second Reading of the Bill, the emphatic and forceful manner in which he presented the case for reform of the existing system of the Government of India, the imminent necessity for the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people and to give India 'an enduring constitution,' though by a 'transitional' form—a bridge between government by agents of Parliament and government by the representatives of the people—make India feel hopeful. India rejoices that Mr. Montagu in his great speech has recognised in no uncertain terms our claim for responsible Government on 'the only logical, possible, and acceptable meaning of empire and democracy, viz., an opportunity to all nations flying the imperial flag to control their own destinies.' We are glad too that he emphatically asserted that

'there could be no greater stimulus to education, no better way of promoting community of action, of overcoming the acerbities of caste, than by setting the population the common task of working out the prosperity of their country. There was no better

way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions despite all difficulties.'

There could be no better indictment of the false theories and misleading statements with which Lord Sydenham and other self-styled 'well-wishers' of India have been trying to infect an un-informed and ignorant British public. Every friend of reform and progress will rejoice that the Indo-British Association's so-called scheme of reforms has been summarily rejected by the Secretary of State, and justly described as 'a scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats and intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy'. Such a state of things has already been found impossible; to attempt to perpetuate it would be to perpetuate what is intolerable. India can no longer tolerate 'future Sydenhams remaining upon the throne untrammeled by control from above and undisturbed by criticism from below.' Any step for reform must lead to the progressive realisation of responsible government and the country will be justified in opposing any reactionary attempts to make India go backwards. We take it that the passing of the Second Reading without division is an augury that Parliament is committed to the general principles of the Bill and that it is morally responsible for launching India on the road to complete self-government. All India will watch with keen interest the proceedings of the Joint Committee. We sincerely hope that the Committee's endeavours will be directed to improve the Bill in every respect, to provide for the will of the representatives of the people to prevail to some extent at least on the Central Government, for some form of fiscal autonomy if full freedom in that direction were not possible, in short, to make such alterations and improvements as to enable the people of India to say that the steps to responsible government are 'at the outset substantial.'

root, there officialism is of necessity most active. On the other hand, in a country like England, where the independence of the individual is not only assured, but looked upon as something sacred, the official is compelled to sink small, and officialism has to be very careful not to overstep the bounds of prudence and moderation. And in the civilised world generally, the words "official" and "autocratic" have become unsavoury in the nostrils of men ; these words have to some extent become synonymous with "Prussianism," in which sense I wish them to be understood.

Now the advocates and supporters of officialism have always a stock reply ready for those who find fault with its abuses. They ask, Would you have a country ruled without officials and offices ? To which we reply, By no means : but we would have officials who are merely officials, and nothing more. Then again they say, But surely the officials are only doing their duty. Now this Pecksniffian plea of Duty covers more sins than Charity ; and we must be careful not to allow ourselves to be taken in by it. Let us ask any intelligent, unprejudiced man who has had knowledge of, say, one hundred official acts. How many of these have been due to a pure and undiluted sense of Duty, uninfluenced by any outside consideration ? We can make a good guess at what the answer would be.

One of the commonest errors in certain parts of the British Empire is when disagreement with, or disobedience towards, an official is placed on the same footing as disloyalty to the Crown. It is an error which, up to the present, has caused much trouble ; and, unless remedied, is likely to cause more in the future. The official is in no way a representative of the Crown ; and, in many cases, it is a very good job for the dignity of the Crown that he is not. He is not a representative of the Crown even to the extent in which a commercial traveller is the representative of the firm that employs him. He administers the law for the King, and is well paid for doing so. There are cases where officials are endowed with personal character which entitles them to the highest respect ; but it will be found that these are the very last to lay claim to that loyalty which every good subject feels only towards the ruler of his Country. Those who claim worship of this sort do not deserve it, while those who deserve it do not claim it.

Twenty years ago any Chinaman who even mentioned the name of the "Son of Heaven" was put to death. That was yesterday. To-day the world of yesterday has

passed away, never to return. Whether those in power have yet fully grasped this fact, or try to ignore it, does not alter the fact in the least. We see all round us that the pain of travail is not absent : that mankind is suffering from the birth-pangs of a new life. And it will be the fault of man himself if the new life turns out to be worse than the old one. New thoughts and new ideas are springing up wherever there are thinking human beings. People are beginning to ask themselves and others questions they never asked before. They are no longer content to take everything for granted. They are asking, for instance, what are the grounds on which any Government demands the obedience and loyalty of its subjects ? It would require another J. S. Mill to do full justice to this. Is a superiority of Force by itself sufficient to establish the claim ? Ask "Count William of Hohenzollern," who is in a position to answer. Is the mere fact of conquest sufficient ? It would seem that some people think so ; and therefore, according to them, it would be our duty to be as loyal and submissive to a successful Bolshevik invader of India as we are now to His Imperial Majesty King George the Fifth. But if the ordinary "man in the street" be asked why he considers it right to be loyal and submissive to Government, he will say, "I am loyal and submissive to this Government because it is the best Government my country has ever had or is likely to have ; because my life and property are secure ; because the Government protects me from my enemies, and deals out pure justice to every man." If only officials would act in such a manner as to cause this sentiment to be generally expressed by the children of the people, then all political troubles would automatically cease ; the agitator would find his occupation gone ; peace would reign : plenty and prosperity would fill the land.

To those of us who have been carefully following the course of events in India for the past twenty or thirty years : who have not been merely looking on at them from a distance, and through the colored glasses of other men ; who have observed and studied facts for ourselves on the spot ; to those who have no axe of their own to grind, and who strive to keep themselves free from all the error that blind prejudice breeds in stubborn minds : to such the signs of the times are clearly visible : the faint murmurings of the distant storm are plainly heard. And what is happening in India just now is neither surprising nor unnatural. It is due to a variety of causes ; and there are so many of them, the difficulty is to know where to

begin Let us take the important question of His Majesty's representative in India. For years, this great Indian Dominion has been made the football of an antiquated and corrupt system of party politics in a country thousands of miles away: in a country the majority of whose inhabitants are as hopelessly ignorant of India as they are of the conditions of life on the planet Mars. A "Liberal" Government comes in: India must have a "Liberal" Viceroy. A "Conservative" Government gets into power: India gets a "Conservative" Viceroy. No matter how strong, how successful, or how sympathetic a particular Viceroy may prove himself, still all this counts for nothing if the political party to which he professes to belong fails to secure a majority at the English polling booths. And, as for the opinion of India in the matter, it carries no more weight than the opinion of Timbuctoo. No matter how much we appreciated and esteemed our Viceroy, everything had to be set aside to satisfy the exigencies of the parish-pump parties in England. Within the last fifty years we have had some of the highest intellects and ablest statesmen of the Empire as Viceroys: *great* men in the best sense of the word. But just as they got the huge, unwieldy machine of Government to work successfully they had to clear out and make way for others who knew less than nothing about the task.

But this is not the worst, so far as progress is concerned. The bullock-cart—the *bhyle-garri*—cumbersome, antiquated and slow, blocks the road in every direction; so that not only the up-to-date motor-car, but even the ordinary traveller, walking at a fair pace, is held up. "Our grandfathers travelled in the bullock-cart, and it was good enough for them: what was good enough for them is good enough for us; and anybody who dares to suggest a quicker mode of progress is a seditious, an anarchist and a Bolshevik." This is the sentiment of the bullock-cart official; and it has been kept up so long that it has developed from a poor joke into a public danger.

India stands to-day at the parting of the ways; one arm of the sign-post pointing towards Imperialism, the other towards Democracy. Now there are no two political ideas in the minds of men more absolutely opposed to each other, or more antagonistic, than these two. It is as impossible for them to exist together as for fire and water to be contained simultaneously in the same vessel. They are mutually destructive. Yet the rulers of India have now to settle which it is going to be: Imperialism or Democracy. And the first diffi-

culty they have to contend with is that the present Government of India is neither one nor the other: it being a hybrid: a mixture of Autocracy and Imperialism. But the peoples of the twentieth century have already shown, in a most unmistakable manner, that they have no longer any use or place for Autocratic Government. The beast has been slain in Flanders; though its carcase still taints the air all round like a dead camel. A twelve-year-old schoolboy of average general knowledge can say that in his short time the four greatest Autocracies in the world have been swept into limbo; namely, China, Russia, Germany and Austria. The sole object of the Great War has been the overthrow of Autocracy. But that object will not be fully attained until the last few poisonous mushrooms still growing on the dung-heaps of Autocracy have been also swept away for ever.

The Russian historian, Segur, relates that the French Ambassador once talking to the Czar Paul, mentioned the name of a certain man as "a man of some importance," in Russia. But the Czar at once sharply interrupted him, and said, "There is no *important* man in my Empire except the man I honor with my conversation for the time being: and it is only so long as I happen to be talking with him that he is of any importance". How well and truly this Autocrat was laying the foundations for the pyramids of skulls raised in our time by Messrs. Lenin and Trotzky!

Among the many weak and objectionable points about Autocracy, the weakest is that an Autocrat must needs be also infallible. It would never do for him to acknowledge that he is liable to make mistakes like ordinary human beings. And each member of a band of Autocrats endeavours to uphold this legend of infallibility with a devotion and fanatism unsurpassed by a College of Cardinals. And all this, notwithstanding the hard fact that the last of the Infallibles is now a fugitive and outcast in an obscure Dutch village.

The next thing to go is Imperialism. Now the word "Imperialism" here means what it has always meant since the epoch of Imperial Rome, whose Imperialism meant justice, but never meant freedom; followed by the parodies of Imperialism under Charlemagne, Spain and the Bourbons, which meant neither; by Ottoman Imperialism, which meant a gloomy and ferocious despotism; and so on, down to our own times, the Imperialism of the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern,

There is no good in historians coquetting with the idea of Imperialism, as is the fashion with some of them : calling it "Philosophic Imperialism" as does M. Selliere, or "Democratic Imperialism," like the late Professor Cramb. Still there is a good deal in what M. Selliere has to say on the point. He is careful to state that British Imperialism differs materially from other forms of Imperialism ; and he goes on to say : "Imperialism for the English means concern for their Colonial Empire, now become so considerable in the world. Amongst English Imperialists some think only of maintaining the Unity of this Empire and of strengthening its cohesion ; others study questions of administration and economics, and simple problems of internal politics. But again, others meditate extending, when occasion offers, their domains overseas ; Kingsley, for instance, in 1855 ; Seely and Kipling, in history and literature."

This learned French author might have added something more, on the side of British Imperialism. Even the bitterest enemy of Great Britain cannot deny that she has done more than has any other State to open up and develop lands which were formerly inhabited by peoples too slothful or too ignorant to turn these lands to the best use. Englishmen, in which term is, of course, included men of the United Kingdom, have always been first in opening up and developing new tracts of the earth for the benefit of mankind. Enemesis of England may and have put forward, in reply to this, that she hastaken good care to profit by her explorations and to exploit them. Well, even suppose she has, who has a better right ? And still the fact remains-and it is a fact to which every impartial student of modern History must subscribe-England has devoted herself far less to the exploitation of subject races than has any other Imperial Government in the world's history. Just think of Germany in South-West Africa. Turn to India : Would any other Government, Imperial or otherwise, be satisfied with the very moderate profits which our Government takes from the irrigation Canals in India ? When those who wish to find fault with English rule and administration prate about "exploitation," they should at least be honest, and should not wilfully close their eyes to what English rule has done and is doing every day.

Still, Imperialism must go. The recent glorious victory of the Allied Forces is the defeat of the Imperialist idea ; and from August 1914 the Allies have been anti-Imperialist. The Allies took the field to fight for the liberty of the weak,

and oppressed : to protect the smaller nationalities from the claws and talons of Imperialism.

Imperialism has always meant what it still meant in August 1914 : repression, coercion, hostility to the idea of racial equality, and the absolute rule of a dominant race. This cannot be denied.

Now these four *stigmata* of Imperialism may, in some circumstances, be expedient, or even necessary. For instance, it is the duty of any State, Imperial or otherwise, to repress that which is evil in it ; so, in this case, repression becomes a necessary and laudable duty. To have recourse to coercion is always unpleasant, but is often unavoidable ; though a ruler who has only this weapon in his armoury is dangerously weak in defence. A hostility to the idea of racial equality is a feeling which is rampant even in the democratic United States of America. Whilst with regard to the question of the absolute rule of a dominant race, there are clear cases in History where it has proved a positive blessing : to France and Saxon England under the Normans ; to Spain under the Moors ; to India under the earlier Moghuls ; and to the Central Asian Khanates, Khiva, Merv, and Bokhara, under the Imperial Government of Russia. And it is more than probable that had absolute British rule been substituted for the rule of the East India Company, in 1858, the people of India to-day would have been the better for it. But a policy which might have been expedient in the fifties of the last century will scarcely suit the twentieth year of the twentieth century ; because in History the mill-wheel cannot be driven with the water which has gone by.

Now, having fairly put forward all that can be said in favour of Imperialism, let us turn to the other side. And, first of all, let us ask, is it wise or politic to expect that any normal people, or collection of peoples, will in these times tamely submit to repression, coercion, racial contempt and absolute rule ? Well, towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a German King ruling in England who believed in the heel of the jack-boot and the efficacy of the dog-whip ; and the result is deeply engraved on the iron pages of history. Then British Statesmen took that lesson to heart ; and, from that time till now, the British Empire-paradoxical as it may seem-has been explicitly based upon anti-Imperial ideas. Would any British statesman of to-day dream for a moment of applying coercion to Canada or Australia ?

Again, when the pseudo-independence of the

South African Republics was wiped out, England had the sublime moral courage to carry out a new stroke of anti-Imperial policy hitherto unheard-of in the history of any other Empire. She gave a full measure of self-Government to the Boers. Of course we do not forget that there were some "Little Englanders"—among them the Imperialist Poet-Laureate—who foamed and raged and protested against this noble measure of high statesmanship. What can these persons say for themselves to-day? Like stupid and ignorant school-boys, they can only say they are "sorry they spoke." In granting Self Government to South Africa, England stood out for Justice and Freedom; and she has been justified in the results. It is well to state that by the word "Freedom" here I mean *political equality*; nothing more nor less. No former Empire ever granted political equality to its subjects; but, as the historical fact has been often conveniently forgotten, I wish to call particular and public attention to it here: the Mussulmans were the first of all peoples to proclaim the political equality of men; and this they did in their Sacred Book, fully twelve hundred years before Mirabeau spoke or the Bastille fell. This stands to the everlasting glory of the Great Prophet of Islam.

Now to deal with the delicate question of "Hostility to the idea of racial equality." When the Great War broke out, England called Indian troops to her assistance. And it must be remembered that she called upon India exactly as she called upon Australia and Canada; that is, as a great favour, from a friend and equal. The call was in no sense in the nature of a command. India responded: in what manner is well known and will be never forgotten. And the presence of Indian Troops on the European battle-fields is in itself a most dramatic recognition of racial equality: a complete overthrow of all the old theories of Imperialism: an innovation bound to produce the most far-reaching results. By so valorously discharging their military duties on the European battle-fields, Indians have established their claim to the rights of full citizenship, and they henceforth cease to be a subject race. Soldiers who can fight and die, side by side, for the glorious cause of human freedom, are equal in the eyes of God and man. A Government which deliberately employs Indian troops in a European War can no longer deny the ultimate equality of the Indian races. The Indian soldiers did not go to Europe as mercenaries or slaves; they were not employed as the Roman Empire employed the

services of the Franks and Goths; they were not in the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; they came into Europe as the *fellow-subjects* of the English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, Canadian, Australian and South African.

When Jemadar Tej Singh, "somewhere in France," has his lower jaw shot away, he gets paper and pencil from a British Officer, and writes, "Have we won?" "Yes." And the eyes of the dying soldier fire up once more before he passes away to Valhalla, where he will be welcomed by his own warlike Guru Gobind, and by General Wolfe, who asked the same question as he lay dying at Quebec. The Sikh soldier did not ask, "Has the *Sirkar* won?" "Has the *Indian Army* won?" No; he says "WE;" and thus with his dying words he establishes the equality of the races.

This equality of race, established and cemented by blood, must be admitted in India itself, not only theoretically but practically. Yet, before this can be done, two very necessary qualities for peace, now generally conspicuous by their absence, must be taken up and cultivated by *all parties* in India. The first of these is Tolerance; the next, Sympathy. India will never be free from conflict and political trouble until *all classes* are actuated by a fuller sympathy with their fellow-men; until they are inspired with the true spirit of toleration. For it is well-known that intolerance of others, an obstinate refusal to see their point of view, is at the root of all strife, of all hatred and bad feeling, whether between individuals or between nations. A great deal is being said and written just now about "putting an end to War." It is a simple matter; but, as Von Moltke said of strategy, "its very difficulty lies in its simplicity." Put an end to the sentiment of intolerance and you have put an end to War. For it is in the sentiment of intolerance alone that the bed-rock cause of war has always been found. Perhaps the terrible calamities through which the world has just passed may do something to weaken or destroy this intolerance, and substitute for it a generous toleration, truly based upon Respect, and not upon Contempt. At present, the most formidable obstacles to the promotion and cultivation of tolerance and sympathy in India are the daily newspapers; but, far from being ashamed of this disease, some editors glory in it; and they make their livelihood by exhibiting their sores to the crowd, as leprous beggars do in the public streets.

The two main pillars of intolerance are class

prejudice and social prejudice. These will have to be thrown overboard before the ship of State can run on an even keel. And this will be one of the greatest of all difficulties ; for there is no part of the British Empire, nay, there is no part of the whole civilized world, in which class prejudice and social prejudice are so rampant as in British India. And the pity of it is that those who should be the first to discountenance these prejudices are themselves the worst offenders in this respect. Yet it must be remembered that there is some excuse for them : they cannot help their nature ; they are the children of British Fathers ; full of the pride of race. The history of England has made them what they are ; and the history of England since Waterloo is nothing more than the record of the efforts of a dominant clique to retain its domination.

A patent result of this is that for the past century intellectual progress in England has been more backward than in Germany, France, or America. For it is an undeniable historical fact that the most formidable enemy of intellectual progress has always been the domination of a particular ruling class. In the Middle Ages, the ruling Church authorities crushed all independence of thought, in fear of heresy : to get rid of the tares they destroyed the wheat as well ; those who dared to exercise the right of private judgment were dealt with by the long and merciless arm of the Holy Inquisition. In more recent times the Censorship of the press has been one of the most powerful supports of despotism ; and even in cases where liberty has been theoretically attained, a ruling class has still laboured to prevent its full development, silencing, as far as possible, the free expression of opinion, thus checking the growth of social and political education. So long as a particular dominating class or caste, not of the people, holds the reins in any country, culture in that country is bound to be hampered ; and, as a rule, the influence of the dominating class will be directed to this end. Intellectual progress, learning and education will be prostituted to the political necessities of the governing class ; and the fiction that "there are some matters which must not be publicly discussed" will be used as a muzzle, and zealously propagated. A grizzling and servile Press will be trained to conceal, or flatly deny notorious vices and acts of injustice and tyranny, and to credit the dominant class with all the virtues and graces. Journalists whose sole ambition is to get on in life will be able to do so only by meek submission. The emancipation of the human intellect is the very

last thing a selfish ruling class will wish for, or permit if they can help it ; because they naturally tremble at the idea of a free circulation of the Truth. Yet there is still a consolation for those who believe in and hope for the pre-ordained progress of Humanity ; and it cannot be better expressed than in the words of the profoundly learned and philosophic American, Dr. J. W. Draper, at the conclusion of one of his most eloquent paragraphs in his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe":—

"Over the events of life we may have control, but none whatever over the law of its progress. There is a geometry that applies to nations an equation of the curve of their advance. *That no mortal man can touch.*"

In the First Year of the Great War an article of mine appeared in the "Indian Review," having for its subject "Moral Forces in War." I pointed out that notwithstanding the tremendous numerical superiority which was then on the side of Germany, it would prove impossible for her to win, in the long run, since the Moral Forces were entirely on the side of England. I never for a moment wavered in my belief, even when things were at their worst ; because I was certain that History never belies itself. Now quite recently a few kind and esteemed friends who had read my former article, on Moral Forces, wrote to me, asking whether I had anything to say on "Moral Forces in Peace." Well, Moral Forces have in Peace at least as much influence as in War, though the Forces may work differently. There are various kinds of Peace after any War : there is the Peace honourable to the victors only : there is the Peace honorable to both belligerents ; and there is a sort of Peace dishonorable to everybody who takes part in it. And there is also a Peace, in times of peace, more destructive of the manhood of living man than War is destructive of his material body, as chains are more destructive than bayonets.

At the present moment, the fervent hope of millions of human beings is that England will still go on keeping "Moral Force" in the foremost place ; and thus add a crowning success of Peace to the most glorious victory in her History.

The Treaty of Peace was signed on June 28, a date that will become historic. "This formal act" says His Majesty in a Message to the Empire, "manifests the victory of ideals of freedom and my people's joy and thanksgiving" ; and we join in the earnest prayer "that the coming years of peace may bring to them ever increasing happiness and prosperity."—*Ed. I. R.*

BOLSHEVISM AND THE ALLIES

BY

Mr. E. W. GREEN

WHEN President Wilson uttered his now familiar phrase that the world must be made safe for democracy, he had probably no conception of the far-reaching application of the phrase. He was impelled by fear of the success of German militarism, a limited localised danger. There was no thought that democracy stood in danger from any other quarter. Now it has become clear that an organisation has arisen which is as much a foe to democracy as German militarism was, and that organisation is Russian Bolshevism—a danger neither limited nor localised, but one which may raise its Hydra-head in any quarter of the world. To the man in the street Bolshevism is merely one of the side-issues of the war. It is put in the same category with industrial unrest and economic upheaval. He is shocked at the condition into which Russia has lapsed, but he feels that it is her own fault after all and in a vague way looks upon the consequences as some sort of a punishment for her desertion of the allied cause. The right course to his mind is to leave her to settle her own affairs. In any case it does not seem worth his while to sacrifice any more lives in a quarrel so remote and in a matter for which his country has no responsibility.

But this is the attitude of ignorance—an ignorance as dangerous as the public ignorance of the nature and purpose of German militarism five years ago. If the British and French public had known in 1914 all that German militarism stood for, its objects, machinery and the consequences of its success, the former would have been less contented with its superb little army and the latter would not have tolerated its corrupt politicians. As it was, the public did not understand the danger and was not prepared for the over-

whelming onslaught of the German armies. Have the established Governments of the world done anything to acquaint the public in their charge with the real meaning of Bolshevism, its objects, the methods by which it means to realise its purpose and the consequences of its success? For if the general public does not realise the danger, it will not support the measures which are necessary for the destruction of Bolshevism.

It must be brought home to the people of every country that Bolshevism is no longer a question of professors and books and social faddists. Bolshevism has been developed into as precise and unrelenting a system by Lenin and Trotsky as French Jacobinism was by Robespierre and Carnot. Its object is to establish a communistic system of society and to establish it by force. With this object Lenin has imposed a dictatorship on Russia as searching in its operations and as antagonistic to individual liberty as was the overthrown autocracy of the Czar.

There is nothing democratic in Bolshevik aims. Democracy is a form of government which gives political opportunities to all members of the community and employs the power of government for the benefit of all classes of the people for the preservation of law and order and the protection of life and property. Bolshevism is absolutely and ineradicably opposed to such a form of government or, in fact, to any form of government. The British Labourite and the French Socialist are equally anathema to the Russian Bolshevik. The writer of a recent article—in the *Round Table* quotes from the published works of Bolshevik leaders that "all government will be suppressed except perhaps a central statistical bureau" which will merely determine the quantities of each article to be produced each year by the members of

the community for food and clothing, education and recreation ; Russian Bolshevism stands for the abolition of all private property without compromise or compensation and the institution of a society in which everything is held in common—the Gospel of the German communist, Karl Marx.

If the object of Bolshevism is anti-democratic, still more so are its methods. The means by which Bolshevik doctrines have been established in Russia is naked despotism—a single ruler, Lenin, centralised institutions, a powerful police and a conscript army, the Red Guards. It is as powerful as the ancient Czardom, as ambitious as German militarism, as savage as the French Terror. The avowed object of the Leninists was from the first the establishment of a despotism to exist until communism had been firmly planted in Russia. It is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It would cease when the need for it ceased, that is, when revolutionary force had crushed all opposition. As their evangelist, Bucharin, has succinctly expressed it—"To Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The success of such a movement, anti-political in its aim and tyrannical in its method, must be fatal to the existence of democracy. The Bolshevik leaders definitely admit it. Their hostility to the cardinal principle of democratic government was sufficiently revealed when at the beginning of the revolution they overthrew by force the Constituent assembly because the majority was anti-Bolshevik, and set up in its stead the power of Soviets from which all but the working classes were excluded. Their goal is a communistic state "which will destroy all forms of government including democratic government."

But the success of Bolshevism means much more than the crushing of individual freedom and democratic principles in Russia. Its aspirations extend far beyond the successful establishment of

its system in the country of its adoption. Bucharin makes the point quite clear. In his programme of the communists issued last year in Moscow, he wrote : "The programme of the communist party is the programme not only of the liberation of the proletariat of one country. It is the programme of the liberation of the proletariat of all countries, because it is the programme of international revolution." The success of Bolshevism is, in fact, inseparably bound up with revolution, social, economic and political throughout the world. A few months ago Lenin definitely enunciated that "our chief hope, our chief support is in the proletariat of Western Europe, in the proletariat of the more advanced countries" and admitted that a communist Russia cannot exist in isolation. All Europe must be communist or Bolshevism in Russia is doomed. Hence the hostilities in Poland and Hungary and the apprehension of a Bolshevik entente with Germany and Turkey. The discovery of bomb factories in Holland and Scandinavia set up, it is reported, by Bolshevik agents, indicates the wide range of their operations and their determination to attempt by any means to secure the successful realisation of their ideas. Nor has Asia been forgotten. The creation of a revolutionary atmosphere in India, China, and Persia is a specific part of their programme. Their object again in Asia is to rely on the illiterate working classes in the industrial centres, as they have done in Russia, to overthrow the propertied classes with whom there is no compromise. There is good reason to suppose that Bolshevik agents have been at work in this country.

The situation, in fine, is not unlike that which was created by the French revolutionaries in 1793. When their work had been relentlessly consummated at home by the execution of the King and the overthrow of the ancient social and political system, they turned their eyes towards Europe, offering their aid to any country which

desired to overthrow its government. Not content with the successful establishment of their ideas at home, they determined that every European country should adopt them also, and were prepared to force their views on Europe by arms. These were "the armed opinions" which Pitt armed England to resist and in the word 'security' enunciated the policy which was the eighteenth century equivalent of President Wilson's—"make the world safe for democracy." It is interesting to note too that India came within the scope of French revolutionary sympathies. To Tippoo was sent the red cap of liberty and trees were planted in his dominions in honour of the goddess. Tippoo Sultan became citizen Tippoo of the one and indivisible French Republic. So too at the present time. Europe is faced with the armed opinions of Bolshevik Russia—"the victory of socialism in all countries"—not the heretical Socialism of the French and English Labour Parties, but the true Gospel of Karl Marx, whose prophet is Lenin. The French minister for foreign affairs, M. Pichon, gave expression to this view last month in the course of a debate in the chamber of deputies on the Russian situation when he declared that Bolshevism was not only the plague of Russia, but also that of humanity in general.

The danger then lies not so much in the establishment of "unacquainted change" in one of the countries of Europe as in the intention of the Bolshevik leaders to establish similar conditions by force throughout the world. It is not a domestic Bolshevism, unpleasant and revolting as it may be, which is the danger to be guarded against, but Imperial Bolshevism. It desires, no less than Jacobinism and Kaiserism, the dominion of the world. From this point of view the futility of a policy of *Laissez faire* is obvious. Something might be said for allowing Bolshevism to stew in its own juice, provided it were content to conduct the process within the Russian frontiers.

But that is evidently not its intention. Not only, as we have seen, does it purpose the armed dissemination of its views but large areas of Europe are in a condition peculiarly responsive to the new doctrines owing to the economic and political upheaval created by the war. Thus a Bolshevik revolution has been effected in Hungary. The democratic government which was established on the downfall of the Austrian Empire has been overthrown and a Soviet Republic has been set up under the dictatorship of Herr Bela Kun. The machinery, methods and aims of the Hungarian Bolsheviks are identical with the Russian system and indicative of the condition which Bolshevism would impose on any converted country—a conscript army, ruthless destruction of opponents, pillage of private property, and propagation of international revolution. Bela Kun recently declared that even if the Soviet were temporarily overthrown, the coming international revolution would restore the Bolshevik power. In Germany there is at least one Soviet government—Bavaria—and the struggle for the establishment of similar republics elsewhere hangs in the balance, and, though the recent declaration of one of the soberest of London daily papers, that an alliance had been arranged between Russia and Germany, may be unfounded, such a union is not beyond the borders of probability and certainly harmonises with Bolshevik aspirations. In Turkey the situation is still indefinite, but there have been rumours of relations between the discredited and defeated Turkish Government and the Bolshevik leaders, and that the latter count among their agents many Turkish elements. Should Bolshevism establish itself in the Turkish dominions India and Egypt would come more directly within the range of Bolshevik influence.

With the ignominious exception of the attempt to negotiate with the Bolshevik government at Prinkipo, the allied governments have adopted a policy of resistance on the frontiers of Russia.

a system of bases and barriers. Under this system bases were established at Archangel and Odessa from which the flanks of Russia can be assailed in case of necessity and assistance given to anti-Bolshevik elements. Neither force appears to have been strongly established and in the South Odessa had to be evacuated and Sevastopol occupied as the new base. The occupation of these posts is obviously only a temporary measure, a more permanent barrier is to be found in the establishment of a number of nation-states along the frontiers of Russia which will form a barrier against the armed dissemination of Bolshevik opinions through western Europe and an obstruction to the spreading of Bolshevik propaganda. This will be the first political mission of the restored Roumania and of the states which have risen from the ruins of the overthrown Empires. Poland, Bohemia and the country of the Jugo-Slavs, very much as the mediaeval Mark system was devised to protect a disorganised and decentralised Central Europe against the onslaught of Magyar and Slavonic tribes. All these states are imbued with a strong sense of nationalism which is the very antithesis of international Bolshevism, and with the will, if not the unaided power, to resist the intrusion of Bolshevism which would mean the destruction of their newly created hopes.

Both political and geographical conditions combine to demand the erection of a strong barrier between Russia and Central Europe. On the one side lies a state in aggressive revolution; on the other lie countries and peoples in a state of political distraction and economic disorganisation containing a discontented proletariat ready to accept the same revolutionary ideas. The problem, therefore, is to close the westward outlets against Bolshevism. There are two main approaches, the wide gap between the Carpathians and the Baltic and the narrow one between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. Poland lies in

the former gap; Roumania in the latter, and these two countries cover the passes of the Carpathians. Between the two gaps lie the Carpathian mountains which are an obstacle, but not an insuperable one, to a westward advance. The importance, then, of Hungary, the state within the Carpathians, is clear. A Bolshevik Hungary threatens both Poland and Roumania and outflanks the Northern and the Southern gaps. Hungary controls also the other gateways to Central Europe. Between the Western end of the Carpathians and the Bohemia mountains lie the Moravian gates, leading to Vienna and the Danube valley; Hungary commands too the Southern approaches to Vienna and the Eastern ones to Italy along the valley of the Save which leads to the plateau of Laibach and the historic gap between the Carnic and the Julian Alps. In these gaps at the Western extremities of Hungary lie the new Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav states, the former, Bohemia, guarding the Moravian gates and the latter, Bosnia and Croatia, backed by Serbia, covering the southern approaches by the Danube and her two great tributaries, the Save and the Drave, the historic highways trodden from the earliest ages by Eastern invaders. In view, therefore, of its vast strategic importance it is not strange that Bolshevik leaders should have made an early effort to establish their power in Hungary. The establishment of a Soviet Government and its alliance with Russia led to the immediate invasion of the country by Roumanian, Czech and Slovene armies, the wardens of the South Eastern marches.

In the same way Poland has been called upon to check the approach of Bolshevik armies through the broad northern gap. The Polish divisions which had been serving in France were sent back after considerable delay for that purpose. Their commander, General Haller, clearly indicated their mission in a recent statement that they have to create with the Roumanians a barrier

which the Bolsheviks would never break. But it is clear from a glance at the map that if Poland is to fulfil her mission effectively she must regain all those provinces which were torn from her in the three partitions, from Danzig and Thorn in the north to Lemberg and Czernovitz in the South. Without West Prussia there will be an open corridor in the North leading into Germany and, if Galicia is withheld, Poland will not cover the Northern and North-Western passes into Hungary nor will she link up with Roumania. The situation thus demands the restoration of the Mediæval system which followed upon the break-up of Charlemagne's Empire—a barrier of small mark states and an extensive Poland. Such a political system the allies are about to recreate on the basis of nationality.

But Bolshevism is a double-headed eagle with its vision East as well as West. It desires to prepare in the East no less than the West the path to international revolution, and there are areas here also ready to receive the revolutionary propaganda. The extension of Russia into Central Asia facilitated the spread of Bolshevik doctrines in this continent and almost every district of Siberia had at one time its Soviet organisation. So serious was the situation that an allied expedition was sent to Siberia to check the progress of Bolshevism, and only after much heavy fighting have Bolshevik forces been seriously defeated in this region. Equally severe has been the struggle in the Southern outlets in the Caucasus-Caspian region where for a time part of the Mesopotamian army was engaged. In fact Bolshevism has had to be met in Asia as well as in Europe by armed force and, although temporarily defeated, it is not destroyed, and it is imperative that the allies, knowing its scope and purpose, should erect, as in the west, barriers against its approach;

One of the main objectives in the East is India. The proceedings of Bolshevik agents

recently brought to light in Finland makes it clear that India falls within the sphere of their machinations. There is reason to believe that they have already been at work in India, but this preliminary and tentative propogandism is not the subject of this article. The point for consideration is the measures which are necessary to check the armed approach of Bolshevism, in the event of the movement becoming aggressive again. In that case India, like Western Europe, will require her barrier—a political system which will stand between her and Bolshevism for the establishment of a Soviet Government on her borders would be intolerable.

The approaches to India lie through Persia and Afghanistan and both of these countries are areas of political instability, affording by reason of their corrupt governments open ground for the work of Bolshevik agents. Of these countries Persia is the more exposed to Bolshevism. Her powers of resistance are weaker and her corrupt and chaotic condition has already inclined her to coquet with Bolshevism as she did with German nism. Situated on the flank of the North Western passes into India and controlling communication with the North-West frontier from the Caspian base, it is as important for India that Persia should be anti-Bolshevist as that Hungary should be closed to Bolshevism in Europe. For the same reason Persia, like Hungary, will be a primary objective of Bolshevik intrigue, as it was of French Jacobinism and its subsequent Imperialist phase, when Mirabeau in 1786 hoped for "a timely Russian invasion of India through Central Asia" and Napoleon in 1799 organised a combined attack with Russian forces with Astrabad as his base. Thus the determination of the Persian question and the nature of the Government to be established is a matter of vital importance for India; and British interests in Persia are entirely Indian interests.

But owing to the weakness of its government and its compromising relations with Germany and Bolshevik Russia, Persia can no more be relied upon than Hungary to be a sure defence against Bolshevism. The gateways of Persia require guarding as those of Hungary will be guarded by the new Polish, Czech and Jugo Slav states. Excluding the waterways which lead from the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, Persia communicates with the outside world through the passes of her encircling mountain ranges. On the West, mountains cut her off from the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates, on the North from Caucasia and Armenia. To guard the approaches through these ranges Indian interests require the establishment of stable political conditions in Mesopotamia and Armenia, the countries which cover the Persian passes as Poland and Roumania cover the Hungarian. There remains the North Eastern frontier of Persia which follows the River Atrek and near its source crosses the gap between the range to the South of the river and the mountains of Afghanistan, where the frontiers of Russia, Persia and Afghanistan meet at Zulfi kar. On this frontier it would be difficult to construct a barrier state. The break-up of the Russian Empire might result in the development in this region of an independent Turkestan, but that quarter, remote from the support of the anti-Bolshevik governments of the West must remain the weak spot in the armour. For its protection it is necessary to rely upon what it has been British policy to ensure by every means available a strong and friendly Afghanistan.

It seems, then, that the work of the allies in the East should be the creation of stable conditions of government under their guarantee on the frontiers of Persia. It is a policy which requires the creation of new states—Armenia and Mesopotamia and the maintenance of an independent Afghanistan, a course paralleled to the strengthening of Roumania and the creation of

the Polish and Slavonic states in Europe. To make Armenia an effective barrier her territory would have to be extended to the Caspian and must include the important towns of Kars and Erivan, through which runs the road from the Russian territory to Tabriz in Persia. Without this extension of Armenia to include the mountainous country which extends practically to the Caspian, a gap would be left through which Russia and Persia would have unimpeded communication.

The political destiny of the territory on the borders of Russia is then one of the most important questions which the Peace Conference has to decide. Of capital interest for Europe will be the settlement of the Polish question. Of more immediate interest to India will be the determination of the future of these territories in the middle East whose condition vitally concerns her own safety. But the whole question is one and indivisible, because it is all inextricably bound up with the future of Bolshevism. The outburst in Hungary is symptomatic of what might happen in any country in which inflammable material exists. It might occur at any moment in Germany, for instance, where the Government has not yet been able to put down the revolutionary party. It is true that Bolshevism shows signs of collapse and has met with serious defeat in Asia, but the evil has been scotched, not killed, and is still to be regarded as a universal peril. To quote the London *Observer* "the enemy to European stability and to general recovery from the war is no longer the Boche, but the Bolshevik."

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APPAYA—A KANARESE SAINT

BY

MR. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR, B.A.

In the history of Mediæval India the chapter dealing with the lives and work of the saints and the prophets is as remarkable as it is edifying. These saints exercised in their own time a profound influence on social and political life in this country. When the lower classes were denied certain social privileges and liberties these saints stood up as the redoubtable champions of the cause of the down-trodden. When the 'high-born' classes above had any chance of drinking at the founts of classical lore, they composed their songs in the language of the people and thus enriched the vernacular literature. When the sacerdotal class was proclaiming from the house-tops that the 'twice-born' only can attain God, they declared with all the force of conviction at their command that all can attain Him and enjoy the bliss of *mokkti*. They were in more senses than one true nation-builders. There have been Saints in Bengal, in the Panjab, in the Maharashtra and also in the Tamil Districts of Southern India, every one of whom had a distinct cultural mission in life. The Kanarese districts too had their own saints and in this paper we propose dealing briefly with the life of one such Kanarese Saint familiarly known as Appaya.

Saint Appaya was born in the year 1768 A.D. at Bhatkal, in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. This is an excellent little seaport town on the west coast of India. At the time of the birth of this Saint it formed a Village under the control of the Chief of Nagar in Mysore, which was in those days known as *Vidya-Nagar*. It is highly probable that one *Basava-Nripa* was then the chief of this state to whom there are many references in the poems of this poet saint. Ramachandra, the father of Appaya, was a Saraswat Brahmin and held the post of the village headman of Bhatkal, under the Chief of Nagar. Early in life this would-be Saint was known by the name of Lakshuman but was nick-named Appaya, a term which might be a corruption of *Atma* and *Arya*. The Saint in his poems acknowledges *Vimalananda* as his Guru who among other works, is known as the author of a Kanarese work by name "*Krishna-Arjuna Kalaga*," which was composed in the year 1684. There is of course no direct evidence either internal or external to fix the exact date of birth of this poet. Appaya was a healthy lad given

up to a sort of retired life and early in boyhood developed a keen interest in hearing the stories from *Pooranas* and other religious books. He had also shown signs of possessing a taste for playing on musical instruments and became a musician at the tender age of fifteen.

Just at this stage his study of religious books worked out a thorough change in his mental attitude. He was confronted with the eternal problems of life and death. What is life and death? How has this universe come into existence? What do the idols of Shiva and Ganpati denote? Is not God one? What is man and how should his relations be adjusted with his fellow creatures? Why is there misery in the world? Such were the problems at the solution of which this boy of fifteen strove. He now determined to solve them but was fully conscious of the need of a worthy *Guru*. The search after this *Guru* now became the dominant feeling. His fond parents, however, began to feel great anxiety for the future worldly welfare of the boy. Their suspicions grew worse day by day and their next thought was how to wean the boy away from such wild speculations and his insatiable desire to seek after a spiritual *Guru*, with an utter indifference to affairs of this world was too strong for the father and the mother to sit quiet. Every attempt was made to divest the child's mind of all eccentricities. When every plan proved futile they thought of marrying him. With that mill-stone round his neck they thought all angularities would be rubbed over. One charming little girl *Bhagirathi* by name accordingly became a partner of his life. The boy was, however, not of a rebellious disposition and the life's current ran smooth, till the cruel hand of death snatched away the innocent *Bhagirathi*.

But matrimony could not satisfy his hankerings after truth. Who could quench his spiritual thirst? Without a diligent search after a *Guru* he could never hope to get solace. With this end in view he was visiting daily a temple of *Maruti* at Bhatkal which was a rendezvous for ascetics and Saints from different parts of India. One fine morning Appaya was circumambulating in this temple dedicated to *Hanuman*, the faithful ally of Rama and lo, a gigantic figure of an ascetic stood before him. The commanding appearance, the symmetrical shape and the glittering eyes of that remarkable *Sanyasi* sank deep

into his heart and the diligent truth-seeker stood before him in all reverence and humility. It appeared to him as though oil was poured over the troubled waters of his mind. The *Sanyasin*, however, first told him that he was being sorely distressed by the pangs of hunger and food alone at that juncture would save him. No more formalities were gone through and at once both of them returned to the house of Ramarao, to partake of what food was available at his house. As fate would have it, that happened to be a day on which grand preparations were being made to receive the Belly-God, Ganesh. People in the house were too busy to attend to any ascetic. Appaya was on the horns of a dilemma. No food was there to be served to any one unless and until it was first offered to God Ganesh. Appaya who was now to play the role of a host began to feel that any further delay on his part would rouse the wrath of the *Sanyasin* and that would for ever deprive him of the benefits of *Guru-Upadesha*. Now or never. Forthwith he proceeded to his wife and sought her advice. *Bhagirathi*, the type of an Indian *Grahinee*—(house-wife)—in all spirit of obedience to her husband agreed to serve the honoured guest, come what may. She knew fully well that the wrath of her mother-in-law and other relatives would descend upon her in all its hideousness. But to her it mattered very little. Husband's word was her law. Quietly she went and served the *Sanyasin*. The troubles did not end there. The guest proved to be voracious beyond her expectations. Anything that she served disappeared speedily. It was doubtful whether he could be satisfied at all and more frightful still it was to empty the contents of the kitchen. The story goes that the vessels that were emptied to feed him were once again filled up as before. Whatever that might be the wonderstruck disciple just then came out to see the honoured guest. But to his utter disappointment and dismay he found he had gone away. Though he was out of sight he was not out of his mind. He was determined to search for him with all the diligence he could possibly command. Forthwith Appaya set out on the search. He passed through dense forests and marshy places but nowhere could he trace him. In these fruitless endeavours one full day and one tedious night passed. Without food or water he continued his journey. Next morning, however, a sonorous voice not quite unfamiliar was heard and he was right glad to note that it was the voice of the self-same ascetic. He came nearer and nearer and accepting him as his disciple delivered unto

him the message of messages. He was asked to go over to a village, not far away from Bhatkal, Bailoor by name and meet him at his *Ashrama*-place of residence.—Here it was that he sat at the feet of this *Vimalananda* and studied *Vedanta* and in fact seemed to have been initiated into the mysteries of occult sciences. In every poem of his the grateful disciple honours the name of this *Vimalananda*.

The details of the incidents in the life of Appaya are not forth-coming. His poems, folklore and tradition testify to distant travels undertaken by him. He seems to have gone as far as Tanjore in the South. Wherever he went he used to compose songs in Kanarese and sing them to people. When he went to the chief of Nagar he composed several songs dealing with the plot of *Ramayana* and the chief being pleased with them conferred on him the title of "*Vira-Kavi*"—a great poet.—He knew Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindustanee and besides was well-versed in Kanarese. Only 48 poems of his have been published till now by Mr. A. S. Mudbhatkal of Kanara. These 48 poems are priceless gems. In them the philosophy of *Vedanta* and *Dharma* is beautifully delineated. His similes are uniformly sublime and the themes are always inspiring. These songs even to this day are sung with devotion by many people in Kanarese districts and mothers while rocking the cradles too sing them and honour the memory of Appaya. There can be no denying the fact that they are highly popular wherever the Kanarese language is spoken. One or two songs have been composed in Hindustanee and Marathi. There is also a halo of sanctity round the life of a Saint. Appaya too is reported to have worked out several miracles. He is said to have restored eyesight to the blind, crossed the rivers without boats or any external aid or perhaps saved many from the jaws of death. In a highly rationalistic age like the present people may not be prepared to accept them but in any case the mind of the simple peasant or an innocent devotee is always captivated by some such miracles and saints have found a place in the galaxy of *Avataras* or divine incarnations. Their real work as we have stated above is of a more permanent character. Appaya-Kavi must have become a *Sanyasin* in the evening of his life and spent his whole life in preaching and enlightening public conscience. The exact date of his death also cannot be ascertained with precision. There is his grave at Bhatkal to this day and in the temple erected over it many a devotee of his come and revere his memory.

OUR ANGLO-INDIAN CRITICS*

BY
THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

MY principal object to day, is to deal with certain critics of ours. I have in mind chiefly the Anglo-Indian critics. It is the fashion amongst a certain school of Indian politicians to treat Anglo-Indian critics as if they do not matter much in current politics. Sometimes no doubt one is driven to that state of feeling, one is free to confess, but as things are at present ordered they do count for a very great deal indeed. Twice during the last few months I have felt called upon in the discharge of public duties to refer to the enormous influence that these critics of ours wield in regulating the affairs of Indian administration. They are an element which it is not wise to ignore. To have them on your side if you can, would be a great strength. To have them against you is to fight against great odds. It is our duty, if we can manage it, to divide this solid wall of opposition, to draw some of it if not entirely, to our side, at any rate, half-way in that direction. Attempts in that behalf should be made provided they are done with self-respect on our side and without loss of any of our most essential points in the controversy. I venture to think this task is not an impossibility, and there are amongst us—and I speak for the moment for all schools of Indian politicians—there are amongst us persons possessed of the qualities necessary to draw to our side a great deal of what otherwise under neglect might prove a daily increasing opposition. Now, our critics, the Anglo-Indians are, first of all, safely entrenched. Their position is particularly strong as I shall presently relate. It may seem to some of you that in dealing with these people, if I am at all going to be frank and candid, I shall run very close to the border of section 153 A. of the Penal Code which is one of the sections that they have included in the Rowlatt law, recently enacted. I am afraid of incurring some risk of this, but it is necessary and I do not mind it. Then let me premise that in my conception of the India of the future, as I believe in the future India of most people, the European is not eliminated. He is there, as much as the Indian. Certainly you all realise that the European wishes to be there. To that extent we are agreed; but there are some conditions which for our part we should lay down

as essential if his continuance in the political sphere of India were to be perfectly agreeable to us, if the patriotism of the future India, enlarged and ennobled as it will be, should be altogether reconciled to the presence of the European. Some of these conditions are obvious. We would say the European ought to occupy no position of power or privilege in this country denied to other sections of the population. We would demand that his continuance here was perfectly compatible with the equality with him of all other peoples in India, that it was compatible with the maintenance on the highest level of the national self-respect of the Indian people, that we got rid of all the humiliations which during every hour of the present day existence we feel owing to the domination of the British race. These conditions being satisfied, we shall be reconciled to his continuance in Indian politics. It is in order to bring about the existence of these conditions that part of our energies are now directed. I lay some emphasis on this obvious feature of the situation because I realise that while no body in an enunciation of the situation is likely to admit it, there are moments in our lives when we sit all by ourselves and mix up wish with reality and indulge in day-dreams from which perhaps the European may be absent. To such I would recommend a careful perusal of the article recently written by a remarkable person—Hardayal—I was much interested in the article part of which has been reproduced in *New India*. It is a very instructive document. Obviously it is written from the heart. Hardayal has dipped his pen in the freshest experience of a well-travelled person—a person who has seen not only the strength and the weakness of India but the strength and the weakness of the enemies of the British Empire—a man who has been in league with Germany, who has been actuated by ideals somewhat akin to the Germans. We read of a man whose experience has been under the operation of those ideals, no doubt sought by himself, who has had experience of Germany and of certain other persons with whom he has lived. In a passage glowing with pathetic eloquence, Hardayal writes—I make no apology for reading it, as some of you I am sure have not read it. These long things we sometimes reserve for leisure and the leisure seldom comes.

He was a very distinguished student, a man who carried away the brightest honours of the Punjab University. He is described by all as a gen-

* Full text of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Liberal League on the 20th April 1919, and specially transcribed for *The Indian Review*.

ius of the very first order and amongst his Professors were Europeans of distinction. This is what he says :—

Imperialism is always an evil, but British and French Imperialism in its worst forms is a thousand times preferable to German or Japanese Imperialism. The English and the French are at least gentlemen in personal intercourse, and they have free institutions at home, which exercise a liberalising influence on their colonial policy in spite of themselves. The meanest English or French Jingo cannot abolish the Magna Charta or blot out the words, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," but the Germans, have no tradition of freedom. The Prussian rules over all the Germans, and the Prussian is perhaps the most detestable biped on earth. He is selfish, avaricious, heartless, arrogant, unscrupulous and servile. A slave and a bully, he is cruel to the weak and obsequious to the strong. He understands only the law of Force, and worships Power and Rank. He is an upstart, and has all the vices of the parvenu. He suffers from incurable megalomania, to which political kleptomania and other serious disorders have been added during the last thirty years. He may be a patriot, a poet or a pedant, but he is never a gentleman. He wishes to exploit every one he meets, and his word cannot be trusted. All who know him despise and hate him. There is a good reason for this universal verdict against him. We should rejoice with exceeding joy that he has been humbled and thrown down from his high pedestal. I have lived in Prussia for two years during the war, and know what I am talking about.

And as the world is infested with imperialists of every nationality, it is the part of wisdom for us not to tempt Fate, but to stay under the protection of the British fleet and army in our quiet, sunny home of Hindustan, and to make the best of our position in the Empire. We are not equipped for the deadly rivalries and fierce struggles of this age of iron Imperialism. Others will not leave us alone, if we once lose the shelter of the name and ægis of Great Britain. Exposed to the buffettings of chance and force, we shall have to suffer worse evils than those that now afflict us. Partition, forced conversion to other creeds, and similar calamities have befallen weak peoples in Asia and Europe even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Let us not jump out of the frying-pan of British Imperialism into the fire of who knows what?

Now we all know that every nation that establishes itself over another speaks generally of its civilising mission, of the high aims and objects which alone it seeks to achieve in its conquest of brother man. Really, however, this claim is not always well-founded. We know that it marches side by side with self-aggrandisement, with the subjection, I think, at every turn of the other party, with exploitation of every kind—and in the case of the Power with whom Hardyal had dealings, misdeeds of a far worse type. They say that it is unwise to inquire into the origin of rivers and Rishis. We are likely to come upon some ugly and ignoble things. We have to confine ourselves to the grand things that they do without

making any attempts at knowing the source from which they arise. It is so with Empires. The man who seeks for righteousness in the origin of Empires seeks for things which do not exist. This is not, however, let me confess to you, an evil pertaining to Western Empires alone. We had an Empire of ours in the Past. We conquered Java, Borneo and other countries round about and history says that we came in also by conquest from the north, sometimes by peaceful exclusion of other people, but I dare say also very often by stern measures. Our books also speak of the ways in which the Empire must have extended itself. Let us not be oblivious to the spot in our eyes while we accuse others of infamy. We also gave very good names in our books to some things that those who lived there would not have called by those sweet names. We know how in modern times, when our Empire was extended it was usually through the missionary or the trader. The missionary comes and by his aggressive preachings of religion, by insults heaped upon the religions of the heathens, gets beaten, sometimes killed and the Empire at his back steps forward and demands reparation, possibly a cession of territory. I do not think this would be a bad way of describing some of the ways in which our own Empire seems to have been extended in the remote past. We have read of the primary duties of a king being often described as the protection that he is bound to offer to the Rishis and the Munis, who seek to perform *tupas* in the confines of his territories. In contact with other civilisations, probably of the Dravidian tribes, when they would come and disturb them, and then these people go and tell the king, "We are your men, and yet we are disturbed by these enemies of ours; come and afford us protection"; and the king would go forth and do battle; and while the Saints and Munis were protected, the King's Empire had also been added to. The thing is not altogether unknown to us and I mention this only to show that it is the same with all humankind. There is no use judging other people by standards above which we have not ourselves risen. The test by which we judge an Empire is "Is it on the whole beneficial; is the overlordship of the inhabitants, taking good and evil together, on the whole, for the benefit and improvement of the subject people?" If your answer taking the rough and the smooth together, for there is plenty of rough and smooth in all human transactions, if your answer on the whole is 'yes' we have to be content with the statement that the Empire is a civilising agency. There is no other

sense in which historically we can justify these things. Now I think if we apply this comparative test, this very human test, we should say upon the whole that the English have done well in India. I know you will urge against this several disabilities under which we still labour. I know them, I will enumerate them by and by.

Take the domain of law which above all is no respector of prestige of persons or of the race to which they belong. Now, in this very domain of law there is a special immunity afforded to the European which is denied to the Indian. He has the right to claim that he shall be tried by a European Judge or if not by a European Magistrate by a Jury of his countrymen. We have no such right. On the contrary, in our big trials, for sedition for example, we have known our people being tried by juries on which the majority were Europeans. Now I mention this to show how in this very matter of law there is a glaring disability still maintained in this country. But, apart from that, I am constrained to remark on what every lawyer who practises in the High Court knows—I am taking the High Court and not the Lower Courts because that is supposed to be a place where the even-handed character of justice may be perceived. Now here it is more apparent than in the disposal of patronage by the Government. I am informed a good many of the legal appointments go to inferior Europeans, while the Indians with far superior qualifications and in the enjoyment of much better practice are denied preference. I am not aware that there is a statutory rule in this exercise of patronage. But I suppose it is necessary to keep the hungry European Barrister somehow or other alive. But you can see this sort of thing in other spheres as well.

I take next the sphere of religion where again we ought not *prima facie* to be face to face with any disability; even there however, we find that missionaries, in various walks of life, enjoy certain facilities not open to us. When they open schools and are in rivalry with schools managed by indigenous agencies, the latter go to the wall. But above all that, there is at the present moment a serious privilege which they enjoy, to which I have for some years been drawing attention and which I consider to be illegitimate. The Protestant Christian Mission have in their schools enforced the teachings of their religion on children who seek secular instruction. I do not dwell upon it further, except to show that even in this case when we want a conscience

clause it is upon the footing that that is the only condition on which we can reconcile the existence of these missionary institutions in the future system of education. It is for the purpose of giving them a stable and welcome permanence that we desire this measure.

I take next the Press. The European editors transcend the ordinary laws. It is, I think, axiomatic that they are not dealt with in the same way in which Indian editors are. I mention the fact in no spirit of cavil. I know Mrs. Besant frequently saying and writing: "I write in this fashion, and I know I am not touched because I have a white skin." That however represents a fact which is borne in on the experience of all who take part in any way in journalism in this country. They get above all a certain advantage in the matter of news, they enjoy precedence in this respect over others, and the fact that you cannot say that this proceeds from this particular rule or that particular rule makes the evil of this preference all the greater and the more subtle because you cannot attack it. Sometimes these advantages come to them by the mere fact that they are Europeans, not because any special rules are made on their behalf. Rules are made for big things—and certain small things happen without the operation of any special rule.

In the economic sphere our disadvantages are varied and those who have had any experience of commercial transactions, those who have had any experience of banking, will need no facts to justify the broad proposition that in the sphere of economic interests the European by virtue of his race and political supremacy enjoys a very, very great advantage over the Indian competitor.

I need not expatiate on the services with regard to which it is an open sore that we have had during the last 85 or 100 years. Big commissions that stir up political and racial feelings come and go and very little has been done to ameliorate the situation. Now, above all there is another matter to which although it is a little more recondite, attention must be drawn. There is the question of the personal 'prestige' which it is required should be maintained in the case of the European. John Stuart Mill called attention, from his experience of the way in which Indian officers are administering the country, to this very great evil in India—adventurers and two or three classes of men, generally of no great repute, coming from the west and surrounded naturally with certain

facilities attaching to the European dominant race and by reason of those facilities conducting themselves in a very objectionable manner, behaving insultingly and aggressively to the great material prejudice of Indians and often admonishing their own master. He said that their duty must be to put down this sort of European adventurer. Another great writer, Sir James Bryce (now Viscount Bryce) in one of his earlier essays mentions a curious experience of his. He went from one of the capitals of this country on a long expedition into the remote country partly, I suppose, drawn from love of sport but partly also because of his desire to see the races inhabiting the country. It was a wonder to him how he was treated wherever he went and he regarded it as proceeding from a certain knowledge that European authorities had taught frequently these half civilised races that if one of them molested a European the punishment will be prompt and condign. An ordinary Indian who travelled in that way would have been exposed to grave risks. The European was a charmed person. Let him come and go but no one would molest him or deal with him as they would have dealt with a man belonging to the brother races of India. He mentions this as one of the ways in which the Britisher always maintains his supremacy stopping short a very little indeed from the unconscious delusion of personal prestige and strength of his race and visiting any one daring to question this with all the punishment that his great power can bring to bear. Now we know how in daily life this thing has happened. Outrages by Europeans used, some years ago before the enactment of Sec. 153 A., to be the *pabulum* of our newspapers. Now after the enactment of this section we only mention this and pass on leaving every body to make his own comments. Whoever heard of a European who committed an outrage of that kind receiving his due from the process of law?

But there are two or three things which in ways somewhat more obscure have come to my knowledge, in which with a little effort you will discover this same preternatural anxiety to maintain racial prestige, and as it is not always coming out you will see the greater force of it. It came out in a recent discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council when I attacked the predominance of the European in the Indian Medical Service. Amongst other objections that they raised to the introduction of perfect equality they mentioned this thing, and they mentioned it without the slightest blush on their cheek although they knew

it was not always as they put it. They said European ladies would object to be treated by Indian doctors as if every European lady in India has this racial consideration. They further said that European gentlemen also feel some such repugnance to Indian Doctors. That was by no means always the case. They went further even and said, the recruitment for the other services, Civil, Educational and Police, will also become difficult if the members of these services were not assured that the services of a European Doctor would be at their disposal. Well, the thing has only to be mentioned for you to realise the extent to which racial prestige is likely to be carried when Indian opinion is still weak in the affairs of the nation.

Then the members of the Indian Civil Service who recently raised such a cloud over the Reform Scheme said in their Memorandum various things to which you would object. One of the things was that it would be derogatory to the members of the European race to serve under Indian Ministers. They themselves are never tired of saying that a third of the area of this Empire is under the rule of Indian Rajahs and a fourth of the population lives under such rule; and a great many Europeans are in the service of these Indian Rajahs and not only are there but seek such service. Now it is most extraordinary that when they wish to oppose reforms the Europeans say: "We are dead opposed to these reforms because we know that when India is administered purely according to Indian ideas the old world notions will come to prevail once more. We are opposed to 'caste' and to all 'privilege'." At the same time, however, they ask that their own special community, the 'white caste' of the European, should be maintained at an unapproachable level far above the rest of the community, should be preserved by guarantee of law and administration in the enjoyment of these privileges. Then they say, "you are a community torn and rent into divisions" and yet they are the most enthusiastic advocates of communal representation in the Legislative Councils. It is they that stir up the other communities: "You go and ask for Communal representation and we will back you up."

Then they have developed a most extraordinary attachment to the 'voiceless masses of India': and yet when we speak of free and compulsory elementary education as a thing which above all else is necessary, they raise a hundred objections. They object also to allowing the labouring classes to associate themselves into unions for the asser-

tion and maintenance of their rights. There is always fresh recruiting of labourers and labour is recruited with the object described by impartial people as service occupying a position little removed from slavery. I well remember how in the time when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India the merchants of Lancashire came up with a proposal to diminish the competition of the Indian textile trade, upon the ground amongst others that the Indian textile industry was built up on undue restrictions of labour and that labour was unduly sweated in Bombay and they wanted the Indian labour conditions to be made stringent. Lord Morley administered a severe rebuke by telling them not to add hypocrisy to selfishness but to admit frankly that they shrank from the competition of the Indian manufacturer. He told them that they were moved in this matter not by the humane consideration of protecting the Indian labourer in the Indian Mills. One is tempted to repeat to them this rebuke when they speak of their overpowering love for the Indian masses and concern for their interests. I would ask those amongst them who have not done so to read with care the report of the proceedings at the Savoy Hotel entertainment to Lord Sinha and especially the speech of the Maharajah of Bikanir. No more patriotic, nor more powerful utterance was ever made within the hearing of Englishmen. Every passage in it is replete with sound common sense. He rebuked the Indo-British Association started under the auspices of Lord Sydenham pursuing their nefarious tactics in every possible way, either fair or foul. He called their proceedings mendacious and unscrupulous—strong words to come from the lips of such a man, but they are stamped with the hallmark of truth.

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of 'Danger in India: Sedition and Murder,' an annotated epitome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of those findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. * * * * *

And let me say frankly that Indians, Princes and people, indignantly resent the abuse to which Lord Hardinge, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been subjected.

Now there are two allies with whom the Indo-British association are working hand in hand. One of them is the party represented by that or-

gan of public opinion called 'Justice' in this city. They are powerful allies in conducting this campaign. I do not know what to say of people who think nothing of ranging themselves under Lord Sydenham whom the Maharajah has thought fit to denounce in these indignant words. Then you have got a very powerful body, the European Association in India, which has been recently formed and placed on a basis of greatly increased strength and financial position. Their opposition to the Reforms is rooted and exceedingly bitter. Their campaign is persistent and their antipathy to the educated classes of India is something which may only be described as a menace to the peaceful progress of this country. And you will find among other things that Madras has an unenviable prominence in this matter. The European Association is for all India. It ought therefore to deal, with all matters of general interest to the European Community. And yet if you read what their recommendations are you will find it strongly charged with the prejudices of a person whose experiences proceed almost entirely from Madras. He airs widely his Madras experiences and the antipathy to the Brahman which is a feature of Madras public life, and through the agency of the European Association is spreading it throughout that community in India. Now I have frequently asked my European friends, "What is the strength of this Association; some of your people seem to be so very reasonable and gentle and yet you allow the European Association to speak, write and agitate in your name in this way." Of course, I was then remembering myself how often these European monitors of ours counsel us to repudiate the Extremist teachings of our own people. They say "Why do you not disown Mrs. Besant and the people with her?" Then I say "Why do you not disown the European Association. It is certain you do not agree with its ideas." They say "We do not sympathise with its doings."

This tendency to allow a person who overstates your case, who colours and exaggerates and makes it a point to accentuate racial feelings—this tendency to be represented by such a person is not altogether confined to Indians. It is equally to be observed among the Europeans. I suppose they feel that they should be abused by their community as doubtless some of us would be if we repudiate or disapprove of some of our own people's opinions.

Now there is, however, one redeeming feature, and I must lay emphasis on this aspect because

it is part of to day's talk which I have mostly devoted to the darker side. While I realise as fully as any of you this side of it and in some cases have also seen the worst form of this European domination, I must at the same time recognise, what perhaps some of you do not to the same extent—I must recognise the existence along side of this tendency to self-aggrandisement a tendency also to elevate the class over whom they are placed and by whom they are supposed to be doing their duty. In the first place, I will only draw your attention to three important matters in which Indian opinion has within recent times prevailed against the opposition of European opinion. These I mention as exceptions to the general rule of subservience and neglect of Indian opinion. But the exception ought to open our eyes to the existence of the principle of progress somehow or other embedded in Western Civilisation, in this genius of the British people for governing other races. There is for instance, this great question of the Reforms which you know under every shade and variety of European opposition has taken shape so far and may actually fructify unless something untoward repeating in Indian history happen to baulk them.

There is then the question of the abolition of Indian indenture against which the colonials fought all they could. Then there is the very recent instance of the Viceroy of India rebuking Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the "strong" ruler of the Punjab for offering an open affront to the Indian politicians in the Legislative Council. Now, remember, in every one of these three cases—and I mention only these—in every one of these three cases European opinion was adverse to the step taken. The men that were responsible had to face much unpopularity and odium. And although along with a genuine desire for progress and justice, motives not so clear, not so moral, might also have been mixed up, none of you will I think have the un-charity to deny that a genuine desire for the betterment of our people is present in this mixture of motives in the interrelation of races. The principle of progress always subsisting is not always, however, openly seen. It has occasions of strength and intensity during which its operation is visible above the surface. But every time such a thing happens it is always opposed most violently. You may remember how when the Bishop of Lahore (subsequently Metropolitan) spoke of the desirability of showing charitableness in times of trouble he was severely rebuked as a person who had no place in

politics and should not have intruded into that sphere. He must preach and do no more—as if politics must be kept rigidly aloof from religion, from the sway of the spirit of religion. Doctor Whitehead, the Madras Bishop—with whom we are all well acquainted, some of us at least—had a similar treatment. He was also spoken of as a person who intruded into the domain of politics and brought Christian charity, Christian love, Christian equality into the treatment of questions which in these things ought to have been kept out. Now, when Mr. Montagu is devising a great scheme of reform, he finds the greatest opposition coming from the trained Indian Civil Service. But like an astute Parliamentarian he does not—as you and I in somewhat freer positions may do—he does not turn round and denounce them. He cajoles them, occasionally also he bribes them and the sister services. But he always tells them the cardinal truth of the new situation. He says to them in words as plain as possible: "Your position in the future of India cannot be the same as it has been in the past. You must reconcile yourself to the change in the situation." A warning of that kind uttered by the Secretary of State and not altogether for the first time is however resented by these people.

The announcement of the 20th August 1917, promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers). If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the west, the announcement of H. M. Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear.) For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great Imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day. (Loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in any country brings out of retirement those who walk, dangerously as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly, I do not know that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the service. (Loud cheers.)

Now that is as clear a statement as we could desire with regard to the character of the coming Reforms. But even he has been obliged, as I told you, to conciliate the opposition of the

the organised Civil Service by every possible means. You may remember how Lord Morley had to play the same part. The Viceroy has given them guarantees foreshadowed in his speech in the opening session of our Council, and the Viceroy has granted to them increased salaries and is contemplating, I understand, a scheme of increased pensions as well. Nevertheless, he recognised that the future Government of India is a Government by 'vote'—no longer by despatch—and that is the great point that we have got to remember in shaping our course to-day. We have got to realise that the Government here is to be a Government by 'vote,' that is to say by people whom you place in power as a result of contested elections during which opinion clashes with opinion and programmes of reform compete with programmes of reform and men with one set of political opinions contend for the suffrages of their constituents with men holding a rival set of opinions. This we have got to realise even before it comes. The situation is this. Before, in India, Government by 'vote' comes in we have to realise that that great change can only come in by manipulation of opinions and vote in the English Parliament. Their Parties are divided; we have friends of reform, men in whom this principle of progress that I have just now mentioned finds illustrious embodiment, people who may be represented as the vehicle of the better mind of the English generally. There is the other Party represented by Lord Sydenham seconded by the 'Justice' Party in India and by the Anglo Indian Press in this country. Between two sets of people we have to win what we desire. Ought we not, I ask, by every means open to us, strengthen the hands of the 'friends' of reform, men like Mr. Montagu, who have determined that if they can help it, India shall take one long and big stride in constitutional progress. Let us then do nothing in India, which may weaken their hands, which it will be difficult for them to defend, which our opponents may be able to put forward as proving the proposition that India is either unfit by nature or distempered for the time being for the receipt of any large measure of political power. This is a great lesson that we must never let go out of our minds.

I have during the last few months come in contact with some Europeans who seemed to me to be genuine representatives of this principle of progress. They have told me, 'we are not many in England, it takes a good deal of knowledge for us to translate our theoretical sympathy into practical benefit for your cause. Help us therefore by

enabling us to understand you. Lots of good, well-meaning people enthusiastic for the liberation of humanity there are in England, but they have been continually mistaught and misguided. A good many of them believe that India will pass, when the hand of Great Britain relaxes—that India will pass into the hands of people who are social and religious reactionaries, that the power will then be wielded to turn the face of India backward, that attempts will be made in a Chauvinistic direction to replace ancient institutions that have ceased to serve and violate the conscience of Western Civilisation, that you will attempt once more to enthronize caste privilege and bring in the numberless divisions that unhappily divide you, that you will in every way undo the great things that—unconsciously it may be, Great Britain in her civilising mission—limit it as you may in your comprehension—accomplished in India. Come then, some of you and teach us to believe, as we heartily desire to believe, that you will carry on, when seated in the place of power, the traditions that we have built up in India, that you will stand for intellectual and social progress, that you will stand for perfect toleration, perfect equality of religions, that you will do nothing in fact to hinder India from taking her place amongst the great Nations of the world. You will have to give us that assurance.' And if we are to do that most important business I think the direction in which we must spend our energies, the shape that we must give to all our thoughts and actions, is pretty clear. Now, only one idea I have got to state and with it I will finish. There are some amongst us who do not wish that any Indian of prominence should be associated even in social matters with Europeans. I have myself been often criticised and sometimes violently ridiculed for my attempts to understand the European and to be understood by him. I do not in the least feel embarrassed by such criticism. I know it proceeds from ignorance. I know it proceeds from complete failure to understand the necessities of Indian conditions. Gentlemen, I have just now said that it is one of our primary duties to increase the volume of sympathetic opinion in England, that you have to mollify and to submit to sympathize with it the asperities of European opinion here. Now everyone knows that sympathy is born of true knowledge and intercourse. Do not turn round upon me and say "Do not the Germans and the English understand each other?" Now I do not say that sympathy and knowledge alone will

answer. There is such a wall of reserve erected between the European and Indian, generally that justice is not done to Indian character, Indian aspirations and to Indian capacity, sometimes, no doubt, as you will see, through perversity and a desire not to see the facts of the case, but also from ignorance, from some amount of failure on our own part to make ourselves understood by those with whose fortunes our fortunes have somehow or other been entwined. It is necessary so to cultivate relations with them that however much we may differ in the political field we still may learn to understand and respect one another in the social and intellectual spheres so that political controversies may be conducted without any bitterness,

so that political rivalries may be pursued without entire disadvantage to the weaker party and the whole of our political campaign may reach that stage, the fruit of emancipation, which we so much desire. Europeans do wish to understand us. Remember that you must do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Just as you take the Europeans to task when they persecute Mr. Norton and Mr. Adam, just as you blame them for thinking ill of any individuals amongst them who are friendly to you, so remember in your turn that you must not be uncharitable and harsh to those who feel that part of their duty to India lies in understanding and being understood.

KRISHNAKUMARI

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Two mighty, rival princes claimed her hand,
 Threatening her father with the scourge of war ;
 Their martial hordes were pressing on the land,
 Each warrior backed by allies near and far ;
 Old Bheem Singh lay in anguish and despair
 And sought in vain to stem the coming tide :
 And thus it was a bane that she was fair,
 When kingdoms fought to win her as a bride.
 The weary, groaning people longed for rest
 And peace and scowl'd upon her in their ire
 As cause of all the pain and strife. And lest
 The land she loved be vexed with sword and fire
 She quaff'd a poisoned bowl which stopp'd her breath,
 And chose the marriage-bed of kindly Death.

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

BY

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH

INDIANS have a direct interest in the settlement of the Palestine question. To begin with, that country divides with Egypt the honour of guarding the bridgehead between Europe and Asia, and so long as war is not banished from the world and that prospect daily becomes dimmer and dimmer, whatever happens to Palestine vitally concerns us. Muslim shrines are, moreover, strewn about Palestine in great profusion, and while India has 70,000,000 Muslims, any resettlement of any part of the Muslim world touches Hindus and Muslims alike.

With these ideas simmering in my mind, I called upon Mr. Israel Zangwill, the Hebrew litterateur and dramatist, whose imagination, idealism, and humour are appreciated wherever English is read. Though he is burning with the desire to lead his people back to Zion, he thinks in terms of humanity and not merely in those of Judaism.

The very first glimpse that I had of Mr. Zangwill gave me that impression. It was in 1912 that I made his acquaintance. The Italian war upon Turkey had just commenced. He came to a meeting organised by Mr. W. T. Stead in London to urge the British people to stop that war, and spoke warmly in support of that movement. I was greatly touched to find this ardent Zionist standing up boldly in defence of the liberty of the Muslims in Tripoli. But Mr. Stead assured me that Zangwill's particular mission in life was to champion the under-dog, whoever he may be.

When I called upon Mr. Zangwill the other day I found that it was not at all necessary to remind him that Palestine was a land sacred to the Muslims as well as to the Hebrews and Christians. Hardly had we begun to talk on the subject when he referred to that problem.

At present there were, he said, something like 600,000 Arabs in Palestine. What would become of them if a Jewish State were created there? How would they be able to compete successfully with the Jews, who, in all parts of the world, have proved their ability to survive under the most discouraging conditions? Besides, if the Arabs remain in the country and the Jews do not employ them on the land, the Jews will be criticised for leaving them out in the cold, while, on the other hand, if the Jews give them work the world will be told that they get others to do their manual work. In either case the Jews will come in for criticism.

But, Mr. Zangwill asked, why could not an amicable arrangement be made whereby the Jews may buy out the vested interests of these 600,000 Arabs in Palestine, and then settle gradually the new Arab State? These people, he declared, live under canvas, or in mud hovels. But the Jews would be willing to pay a fair price for every value they had created.

Why could not the Jews, Mr. Zangwill inquired, render financial assistance to the Arab State and establish good neighbourly relations?

In regard to the sacred places, Mr. Zangwill suggested that the Hebrew converts to Islam should be put in charge of the Muslim shrines, whereas the Christian holy places should be entrusted to the Hebrew converts to Christianity. When the Jewish hatred for the Apostate is remembered, this suggestion coming from a son of Israel appears most remarkable.

In considering Mr. Zangwill's ideas about the future of Palestine it is necessary to bear two facts in mind:

First, Jewish aspirations for a national home in the land of Israel are not confined to one small

section of Hebrews. On the contrary, they are cherished by Jews rich and poor, influential and lowly, in all quarters of the globe. Jews living in lands where there is no political persecution, and in countries where they are constantly maltreated and occasionally massacred, are keenly interested in the Zionist movement.

Second, the great Powers associated together for purposes of war, speaking through responsible statesmen, have definitely committed themselves to the realisation of that ideal. For instance, the Rt. Hon. J. Balfour, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared, on November 2, 1917 :

"His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of its object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Apart from the allegations made against the Turks, these circumstances render it impossible for Palestine to revert to the *status quo ante bellum*.

We must further remember that so long as we in India, both Muslims and Hindus, are claiming national rights, we cannot resist a similar movement in another corner of Asia. To do so would be to expose us to the jeers of our political enemies.

Thoughtful Muslims in Britain are beginning to realise this. One of them with whom I was talking the other day admitted quite frankly that something will have to be done to satisfy the Jewish desire for a national home. But he contended that the only way in which it could be done without giving offence to Muslims would be to convert Palestine into an autonomous Jewish State of the Turkish Empire.

I do not know how that suggestion will commend itself to the Hebrews. But with goodwill on both sides, I am sure that the problem is capable of a solution that will be satisfactory to the Mus-

lims and the Jews alike. It certainly is in the interests of both, and of the world at large, that a *via media* should be found.

At any rate, it is quite as much in the interests of the Muslims as of the Jews that the settlement in Palestine, Syria, or any other part of the near or middle East be not dictated by designing Imperialist jingoes. Mr. Zangwill, I found, had no patience with men who were bent merely upon such enterprises. He would not have a camouflaged Jewish State. He wishes the land of Zion to be the home of his people, and to be managed by them.

If a Hebrew could be found to govern, from Whitehall, so large and populous a country as India, he pertinently asked, why could not a Hebrew be found capable of being the supreme head of Jewish Palestine? Why not, indeed?

Persons who talk of a Jewish Vice-Governor for Palestine (and in this case I have heard the name of the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, a cousin of the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, mentioned) do so because they would like to have General Allenby, or some other such person, set in authority over the whole of the Near East and Middle Asia. These people really dream of the extension of the Empire by the incorporation, under one name or another, of the whole of Middle Asia.

Mr. Zangwill is, however, the sworn foe of all expansionists. He wishes the settlement of the whole world to proceed in conformity with President Wilson's "fourteen points," and each new State to enjoy free institutions. Indians may rest assured that he has no sympathy with those Imperialists who do not hesitate to tell the world that English Jews will be satisfied if Palestine is given, for the time being, a Crown Colony Government under British tutelage, so long as the officials are Jews, preferably English Jews.

I asked Mr. Zangwill if he thought that the Hebrews would emigrate to Palestine in suffi-

ently large numbers if it were constituted into a Jewish State. He said that the trouble would be to keep emigrants out until the land was ready for them. Under long misrule, he declared, Palestine had become desolate and it would take years of assiduous labour to make it fit for the reception of further agricultural colonies. Irrigation would have to be developed, communications built, sanitation introduced, and towns planned. The work would be stupendous, and would require brains, men, and money.

What was happening in Palestine at the present time, I asked. From the latest account that Mr. Zangwill had received, he could not say that much progress was being made in any direction. The site for the Jewish University had been bought and that fact had been announced with a flourish of trumpets. But all schemes for development must, of necessity, hang fire until the Jews and others knew what the Peace Conference proposes to do about Palestine.

The strong Imperialist tendencies that assert themselves in spite of Dr. Wilson's idealism, have made Mr. Zangwill extremely weary, as, indeed, they have made others. From what one hears, one often wonders if justice will triumph in the end, and if, after all, the world will be resettled along Wilsonian lines.

To do Mr. Zangwill justice, I must say that he is looking forward to the consolidation of the Arab people, as of all the world, on a basis of reason and goodwill. He does not wish to see Arabia, Mesopotamia, or, for that matter, any part of the Near or the Middle East, become a part of any Imperial system while retaining nominal independence. He has, moreover, a very shrewd idea that we in India do not lack administrative genius, as Englishmen who have been out to India would like to have the world believe. All movements for national rights have his blessing, and can count upon all the support that he can lend them.

PROGRESS OF CHEMISTRY IN INDIA*

BY
DR. P. NEOGI, M.A., Ph.D.

THE older Indian Universities at the Presidency towns, were established as early as in 1857. The foundation of the Universities marks a distinct epoch in the renaissance of modern India for more reasons than one. In the first place they perhaps for the first time threw open the portals of learning to all alike, rich and poor, Brahmin and Pariah, Hindu and Mussalman. In the second place they brought into India a knowledge of the western sciences which have revolutionised human civilisation by harnessing the forces of nature to the use of mankind and by attempting to give man an insight into the

workings of nature in her manifold fields of work.

But the introduction of the modern sciences into India in an effective form was not possible in a day. The earlier efforts of the Universities were more or less concentrated on the wider diffusion of literary knowledge, and when science teaching was undertaken it was done mainly on the "black board and chalk" system in the absence of suitable laboratories where alone science can be taught properly. It is to be remembered that the western sciences were introduced into India *de novo*, as the old spirit of scientific enquiry and skill which produced the magnificent iron pillar at Delhi in the 5th century,* the gigantic iron girders of Puri,

* Inaugural address delivered by Dr. P. Neogi M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.C.S., to the Rajshahi College Chemical Society on the 27th, February.

Bhubaneswar and Konarak temples in the middle ages or the colossal copper statue of Buddha 80 ft. high which Hiyen Tsang saw standing at the gates of the famous Nalanda Convent were lost long ago. To repeat what I have said elsewhere. "From the seventeenth century onwards Europe began to wake up from her slumber of intellectual atrophy of the dark middle ages and scientific research began to strike deep roots in European soil. In India, however, the reverse reaction was in progress. The time from which Europe got a new lease of intellectual activity in all branches of human understanding marks the period when India reached the nadir of her intellectual decadence. Industries began gradually to be relegated to the least advanced communities as being unworthy of the higher castes with the inevitable result that old methods continued in a moribund condition without any improvement which is possible only when they are conducted by intellectual people."* So complete was the emasculation of the scientific spirit in the latter half of the nineteenth century that when the Calcutta Medical College was opened, no Bengalee student was available who would dare commit, what was regarded as a deadly

act, viz., the dissection of a dead body or the purpose of learning human anatomy. It is even reported that when at last one Hindu boy was actually found out to undertake the work, his tidings were trumpeted forth to the world by gunfire from the ramparts of Fort William.

Thus judging from the fact that the introduction of the western sciences into India was in the nature of an innovation it is no wonder that for full half a century India produced very few scientists who looked to research work as their vocation in life. Original work certainly presupposes the prior diffusion on a comprehensive scale of known knowledge, and it took full half a century to produce that amount of diffusion of

knowledge of the western sciences which is a necessary preliminary to the creation of an atmosphere of original thought and work.

EARLIEST ATTEMPTS

Nevertheless individual, though isolated, attempts were not wanting. So far as Chemistry is concerned, the credit of pioneering chemical research in India during this period of preparation is due to an Englishman. I refer to Sir Alexander Pedler at the Presidency College, Calcutta. Mr. Pedler was an assistant of the late Sir Henry Roscoe before he came out to India. He was a brilliant lecturer and I have been told by some of his pupils that he was extremely successful as a teacher. His work at the Presidency College on cobra poison and on the action of atmospheric moisture on red phosphorus was the best he turned out and won for him the coveted distinction of a Fellowship of the Royal Society of London.

But Sir Alexander was more or less an individual worker in the cause of chemical research. The general line of science teaching as distinguished from research work was not of a high order. Laboratories were conspicuous either by their absence or by their defective equipment. It was not uncommon for a professor of chemistry to hold up his thumb and say "suppose this is a test tube". Even when we graduated so late as in 1903, no graduate in chemistry was required to do practical work of any kind. Honours students alone were asked to undergo a course of practical work in qualitative analysis only. It is no wonder that Sir Alexander did not get any student to follow in his footsteps.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE.

Another noteworthy movement in this direction in a collective shape was started by the late illustrious Dr. Mohendra Lall Sircar. Almost single-handed he collected a large sum of money and established at Calcutta the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science with the two-fold object in view, viz., the diffusion of

* P. Negoi's Iron in ancient India.

scientific knowledge on an experimental basis and the prosecution of research work. For more than a generation the Association has been delivering lectures on Physics and Chemistry (and lately Botany) to students as well as to the public. I was a pupil of this association myself and can personally testify that possibly with the exception of the Presidency College, Calcutta, no institution in Bengal delivered lectures in Physics and Chemistry with such a wealth of experimental illustrations. The second object of the illustrious founder of the Association was not naturally fulfilled in his life-time for the very obvious reason that a sufficiently large number of students imbued with true love for science was not created by the system of science teaching then prevailing. It is, however, satisfactory to notice from the recent publications of the Association that the second object of the founder is now being fulfilled and it is being increasingly converted into a common meeting place of the younger generation of Indian scientists.

NEW UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS

So far as science teaching is concerned, it must be noted that the new Regulations of the Universities framed after the passing of the Universities Act during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty have completely revolutionised it. Science teaching has now become real. Laboratories have grown up like mushroom growths in the remotest colleges. Practical work has been made compulsory for every science student from the Intermediate to the M. Sc. degree. The result has been that science students now have an opportunity of reading science in the only manner it should be read. Science is now loved and appreciated by the students instead of being looked upon as a subject for pure memory work. How science teaching has been revolutionised by the new Regulations of the Calcutta University will be easily understood from the history of our own college. When I joined the Rajshahi

College in 1907 there was no Chemical Laboratory worth speaking. It would be no disparagement to the memory of this college when I say that two dispensing tables with a few re-agent bottles formed all the paraphernalia of the Chemical Laboratory. But the requirements of the new regulations were rightly very high, and compliance with them was ably insisted on by the late Mr. J. A. Cunningham on behalf of the University. The old laboratory was remodelled and equipped at a total cost of about half a lakh of rupees. A new physics laboratory costing about three quarters of a lakh is now an ornament of the college. This story has its counterpart in every college teaching science subjects. The erection and equipment of these laboratories has not only made science-teaching real and attractive to students, but has alone enabled professors of colleges other than those of the premier college of the province to conduct research work. At present any college affiliated up to the Honours standard in any science subject must of necessity possess a sufficiently well-equipped laboratory where the professors would be in a position to carry on research work if their inclination tends in that direction. This radical improvement in the equipment of laboratories in response to the dictates of the new regulations of the Universities has indeed gone a very long way in ushering an era of research work in science.

RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS

Along with this improvement in science teaching a very real step for the advancement of research work was taken by the Government of Bengal in the institution of ten research scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem to be awarded to M. A. and M. Sc's in Arts and Science subjects and made tenable for three years. This step was perhaps the first recognition which the Government extended to the necessity and value of training in research work. The value of research work is not

even now properly understood. It is thus often forgotten that we Indian teachers have so long been teaching in the form of textbooks the accumulated actual research work brought into being by our European confreres. Surely the time has come when India would no longer be a mere debtor country to Europe in point of new knowledge, but would also through the labours of her own sons repay her debt and present new thought to the world as it was her privilege to do in ages gone by.

At any rate these research scholarships provide young aspirants for original work with the necessary training for such work. Every profession, every art, has its special training, and research workers would require training to imbibe the spirit of work as well as to learn the methods of work at the feet of some *guru* who has already got research work to his credit. I was a research scholar myself and can personally testify to the value of such scholarship in the act of providing the necessary training in this respect. Most of those who have now earned reputation for original work in our country in Chemistry and other subjects have been research scholars under some acknowledged authorities in their subjects.

Fortunately the value of research scholarships has been understood by the Universities as well. The Premchand Roychand studentship, which was originally bestowed as the result of one of the stiffest competitive examinations, has now been converted into research scholarships. The Calcutta University has also provided several research scholarships out of the Sir Tarak Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh endowments. Other Governments and Universities have followed suit with the result that an ever increasing number of earnest seekers after knowledge is springing up in all parts of India who are expected to raise in the near future the level of creative knowledge in our country.

Whilst the improvement in science teaching

and the recognition of the value of research training have been the most potent general factors tending to the creation of those environments which are necessary for the development of research work, it would be proper to refer here to the devoted labours of Dr. (now Sir) P. C. Ray in the cause of chemical research. Dr. Ray, after taking the D. Sc. degree at Edinburgh joined Sir Alexander Pedler as an Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College. Like Sir Alexander, Dr. Ray had to be content for a number of years in being an individual worker. But by his magnetic personality and with the establishment of research scholarships he was gradually able to draw round himself a body of earnest students and assistants who were anxious to follow the example set by their *guru*. The result of the association of research assistants and scholars became soon apparent in the large increase in the output of original work from the Chemical laboratory of the Presidency College. Whilst Dr. Ray unaided contributed only ten papers during the decade 1893-1902, the number of papers contributed by himself and his assistants and scholars during the next decade rose to the number of forty. Messrs Jatindra Nath Sen and Atual Chandra Ganguli and myself were fortunate in being Dr. Ray's earliest associates. Drs. Rashik Lal Datta, Nilratan Dhar, Harendra Prasad Sen and Bimanbehari De and others joined him afterwards. The secret of success in maintaining a steady output of research work from a particular laboratory lies there —viz. in placing a large number of research scholars and assistants under a qualified person when a two-fold result accrues. In the first place the scholars receive the necessary training in the methods of work and in the second place the output of research papers steadily increases owing to the conjoint labours of the teacher and the taught. This system obtains everywhere in Europe where dozens of research

scholars work under the guidance of one professor, the result being an enormous output of research work from a single laboratory and also the upbuilding of an army of trained research workers who spread the gospel of work in distant parts of their own country.

INSTITUTES OF SCIENCE.

Whilst Sir P. C. Ray was training up his scholars in Bengal a great and noble mind in Bombay was conceiving the idea of establishing and endowing a purely research Institute in Southern India thus creating a nucleus of chemical research in that part of the Indian continent. The late illustrious Mr. J. N. Tata, spent a large portion of his enormous wealth in founding the Indian Research Institute which was ultimately located at Bangalore in the Mysore territory and brought from England Dr. Travers, one of the most brilliant co-workers of Sir William Ramsay as its first director. The work commenced by Dr. Travers and Dr. Rudolf has been ably continued by Dr. Sudborough, Dr. Watson and Dr. Fowler, and the Institute has already succeeded in obtaining a name and fame in being a centre of chemical research. Professor Ray of the Patna College, Messrs' Paranjpe, Bhagabat Lakhaumani and others are the products of this institute and it is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Sudborough and his colleagues would be able to train up an ever-increasing band of young chemists surcharged with the spirit of devotion for the science who in after-life will be able to keep the flame of work burning in other parts of India.

A prototype of this Institute has recently been established at Calcutta, thanks to the munificent donations of the late Sir Tarak Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. The Institute has been placed directly under the control of the Calcutta University as a University College of Science and aims at combining post-graduate teaching with research work in Chemistry. The services of Sir P. C.

Ray were requisitioned before his retirement from Government service and he and his colleagues.

OTHER CENTRES.

Other centres of chemical research have now happily been established as a direct result of the infinitely better condition of equipment of laboratories in fulfilment of the new regulations.

Dr. E. R. Watson has very largely succeeded in converting the chemical laboratory of the Dacca College into a research centre. Many of his pupils like Drs. Anukul Ch. Sircar, Sudhamaya Ghosh, Brojendra Nath Ghosh have gained distinction by their research work in chemistry.

The late Dr. Hill was carrying on research work in Chemistry at the Muir Central College, Allahabad and was assisted by Dr. A. P. Sircar in his work. Dr. Richardson worked in the Central Hindu College at Benares. Then again Dr. J. L. Simonsen was busy in his work and trained up research workers at the Presidency College, Madras and some of his pupils have published the results of their work in European Chemical Journals. Dr Meldrum is keeping up the tradition of research work at the Ahmedabad College in distant Guzerat. At Rajshahi I am particularly happy to be able to report that my colleague Mr. B. B. Adhikari and our only research scholar Mr. Tarini Charan Chowdhuri have turned out valuable work which has found place in English, German and American Chemical Journals.

It will thus be seen that the spirit of work is there. It is expanding on all sides. It has got to be fostered with proper care. Facilities in the shape of research endowments and scholarships have got to be provided in every college. The difficulties of workers in mofussil colleges are hundred-fold in comparison with their more fortunate brethren at metropolitan centres and consequently the former should readily be provided with reference journals, special re-agents and apparatus as well as the services of a sufficient large number of research scholars.

INDIAN MUNITIONS BOARD

It will be pertinent to refer here to the recent research activities of the Indian Munitions Board in the cause of Indian industries during the war. It is to be remembered that most of the chemists ordinarily engaged in chemical research undertake subjects of purely scientific interest. Very few researches relate to applied chemistry. Whilst it is true that development of chemical industries is absolutely dependent on the progress of the pure science, problems which are calculated to be of immediate use to the country in the development of industries should also be handled for solution. This aspect of chemical research attracted most attention in Germany where industrial concerns dependent on the progress of applied chemistry employ a large staff of chemists, sometimes even in hundreds in a single factory, whose labours enrich the proprietors themselves and at the same time add to the existing stock of knowledge of pure science.

The Indian Munitions Board during the war harnessed the research activities of the Indian chemists for the solution of chemical problems relating to industries which arose out of war conditions. Dr. Simonsen of the Madras Presidency College was appointed Chemical adviser to the Board. Sir P. C. Ray in the University College of Science, Dr. Sudborough and his colleagues at the Tata Institute of Science, Dr. De at the Presidency College, Dr. Ghosh at the Gauhati College, Prof. Normand at the Wilson College, Bombay, Prof. Dunncliffe at the Government College, Lahore, were given by the Board industrial problems to solve. I was given the task of investigating the possibilities of manufacture of potash from the ashes of indigenous plants. Much of the results which have accrued were important for the period of war only but the Board indirectly stimulated one branch of chemical research which has hitherto been neglected by Indian chemists. It is sin-

cerely to be hoped that when the Munitions Board is disbanded after the conclusion of peace, this branch of the Board would continue as a permanent feature of the industrial department of the Government.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Lastly I would like to refer to the services of newly formed Indian Science Congress in the cause of stimulating research work not only in Chemistry but also in Physics, Botany, Agriculture and other sciences. The Congress has been organised under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to fulfil the purpose of an Indian "British association for the cultivation of science" on the suggestion of Dr. Simonsen and Prof. Macmohan of the Canning College, Lucknow. I have the good fortune of being able to attend all its sessions held at Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Bangalore, Lahore and Bombay and would be able to testify to the great utility in having such a congress in our midst. It serves as a common meeting ground for all science workers scattered in isolated laboratories throughout our vast country and at the same time not only stimulates healthy rivalry for more and better work amongst those who are actually engaged in research work but also serves to kindle a spirit of work in the minds of students and other local members of the younger generation who take part in the congress. My interest naturally centres in the Chemistry Section of the Congress, and I have it on the authority of a competent critic who attended several meetings of the British Association that the quality of papers read and discussions conducted would not be unworthy of the British Association itself.

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MARTIAL LAW IN THE PUNJAB

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BY
SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER.

WHILE the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab has been widely discussed in the press, the legal aspects of the subject have received comparatively little attention from the public. It is neither practicable nor desirable to go into the merits of any individual case, but it is worth while considering the scope and effect of the regulations and ordinances under which action has been taken and the powers of the Crown and the military authorities apart from any specific enactments.

The regulation under which Martial Law has been introduced in the Punjab is the Bengal State Offences Regulation 1804, which has been declared to be in force in the Punjab by section 3 of the Punjab Laws Act 1872. Section 2 of this regulation empowers the Governor-General-in-Council to suspend or direct the suspension of, wholly or partially, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts and to establish Martial Law therein during the existence of any war or open rebellion against the authority of the Government and also to direct the immediate trial by Courts-Martial of all persons owing allegiance to the British Government, who may be guilty of certain offences. The only offences, which can be taken cognizance of, are those specified in the second paragraph of section 2. The persons who can be tried by Courts-Martial under this regulation are subjects of the British Government, who shall be taken:

1. In arms in open hostility to the British Government, or
2. In the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the Government, or
3. In the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State, or
4. In the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government within any part of the territories in question.

The punishments provided by section 3 are, death and forfeiture of property. Having regard to the severity of the punishments provided and the language of sections 1 and 2 and the whole scheme of the regulation, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the opinion of Advocate-General Spankie that the manifest intention of the regulation was, that none but cases of the

simpler and most obviously criminal nature should be the subject of trial by the Courts-Martial, that only persons, who were *taken* in the actual commission of overt acts of rebellion or hostility should be tried by such courts and that complex cases depending upon circumstantial proof and requiring either a long examination of facts or a discriminating inference from facts in themselves equivocal were purposely withdrawn from the cognizance of these tribunals. Where persons concerned in acts of rebellion were not taken in the actual commission of the offences specified in the regulation, the intention of the legislature evidently was, that they should be handed over to the civil power for trial by the ordinary criminal courts, as will appear from the instructions issued by the Governor-General on the 11th April 1805. (See Harrington's Bengal Regulations edition of 1821, page 350).

The Martial Law Ordinance—I of 1919—recites that the functions of the ordinary criminal courts have been suspended in respect of the offences described in section 2 of the regulation and provides for trials in respect of such offences being held by commissions of three persons appointed by the local Government instead of by Courts-Martial. The object of this substitution was presumably to secure the presence in the tribunal of judges in the civil employ of the Government. As a consequence of this constitution of the tribunal the right of the accused to challenge the members of the tribunal has been excluded and the necessity for confirmation of the finding and sentence as required by sections 94 and 98 of the Army Act has also been provided against. Though this ordinance came into force at mid-night on the 15th April 1919 it was expressly rendered applicable to all persons referred to in Regulation 10 of 1804, who were charged with any of the offences therein described, committed on or after the 13th April 1919. The question has been raised in some quarters whether the ordinance is valid, in so far as it purports to give retrospective effect. To the mind of a lawyer, there can be no doubt as to the validity of an express provision of this sort. Though the inclination of the courts would be against the retrospective operation of penal laws in cases, in which the language of the statute admits of reasonable doubt, there can be

no question as to the validity of an express provision for giving retrospective effect. The only offences which can be taken cognizance of by the commissions under this ordinance are those described in section 2 of the regulation above referred to. It is not every offence under Chapter VI of the Penal Code that could be brought under this ordinance, for instance, section 124-A dealing with sedition, would fall outside the class of offences described in the regulation; so also offences under section 129. Whether offences under section 121-A or 123 of the Penal Code could be taken cognizance of or not under the Martial Law Ordinance would depend upon the circumstances of the case. The Martial Law Ordinance does not authorise the military authorities to enact any rules or regulations or to create any new offences in respect of infringement of any rules or orders, which may be issued by them. Whether apart from the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, the Crown or the military authorities have any power to issue such regulations and how breaches of such regulations may be punished are distinct questions, which will be examined later on. As regards the sentences which may be imposed by a commission constituted under this ordinance, they could not pass any sentence except that of capital punishment, and forfeiture of the property of the person convicted was an automatic and necessary result of the conviction under section 3 of the regulation. To obviate this hardship the Martial Law (sentences) ordinance was issued on the 18th April 1919 and it enabled the tribunals to pass any sentence of transportation for life or for any period not less than 10 years or of rigorous imprisonment for a term of not less than 7 and not more than 14 years and it further provided that forfeiture of property should not follow a conviction automatically, but only when so directed by the court or commission. The only other ordinance, which it is necessary to notice is, the Martial Law (further extension) ordinance, which was passed on the 21st April 1919. This ordinance gives an extraordinary extension to the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance-I of 1919. Whereas by the first ordinance only persons charged with the offences described in section 2 of the regulation could be tried, the fourth ordinance provides for the trial of any person charged with *any* offence committed on or after the 30th March 1919. It may be anything punishable under the Indian Penal Code, or for the matter of that, even under a special or a local law. The offence may be, simple trespass,

defamation, bigamy or nuisance. It need not involve the safety of the British possessions or the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants. Of course, it is not at all likely that such cases will be actually tried by the commission, for this extended jurisdiction of the commissions is made dependent upon a general or special order to be issued by the local government and they are not likely to refer ordinary cases not connected, in their opinion, however directly or indirectly, with the recent disturbances. The provision is referred to here merely for the purpose of showing how entirely it is left to the local government to displace the ordinary criminal courts and introduce the procedure of Courts-Martial. Under the regulation it is, no doubt, open to the Governor-General-in-Council to direct any public authority to order suspension of the ordinary criminal courts, wholly or partially, but the extent to which such suspension or the ordinary criminal courts may take place, may be gathered from the general scheme of the regulation. The suspension of the functions of the ordinary criminal courts and the exercise of jurisdiction by Courts-Martial constituted under the regulation are co-extensive. In as much as the jurisdiction of Courts-Martial under section 2 of the regulation is confined to the 4 classes of crimes described therein, which are all more or less overt acts of hostility or rebellion to the State, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts cannot also be suspended to any greater extent or except as regards these crimes. Even in respect of the crimes specified, the regulation (section 4) displays a solicitude to avoid the institution of Courts-Martial, except where trial by them appears to be indispensably necessary. In view of the fact that Martial Law was established in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the regulation that the procedure of Courts-Martial was also introduced in exercise of the same powers, that the commissions appointed under the Martial Law Ordinance are only a convenient substitute for the tribunals prescribed by the Indian Army Act of 1911 and that the procedure to be followed by these commissions is the procedure prescribed for Courts-Martial by the Indian Army Act, the legality of the extension of the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance to persons other than those referred to in regulation 10 of 1804 and other than those subject to the Indian Army Act and to all kinds of offences, even those not falling under the regulation of the Army Act, appears extremely doubtful. In pas-

sing it may be observed that a sentence of whipping would not be a legal punishment either under regulation 10 of 1804 or under the Martial Law (sentences) ordinance of 1919 or under the Army Act. Though corporal punishment is permitted under the Army Act, it is only in respect of persons subject to the Act and under the rank of Warrant Officer. Any sentence of corporal punishment can only be justified under the Ordinary Criminal Law. It is conceivable that a Military Officer charged with the duty of suppressing a rebellion may have to resort to corporal punishment, but it can only be inflicted as a matter of unavoidable military necessity and not under the show of any legal trial.

It may perhaps be argued, that notwithstanding the fact that ordinance 4 of 1919 was intended to extend the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance, which was brought into existence under the conditions described in regulation 10 of 1804, it is open to the Governor General to do anything he may please in the exercise of his powers under section 72 of the Government of India Act 1915. Under this section the Governor-General may, in cases of emergency, make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good Government of British India or any part thereof and any ordinance so made has, for the space of not more than six months, the same force of Law as an act passed by him in Legislative Council. The power is subject to the same restrictions and disallowance as an Act of the Indian Legislative Council. It may be said that the ordinance making power of the Governor-General is practically unlimited and that it is legally open to him to suspend all courts or to abolish the Evidence Act or to order any and every offender to be tried by Courts-Martial. There are, however, two conditions laid down in the section, that it must be a case of emergency and that the ordinance must be for the peace and good government of the country. Whether in the existing circumstances in the Punjab the Ordinary Criminal Courts should be regarded as unfit for bringing offenders to justice or whether it is indispensable for the peace and good government of the province that their functions should be suspended and offenders should be tried by the procedure of Courts-Martial, is a question of fact upon which a divergence of views may be reasonably possible and it would be a matter for regret if the Government were not guided by the same solicitude for preserving the jurisdiction of the Ordinary Criminal Courts as is apparent in regulation 10 of 1804. *Prima facie*, one would be inclined

to think that this unlimited delegation to the local government of the power to suspend the functions of the Ordinary Criminal Courts in respect of offences outstrips the necessities of the case. It seems a reasonable view to take that the power conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act represents the prerogative of the Crown, which has been defined as the residue of discretionary authority, which at any given time is legally left in the hands of the Crown, or, in other words, the executive government and that the exercise of the emergency power under section 72 should, in practice, if not in theory, be guided by the same considerations and limitations as the exercise of the prerogative by the Crown under similar circumstances in England.

The circumstances under which Martial Law may be proclaimed in the case of a rebellion, the significance of the proclamation and the validity of measures taken upon such proclamation have been discussed by eminent text-writers and the weight of authority is in favour of the view that, while it is the duty and the prerogative of the Crown to suppress revolts and it is also competent to employ military force so far as may be necessary for the purpose, it is illegal for the Crown to resort to Martial Law for the purpose of punishing offenders. In his history of the Criminal Law of England Mr. Justice Stephen sums up the result of his discussion on pages 215 and 216 of Volume I as follows :—

- i. Martial Law is the assumption by officers of the Crown of absolute power exercised by military force for the suppression of an insurrection and the restoration of order and lawful authority.
- ii. The officers of the Crown are justified in any exertion of physical force extending to the destruction of life and property to any extent and in any manner that may be required for the purpose. They are not justified in the use of cruel and excessive means but are liable civilly or criminally for such excess. They are not justified in inflicting punishment after resistance is suppressed and after the ordinary courts of justice can be re-opened.
- iii. The courts-martial by which Martial Law is administered are not, properly speaking, courts-martial or courts at all. They are merely committees formed for the purpose of carrying into execution the discretionary power assumed by the Government.

It may be taken as settled law in England that if in the suppression of a rebellion and the effort to restore peace and order any subjects of the Crown are punished or put to death by a trial under court-martial, such punishment may be challenged in the ordinary courts after the restoration of order and can only be justified on the ground of necessity which must be proved as a fact. Necessity is the measure of the duration and extent of the force to be employed. The fact that the summary execution of rebels, whose crimes can be punished by the ordinary courts of law may check the spread of treason does not show that the execution is necessary or legal. (See Appendix Note x on Martial Law-Dicey's Law of the Constitution 7th edition pages 538 to 554). In opposition to the view put forward by Professor Dicey it is urged by Sir Erle Richards that in as much as military operations cannot be conducted in time of war or rebellion without interference with rights of property and person and such interference is according to the authorities not contrary to law, it follows that the interference must include also the right of trial and the infliction of punishment (See Law Quarterly Review, Vol. XVIII page 139.) The conclusion deduced from the premises is, by no means, necessary. Sir Erle Richards assumes that if a commanding officer has the power of controlling the movements of the civil population he must also have the power of punishing those who are guilty of a breach of his orders. An infringement of the orders of the military authorities may be either an offence or not an offence. If it is an offence, the civil courts cannot punish and the military authorities also should not interfere by way of punishment. Sir Erle Richards does not sufficiently distinguish between the nature of the coercive measures which may be taken to prevent a breach or avert its consequences and the measures necessary by way of punishment for a breach. The former class of powers must necessarily vest in the military authorities, but the latter power is not so vested. The necessity for the trial and punishment of civilians by the military authorities may conceivably exist in some cases; as for instance, where it is impossible for the ordinary civil courts to exercise their functions. But even in such cases, the correct view to take is, that put forward by Mr. Justice Stephen that the courts-martial are merely committees formed for the purpose of carrying into execution the discretionary power of the Crown. The case of *Wright vs. Fitzgerald*,

27, State Trials, page 765 is opposed to the contention of Sir Erle Richards, who relies chiefly upon the decision of the Privy Council in *Ex parte Marais* (1902), A.C. 109. This decision has been canvassed at length by several critics and the most acceptable view is that the courts will not and cannot interfere with actual military operations or whilst war is actually raging entertain proceedings against military men and others for acts done under the so-called Martial Law. The judgment of the Privy Council asserts nothing as to the jurisdiction of the courts when peace is restored in respect of acts done during time of war and eminent jurists have held that even in time of war the exercise of jurisdiction by the ordinary courts is rather rendered impossible than superseded. (See Dicey's Law of the Constitution, 7th edn. page 546). With reference to this case of *Ex parte Marais*, the remarks noted on page 403 of Vol. 6 of Halsbury's Laws of England are of interest when it is remembered that the judgment of the Privy Council was delivered by Lord Halsbury. Here it is said, it is doubtful how far sentences of fine and imprisonment passed by Courts-Martial upon civilians would be valid in law after the war or insurrection is over. According to Sir James Frederick Pollock, the only point decided by *Ex parte Marais* was that the absence of visible disorder and the continued sitting of the courts are not conclusive evidence of a state of peace. Sir Frederick Pollock holds the view that the justification of any particular act done in a state of war is ultimately examinable in the ordinary courts and that a person justifying his act must show not merely that he acted in good faith but also that there was reasonable and probable cause according to the apparent urgency of the circumstance. (See Law Quarterly Review, Volume XVIII page 156 to 158.) Sir Frederick Pollock's view is criticised at length by Professor Dicey at pages 551 to 554 of note x in the Appendix to his Law of the Constitution. The difference between the two eminent jurists consists in this: that the tests proposed by Sir Frederick Pollock would justify acts not dictated by immediate necessity, while according to Professor Dicey and a number of other jurists immediate necessity is the only ground of justification.

It will be clear from the foregoing statement that in England, there cannot at common law be any supersession of the civil courts by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. If, however, the disturbance of the country

renders it impossible for the ordinary courts of law to sit or enforce the execution of their judgments in such cases. Martial Law is indulged rather than allowed as a law and it is a rude substitute for the ordinary courts. In the language of Sir James Mackintosh, while the laws are silenced by the noise of arms the rulers of the armed force must punish as equitably as they can those crimes which threaten their own safety and that of society, but no longer. While the closure of the courts owing to the impossibility of exercising their functions is a reason for indulging Martial Law, the fact that the courts may be actually sitting is not conclusive evidence of a state of peace. The Ordinary Courts of Justice may, as a matter of fact, will be exercising their functions as a matter of sufferance by the military authorities. (*See Ex parte Marais 1902*) Appeal cases 109; *Elphinstone vs. Bedree Chund, I. Knapp, P.C. 316*).

Applying these principles to the case of the Punjab, could it be said that it was impossible for the ordinary courts to sit or exercise their functions or that if they did, it was only by sufferance of the military authorities. There is nothing to show this. It does not appear that the establishment of Martial Law in respect of offences other than those specified in Regulation 10 of 1804 was called for by the impossibility of the ordinary courts exercising their functions. The fact, the trial by Courts Martial is bound to be swifter or would serve as an example of terror to others and to keep the rest in due awe and obedience is not a sufficient justification in policy for the establishment of Martial Law. Even taking it for granted that the establishment of Martial Law was originally justified, the question whether the state of open rebellion or such circumstances as justified the introduction of Martial Law have continued in existence so as to justify the continuance of Martial Law, is also a question of fact.

One question which naturally arises with reference to the administration of Martial Law is, whether the Crown or the military authorities have any power at common law to create any new offences. According to the law in England, they clearly do not possess any such power. Where it is necessary to enable the military authorities to issue any rules or regulations affecting civilians and where it is necessary to treat any infringements as offences, the practice in England has been to confer such powers by statute. Witness, for instance, the English Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act 1914, 5 Geo. 5 Chapter 8.

Section I of the statute expressly confers power to issue regulations and authorise trial and punishment by courts-martial. It will be interesting to note that by the Defence of the Realm Amendment Act 1915, 5 Geo. 5 Chapter 34, Section I, any person not subject to the naval discipline Act or to Military Law, who is alleged to be guilty of an offence against any regulations made under the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act 1914 is entitled to claim to be tried by a civil court with a jury instead of being tried by Court-Martial.

The officer administering Martial Law in Lahore has issued a large number of proclamations partaking of the character of regulations and providing for the trial and punishment of persons guilty of an infringement of these regulations. These proclamations merely recite that the Government of India have proclaimed Martial Law and that superior military authority has appointed him to administer Martial Law. No other source of authority is quoted and while the officer-in-charge was entitled to take measures reasonably necessary for the safety and peace of the area under his command, he had, to all appearance, no valid authority empowering him to create any new offences or try and punish civilians for infringements of his regulations. The Government of India, no doubt, are empowered by the Defence of India Act, IV of 1915, Section 2, to make rules for securing the public safety and the Defence of British India and to create offences in respect of contraventions of such rules but it does not appear that the Governor-General-in-Council has any power to delegate his powers under section (2) to the military authorities. We do not know whether the officer administering Martial Law tried and punished any persons for infringements of his regulations, but if he did, his proceedings cannot be treated as *ipso facto* valid. A perusal of the different orders passed by him also creates a doubt whether they were called for by the military necessities of the situation or by a desire to strike fear into the minds of the inhabitants by a show of exuberant severity or to secure certain conveniences for the public or particular sections thereof which could have been secured by the Civil Government. Whatever might have been the reason of the regulations, any infringement of them could not be an offence unless it was one under some other law.

[The above contribution reached us too late for publication in the last issue.—Ed., Indian Review.]

THE INDIAN REFORMS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

HE following text represents what the Government of India believe to be the language of the Bill to make further provision with respect to the government of India which has been introduced in Parliament:—

Whereas, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire it is expedient gradually to develop self-governing institutions in that country:

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of such institutions in the provinces of India it is expedient to give to those provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

PART I.

Local Governments.

Classification of control and provincial subjects.

1. (1) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916 (which Act, as so amended, is in this Act referred to as "the principal Act") :—

- (a) for the Classification of subjects, in relation to the functions of government, as central and provincial subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local Governments and legislatures from the functions of the Governor-General-in-Council, and the Indian Legislature;
- (b) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects, and for the allocation of sources of revenue, to local Governments;
- (c) for use under the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council of the agency of local Governments in relation to central subjects, in so far as such agency may be found convenient; and

(d) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as "transferred subjects") to the administration of the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the subject, and for the allocation of provincial funds for the purpose of such administration.

(2) Rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may—

- (i) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution, allocation, and transfer;
- (ii) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local Governments to the Governor-General-in-Council and making such contributions a first charge on provincial revenues;
- (iii) provide for constituting a finance department in any province and regulating the functions of that department;
- (iv) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local Government of a province over members of the public services therein;
- (v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject or a transferred subject, and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred; and
- (vi) make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient;

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act, the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

Provision as to Powers of Control of Governor-General-in-Council.

(3) The powers of superintendence, direction and control over local Governments vested in the Governor General in Council under the principal Act shall in relation to transferred subjects be exercised only for such purposes as may be specified in rules made under that Act, but the Governor General in Council shall be the sole judge

as to whether the purpose of the exercise of such powers in any particular case comes within the purposes so specified.

(4) The expressions "central subjects" and "provincial subjects" as used in this Act mean subjects so classified under the rules.

Provincial subjects, other than transferred subjects, are in this Act referred to as "reserved subjects."

Revised system of local government in certain provinces. (Rep. 214, 218; Act of 1915, ss. 46 and foll.)

2. (1) The presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay, and the provinces known as the United Provinces, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, shall be governed in relation to reserved subjects by a Governor-in-Council and, in relation to any transferred subject, save as otherwise provided by this Act, by a Governor acting with the Minister appointed under this Act and in charge of the subject. The said presidencies and provinces are in this Act referred to as "Governors' provinces" and the two first named presidencies are in this Act referred to as the presidencies of Bengal and Madras.

(2) The provisions of Sections forty-six to fifty-one of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall apply to the United Provinces, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, as they apply to the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Appointment of Ministers. (Rep. 218, 219, 220.)

3. (1) The Governor of a Governor's province may, by notification, appoint Ministers, not being members of his Executive Council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any Ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There shall be paid to any Minister so appointed such salary as the Governor, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, may determine.

(2) No Minister shall hold office for a longer period than three months, unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(3) In relation to a transferred subject, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of the Minister in charge, unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Minister, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice.

(4) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for the temporary administration of

a transferred subject where in cases of emergency owing to a vacancy there is no Minister in charge of the subject by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

Qualification of Members of Local Executive Councils. (Rep. 218; Act of 1915, ss. 47 and 55.)

4. (1) The provision in Section forty-seven of the principal Act, that two of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province must have been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "one" were substituted for "two" and the provision in that section that the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in India, if resident at Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, shall during his continuance there, be a member of the Governor's Council, shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province in any case where such provision is not made by Section forty-seven of the principal Act as amended by this section.

Business of the Governor-in-Council and the Governor with Ministers.

5. (1) All orders and other proceedings of the local Government of a Governor's province shall be expressed to be made by the Government of the province and shall be authenticated as the Governor may by rule direct.

(2) The Governor may make rules and order for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers, and every order made or act done in accordance with those rules and orders shall be treated as being the order or the act of the government of the province.

The Governor may also make rules and orders for regulating the relations between his Executive Council and his Ministers for the purpose of the transaction of the business of the local government.

Local Legislatures (Rep. 215, 236; Act of 1915, ss. 72 and foll.)

6. (1) The aggregate number of members of the Governor's Legislative Councils, the number of members elected by general communal and other electorates respectively, and the number of nominated official and nominated non-official members shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this act:

Provided that—

(a) rules under the principal Act may provide for increasing by not more than five per

cent, the aggregate number of members of any Council as specified in that Schedule, and for varying the proportions which the classes of members specified in that Schedule bear to one another; so, however, that at least seventy per cent. of the members of every Governor's Legislative Council shall be elected members and that not more than twenty per cent. of the aggregate shall be official members; and the Governor may for the purpose of any Bill introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Legislative Council nominate in the case of Assam one person, and in the case of other provinces not more than two persons having special knowledge or experience of the subject-matter of the Bill and those persons shall in relation to the Bill have for the period for which they are nominated all the rights of members of the Council and shall be in addition to the aggregate above referred to.

(2) The powers of a Governor's Legislative Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the Council.

(3) Subject as aforesaid provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

- (a) the term of office of members of a Governor's Legislative Council and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death acceptance of office, resignation duly accepted, or otherwise, and
- (b) the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of Governor's Legislative Councils, and
- (c) the qualifications for being, and for being nominated or elected, a member of any such Council, and
- (d) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of any election.

(4) Subject to any such rules any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of a Governor's Legislative Council.

Meeting of Governor's Legislative Council.

7. (1) A Governor may appoint such times for holding the sessions of his Legislative Council, as he thinks fit, and may also by notification or otherwise prorogue the Council.

(2) Any meeting of Governor's Legislative Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(3) All questions in a Governor's Legislative Council shall be determined by a majority of

votes of the members present other than the person presiding, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(4) A Governor's Legislative Council may be dissolved at any time by the Governor by notification, but in that case the Governor shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of his Legislative Council.

Powers of Local Legislatures.

8. (1) The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province.

(2) The local legislature of any province may, subject to the provisions of the sub-section next following, repeal or alter as to that province any law made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature.

(3) The local legislature of any province may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law—

- (a) imposing or authorising the imposition of any new tax unless the tax is a tax (in this Act referred to as a "scheduled tax") scheduled as exempted from this provision by rules made under the principal Act; or
- (b) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties or any other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council for the general purposes of the Government of India, provided that the imposition or alteration of a scheduled tax shall not be deemed to affect any such tax or duty; or
- (c) affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's naval, military, or air forces; or
- (d) affecting the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States; or
- (e) regulating any central subject; or
- (f) regulating any provincial subject which has been declared by rules under the principal Act to be, either in whole or in part, subject to Indian legislation, in respect of any matter to which such declaration applies; or
- (g) affecting any power expressly reserved to the Governor-General-in-Council by any law for the time being in force; or

- (h) altering or repealing the provisions of any law which having been made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature is scheduled by rules under the principal Act as a law which cannot be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction; or
- (i) altering or repealing any provision of a law passed by the Indian legislature after the commencement of this Act which by the terms of such law may not be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction;

Provided that an Act or a provision of an Act made by a local legislature, and subsequently assented to by the Governor-General in pursuance of this Act, shall not be deemed invalid by reason only of its requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General under this Act.

(4) The local legislature of any province has not power to make any law affecting any Act of Parliament.

Business to be carried on by Local Legislatures.
(Rep. 238, 252, 254, etc.)

9. (1) Sub-sections (1) and (3) of Section eighty of the principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted at meetings of local Legislative Councils) shall cease to apply to a Governor's Legislative Council, but the business and procedure in any such Council shall be regulated in accordance with provisions of this section.

(2) The proposals of the local Government for the appropriation of the provincial revenues in any year shall be submitted to the Council for its assent in the form of resolutions:

Provided that

- (a) the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such resolution, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent if the resolution relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the resolution is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject;
- (b) the Governor shall have power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department;
- (c) nothing in this sub-section shall require proposals to be submitted to the Council

in regard to expenditure which is declared by rules under the principal Act to be a permanent charge on provincial revenues; and

- (d) no proposal for the appropriation of any such revenues for any purpose or for the increase of the amount of the expenditure authorised or proposed to be authorised by any resolution shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor communicated to the Council.

(3) Provision shall be made for the appointment from among the members of the Council of grand committees on which a majority of the members shall be nominated members, selected by the Governor, with power, in cases specially referred to them, to pass or reject laws without the assent of the Council, which laws shall, if passed, have the same effect as laws passed by the Council.

(4) Where any Bills relating to a reserved subject has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or an amendment to such a Bill is moved, the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects; and the Bill, clause, or amendment shall thereupon be referred to a grand committee.

(5) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects either—

- (a) the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province, or
- (b) the interests of a specified reserved subject;

and may direct either that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, or, if he thinks fit and if the Council so desire, that the Bill, clause or amendment shall be referred to a grand committee, and the Bill, clause or amendment shall be dealt with in accordance with such direction.

(6) Provisions may be made by rules under the principal Act for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of this section and for regulating the course of business in the Council, and as to the persons to preside over and for the preservation of order at meetings thereof; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum and for

prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of any subject specified in the rules.

(7) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the Council, in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-in-Council, but may, subject to the assent of the Governor, be altered by the local legislatures.

(8) There shall be freedom of speech in the Governor's Legislative Council. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any courts by reason of his speech or vote in any such Council or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such Council.

Assents to Acts of local legislature. (Rep. 254.)

10. (1) Where a Bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner may instead of declaring that he assents to or withholds his assent from the Bill, return the Bill to the Council for consideration either in whole or in part together with any amendments which he may recommend, or in cases prescribed by rules under the principal Act may, and if the rules so require, shall reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General.

(2) Where a Bill is reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General, the following provisions shall apply :—

(a) The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner may, at any time within six months after the date of the reservation of the Bill, with the consent of the Governor-General but not otherwise return the Bill for further consideration by the Council with a recommendation that the Councils shall consider amendments thereto, and such Bill, when so returned, together with any recommendations relating thereto, shall be dealt with by the Council;

(b) After any Bill so returned has been further considered by the Council, together with any recommendations made by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, relating thereto, the Bill, if re-affirmed in accordance with the appropriate procedure, with or without amendment, may be again presented to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner;

(c) Any Bill reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General shall if assented to by the Governor-General within a period of six months from the date of such reservation, become law on due publication of such assent in the same way as a Bill assented to by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, but if not assented to by the Governor-General within such period of six months shall lapse and be of no effect unless before the expiration of that period either—

- (i) the Bill has been returned by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner for further consideration by the Council; or
- (ii) in the case of the Council not being in session a notification has been published of any intention so to return the Bill at the commencement of the next session.

(3) The Governor-General may (except where a Bill has been reserved for his consideration), instead of assenting to or withholding his assent from any Act passed by a local legislature, declare that he reserves the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and in such case the Act shall not have validity until His Majesty has signified his assent to the Governor-General through the Secretary of State in Council, and his assent has been notified by the Governor-General.

Vacation of seats in Governor's Legislative Council.

11. An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of a local Legislative Council and if any non-official member of local Legislative Council, whether elected or nominated, accepts any office in the service of the Crown in India his seat on the Council shall become vacant provided that for the purposes of this provision a Minister shall not be deemed to be an official and a person shall not be deemed to accept office on appointment as a Minister.

Constitution of new provinces, etc. (See Rep. 199, 246.)

12. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new Governor's province, or place part of a Governor's province under the administration of Deputy-Governor, and may in any such case apply, with such modification as appear necessary or desirable all or any of the provisions of the principal Act relating to

Governors' provinces, or provinces under a Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, to any such new province or part of a province.

(2) The Governor-General in Council may declare any territory within any Governor's province to be a backward tract, and the Governor-General in-Council may, by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid, direct that the principal Act and this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the notification.

13. (1) The validity of any order made or action taken after the commencement of this Act by the Governor-General-in-Council or by a local Government which would have been within the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council, or of such local Government, if this Act had not been passed, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that by reason of any provision of this Act or of any rule made by virtue of any such provision such order or action has ceased to be within the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council or of the Government concerned.

(2) The validity of any law passed by the Indian legislature or any local legislature shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that the law affects a provincial subject or a central subject, as the case may be.

(3) The validity of any order made or action taken by the Governor-in-Council or by a Governor acting with a Minister, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that such order or action relates or does not relate to a transferred subject of which the Minister is not in charge.

PART II.

Government of India.

Indian Legislature. (Rep. 273, 274, Act of 1915, s. 63.)

14. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian legislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Council of State (Rep. 277.)

15. (1) The Council of State shall consist of the Governor-General, the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act.

(2) The Council of State shall consist of fifty-six members (exclusive of the Governor-General), the number of non-elected members shall be

thirty-two, of whom at least four shall be non-official members, the number of elected members shall be twenty-four.

(3) The Governor-General, when present, shall preside in the Council of State and shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a Vice-President and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

Legislative Assembly. (Rep. 278, Act of 1915, s. 63.)

16. (1) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act;

(2) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of one hundred and twenty members, the number of non-elected members shall be forty of whom twenty-six shall be official members, the number of elected members shall be eighty:

Provided that rules made under the principal Act may provide for increasing by not more than five per cent, the aggregate number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section, and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear one to another; so, however, that at least two-thirds of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members and at least one third of the other members shall be non-official members;

(3) The Governor General shall have the right of addressing the Legislative Assembly, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

Duration and sessions of Legislative Assembly and Council of State. (Rep. 278, 283.)

17. (1) Every Council of State shall continue for five years, and every Legislative Assembly for three years, from the first meeting:

Provided that—

- (a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General;
- (b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and
- (c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor shall appoint a day not more than six months later for the next sessions of that chamber.

(2) The Governor-General may appoint such times for holding the sessions of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time by notification or otherwise prorogue the Indian legislature.

(3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

Vacation of seats in Indian Legislature.

18. (1) An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of either chamber of the Indian legislature and if any non-official member of either chamber accepts office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat in that chamber shall become vacant.

(Rep. 277.)

(2) If an elected member of either chamber of the Indian legislature becomes a member of the other chamber, his seat in such first mentioned chamber shall thereupon become vacant.

Rules as to constitution, etc., of Legislative Assembly and Council of State. (Act of 1915, s. 66.

See Rep. 278.)

19. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

(a) the term of office of nominated members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted or otherwise; and

(b) the conditions under which and the manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(c) the qualifications for being nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(d) the final decision as to doubts or disputes as to the validity of an election.

(2) Subject to any such rules, any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

Rules as to business carried on by Indian Legislature. (Rep. 279, 280, 284, 286.)

20. (1) Sub-sections (1) and 3 of Section sixty-seven of the principal Act (which relate to the

classes of business which may be transacted by the Indian Legislative Council shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for regulating the course of business and preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian legislature and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the Legislative Assembly; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

(3) If any difference of opinion arises between the chambers of the Indian legislature, in relation to legislation the Governor-General may refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both chambers, or may return the matter for reconsideration by either chamber.

(4) Where the Governor-General-in-Council certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency which has arisen that any law shall be passed, the Council of State shall have power to pass laws without the assent of the Legislative Assembly which laws shall have effect as laws passed by both chambers.

(5) Rules made for the purpose of this section may contain such general and supplemental provisions as appear necessary for the purpose of giving full effect to this section.

(6) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in either chamber of the Indian legislature in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-General-in-Council, but may with the consent of the Governor-General be altered by the chamber to which they relate.

(7) There shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or vote in either chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either chamber.

Composition of Governor-General's Executive.

(Rep. 271, Act of 1915, s. 36.)

21. (1) The provision in Section thirty-six of the principal Act, that Composition of three at least of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council must have been for at least ten years in the service, or the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "two" were substituted for

"three," and any other provision in that section directing that such members must possess any special qualifications, and any provision in that section imposing any limit on the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, in any case where such provision is not made by Section thirty-six of the principal Act as amended by this section.

(3) Sub-section (2) of Section thirty-seven of the principal Act (which provides that when and so long as the Governor-General's Executive Council Assembles in a province having a Governor the Governor shall be an extraordinary member of the Council) shall cease to have effect.

PART III.

Secretary of State.

Payment of salaries etc., out of moneys provided by Parliament (Rep. 294, Act of 1915, s. 2.)

22. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his Under-Secretaries, and any other expenses of his department may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid.

Control of Secretary of State and Governor-General. (See Rep. 291, 292.)

23. The Secretary of State in Council may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, by rule regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State in Council, and the Governor-General-in-Council by the principal Act or otherwise in such manner as may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of this Act.

Any such rules shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them and those rules shall thenceforth be void but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done there-under.

PART IV.

The Public Service in India.

The Public Services (See Rep. 323, 325, etc.)

24. (1) Subject to the provisions of the principal Act and of rules made thereunder, every person in the Civil Service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure, and may be employed in any manner required by the proper authority within the scope of his duty but no person in that service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed.

(2) The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the public services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Such rules may to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General-in-Council, or to local Governments, or authorise the Indian legislature or local legislatures to make laws regulating the public services.

(3) The right to pensions and the scale and conditions of pensions of all persons in the civil service of the Crown in India appointed by the Secretary of State in Council shall be regulated in accordance with the rules set out in the Second Schedule to this Act. The rules set out in that Schedule may be varied or added to by the Secretary of State in Council and shall have effect as so varied or added to but any such variation or addition shall not adversely affect the pension of any member of the service appointed before the date thereof. Nothing in this section or in any rule thereunder shall affect the provisions in relation to pensions contained in the East India Annuity Funds Act, 1874.

(4) For the removal of doubts it is hereby declared that all rules or other provisions in operation at the time of the passing of this Act whether made by the Secretary of State in Council under the principal Act or by any other authority, relating to the Civil Service of the Crown in India, were duly made in accordance with the powers in that behalf and are hereby confirmed; but any such rules or provision may be revoked, varied or added to by rules or laws made under this section and any rules or provisions confirmed by this sub-section which affect pensions shall have effect subject to the provisions of the Second Schedule to this Act.

25. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Section ninety-seven of the principal Act the Secretary

of State may make appointments to the Indian Civil Service of persons habitually resident in India in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India. Any rules made under this section shall not have force until they have been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

(2) The Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act 1915 (which confers power during the war and for a period of two years thereafter to make appointment to the Indian Civil Service without examination) shall have effect as though "three years" were substituted for "two years."

Public Service Commission.

26. (1) There shall be established in India a Public Service Commission, consisting of not more than five members, of whom one shall be Chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. Each member shall hold office for five years, and may be re-appointed. No member shall be removed before the expiry of his term of office, except by order of the Secretary of State in Council. The qualifications for appointment, and the pay and pension (if any) attaching to their office, shall be prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

(2) The Public Service Commission shall discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of the Public Services in India, such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

Financial Control.

27. (1) An Auditor General in India shall be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and shall hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. The Secretary of State shall, by rules make provision for his pay-duties and conditions of employment by rules.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Secretary of State in Council no office may be added to or withdrawn from the Public Service, and the emoluments of no post may be varied except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Government of India, according as the post is or is not under the control of a local Government.

PART V.

Statutory Commission.

Statutory Commission. (Rep. 264, 288.)

28. (1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of this Act the Secretary of State shall submit for the approval of both Houses of

Parliament the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purposes of this section.

(2) The persons whose names are so submitted, subject to the approval of, and to any alterations made by Parliament, shall be a Commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India and the provinces thereof, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to extend or modify the degree of responsible government then existing in any province.

(3) The Commission shall also enquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

PART VI.

GENERAL.

Modification of S. 124 of Principal Act.

29. Notwithstanding anything in Section one hundred and twenty-four of the principal Act, if any member of the Governor-General's Executive Council or any member of any local Government, was at the time of his appointment concerned or engaged in any trade or business, he may, during the term of his office, with the sanction in writing of the Governor-General, or in the case of Ministers, of the Governor of the province, and in any case subject to such general conditions and restrictions as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe, retain his concern or interest in that trade or business, but shall not, during that term, take part in the direction or management of that trade or business.

Power to make Rules.

30. Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the principal Act, different rules may be made for different provinces, and where no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made, the rules shall be made by the Governor-General-in-Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian legislature or by any local legislature. Any rules to which this section applies shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of

them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them and those rules shall henceforth be void but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

Amendments of Principal Act to carry Act into effect, etc.

31. The amendments set out in the Third Schedule to this Act, being amendments to carry out the provisions of this Act, and further amendments consequential on or arising out of those provisions, shall be made in the principal Act, and any question of interpretation shall be settled by reference to the principal Act as so amended.

Definition of Official.

32. In this Act the expressions "official" and "non-official," where used in relation to any person, mean respectively a person who is or is not in the civil or military service of the Crown in India: Provided that rules under the principal Act may provide for the holders of such offices as may be specified in the rules not being treated for the purposes of the principal Act or this Act, or any of them, as officials.

Short Title, Commencement, and Interpretation.

33. (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of India Act, 1919, and the principal Act, as amended by any Act for the time being in force, may be cited as the Government of India Act.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act, and for different parts of India.

On the dates appointed for the coming into operation of the provisions of this Act as respects any Executive or Legislative Council all the members of the Council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be re-appointed, re-nominated or re-elected, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(3) Any reference in any enactment in force in India (whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India) or in any rules, regulations or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document, to any enactment repealed by the principal Act, shall for all purposes be construed as references to the principal Act as amended by this Act, or to the corresponding provisions thereof.

(4) Any reference in any enactment in force in India whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations, or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document to any Indian legislative authority, shall for all purposes be construed as reference to the corresponding authority constituted by the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(5) If any difficulty arise as to the first establishment of the Indian legislature or any Legislative Council after the commencement of this Act or otherwise, in first giving effect to the provisions of this Act the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council as occasion may require may by order do any matter or thing which appears to them necessary for the purpose of removing any such difficulty.

THE AFGHAN SITUATION

\$ INCE we wrote last month on the Afghan trouble, events of some magnitude have happened at the various fronts and in the internal politics of Afghanistan, which have compelled the vain and infatuated Amir to revise his notions of the British power in India. To his great cost, he has now come to realise the immensity of the task undertaken and the futility of his comparatively feeble efforts to accomplish it. He has been making every attempt to bring the war to an end. It may be of some interest to our readers to follow the events that have wrought such a wonderful change in the young Amir.

In view of the failure of his troops to accomplish anything tangible, the Amir made further overtures for the cessation of hostilities. This time Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan, who was till recently the Afghan envoy in India, was entrusted with the affair. As no credentials authorising his party to negotiate peace terms were produced, his mission was not so much heeded, and Abdul Rahman alone was permitted to return to his country. It was strongly suspected as merely a ruse employed by the enemy to gain time. But soon after the departure of Abdul Rahman, the other delegates that had come with him but were detained, produced a *firman* investing the party

with power to carry on peace negotiations. The language of the *firman* and the inexplicable delay in producing it, made the British doubt the sincerity of the mission. So they too were permitted to go back without any more reply.

In the meanwhile, the Afghans were being repulsed in every theatre of war. The Amir's plan of campaign, though excellently conceived, had practically failed. Not only was the Afghan rising in Peshawar city which was to take place at the same time as the seizure of the Khyber pass traced and nipped in the bud, but the Khyber pass was placed outside the danger zone by driving the Afghans off the mouth of the pass. The attempts of the Afghan troops to raise the tribes on the border against the British were not attended with any success. These tribes occupying as they do the position comparable to a certain degree with Afghanistan between India and Russia, would have greatly embarrassed the position of the British if they had taken sides with the Amir. But thanks to the past policy of the British towards these unruly tribes, which has kept them loyal to the British connection in spite of the close ties such as religion, which would otherwise have naturally drawn them to the Afghan side. Moreover, the successful air raiding of the British on Jellalabad and Kabul, and the failure of the Afghans to adopt any reprisals, has had some effect on them. The successes achieved by the British in the actions that took place on the 9th and 11th May, the subsequent occupation of the important town of Dakka, a severe defeat later on the 17th May, and a stern repulse near Asmar in Chitral territory resulted in the Afghans giving up all ideas of stirring up the tribes in that part of the country. The tribes too showed no disposition to respond to the friendly overtures of the Afghans. But General Nadir Khan has to some extent succeeded in making the British withdraw their militia posts in the Upper Tochi and South Waziristan. After many vain attempts he has obtained the adherence of Darwesh Khel and the Mahsuds and entered Waziristan. No effort has been spared by him to get into possession of Thal. But all to no purpose. The sight of the British relief force seems to have created a panic in the Afghan army and the immediate retreat towards Khost abandoning their point of vantage was the result. The British aeroplanes employed in reconnoitring have found out that the Afghans have abandoned Yousuf Khel also, which formed the head-quarters of Nadir Khan. Earlier in the war the British lost Spinwam; but this loss has been made good by

the gain of the impregnable fortress of Spin Bal-dak in the southern area.

The withdrawal of Nadir Khan to Khost and the letter from the Amir again seeking armistice show that all is not well in Afghanistan. One is really astonished to find the Amir maintaining his innocence in the affair and attributing the out-break of war to some misunderstanding. The dominating influence exercised by Torzi in regard to foreign policy and the encouragement that the vigorous propaganda campaign carried on by this man to stir up the people of Afghanistan and this country has received from the Amir prove beyond doubt that the theory of war now put forward by the Amir has no foundation at all. The mass of evidence in possession of the British conclusively proves that the Amir planned the war of offence with a view to distract the attention of his people from internal affairs, promising them much booty. The Viceroy has rightly repudiated the allegations made by him regarding the origin of the war and has proposed terms for armistice which are both 'lenient and reasonable.'

It is gratifying to learn that while pointing out the difficulties in observing certain terms the Amir has gladly accepted the Viceroy's offer and has appointed his plenipotentiaries to treat with the British Government. The Viceroy too has made the necessary arrangements to meet these Afghan representatives. In a few days, peace with Afghanistan will be an accomplished fact.

If there is one lesson more than another which we learn from the past history of the British relations with Afghanistan, it is the danger of premature peace. The conduct of the Afghans in the previous wars would make everyone pause a while before giving ready acceptance to any offer of peace. In this connection we have to bear in mind what Lord Roberts wrote after the war of 1879.

"I felt that the Afghans had not had the sense of defeat sufficiently to convince them of our strength and ability to punish breach of treaty, and therefore a peace made now, before they had been thoroughly beaten, would not be a lasting one and would only end in worse trouble in the near future."

Everyone who has been carefully following the course of events in the present war will have no need to entertain any fear on this account.

It is not too much to hope that as a result of peace negotiations it will be possible to renew the friendly relations between the two countries and place them not on the whims and fancies of hot-headed monarchs but on the goodwill and right understanding of the Afghan people. But the realisation of such a hope largely depends on the attitude of the nation as a whole,

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

European Theories of Government

Mr. W. A. Dunning, Professor of History and Political Philosophy in the Columbia University writes in the current number of *Political Science Quarterly* about the various bodies of doctrine which occupied the chief place successively in current European speculation. There were three principal bodies of doctrine of which the first was constitutionalism which dominated thought till the middle of the 19th century; the second was nationalism which reached the climax of its sway over men's minds in the sixties; and the third was socialism. After the Congress of Vienna, especially conspicuous was the idea that some kind of constitution—of fundamental law written or unwritten—was of the essence of a rational and workable system. The demand for a well defined legal basis for the government, whether monarchic, aristocratic or democratic, became the central feature in the programme of the liberal party in every State. Theoretical debate developed new and striking doctrines only as to the content and not as to their desirability of the written code. As to the essential requirements of constitutional government, theory was practically unanimous in holding that there must be, first, some guarantee of rights to the individual, and second a separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers. Theories of the *Rechtsstaat* or the constitutional state were largely concerned with the effort to reconcile the functions of a representative assembly with those of a hereditary Monarch and to partition sovereignty neatly between the prince and the people.

The *Charte Constitutionnelle* of Louis XVIII was based on the will of the Monarch. That of 1830 supported the doctrine that the fundamental law rested upon a compact between the king and the elected representatives; and formal modification of the constitution required the joint action of

parliament and crown. The French Liberal writer, Benjamin Constant, developed the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people in the general spirit of Montesquieu, rather than in that of Rousseau. In his analysis of constitutional monarchy, the royal power regulates and harmonizes the movements of the executive power, the judicial power, the hereditary assembly and the elective assembly which are represented by the ministry, the Courts, the second chamber and the house of representatives. Constant's view that the Monarch is an organ of Government rather than the sovereign of the state was quite characteristic of the transition from monarchic to popular sovereignty. Guizot was anxious to guarantee against any exaggeration of power in either Monarch or people. De Tocqueville openly imitated the model of Montesquieu and continued in the lives of Aristotle, Polybius and Machiavelli. He pointed out in the first place the qualifications permeating the idea of sovereignty which was the ultimate law-making authority, but was not absolute in any human will whether individual or collective. He brought into prominence two elements in the American system (1) the extreme decentralisation of administration and (2) the exalted political function of the higher judiciary. Both of these play an important part in the successful career of constitutional democracy. Tocqueville's general purpose is to show that successful democracy rests not so much on written constitutions, as on the history and character the environment, manners and morals of the people. The two above-mentioned features of America are not formally embodied in the written constitution and are not due to any artificial work. He finds that the evil of democracy lies in the tyranny of the majority; and the same majority that makes the law makes also public opinion.

German Democracy at the Cross-roads

It is impossible to forecast what will be the precise results or the final form of the work of the Constituent National Assembly in Germany. An article in a recent number of *The Round Table* explains briefly the salient features of the old Imperial German Constitution, summarises the reasons why it was not a democratic constitution and finally indicates the defects revealed by theory or practice in the old constitution. There is no analogy between the German imperial system and that of other countries enjoying self-government and representative parliamentary institutions. The German policy is not made in the Imperial Cabinet, nominally made by the Imperial Chancellor and by the Federal Council, practically by the King and Government of Prussia. Neither the Federal Council nor the Reichstag could make or unmake a Government or Ministers. Both in law and in practice the control of the Reichstag over the purse had been whittled down to virtual impotence. And the Imperial budget covered only a part of the taxation of Germany. The will of the Reichstag as representing the German people could not be made to prevail in the last resort. The key of the situation and the cornerstone of the governmental arch of the Empire were the powers, strength, traditions and principles of the Prussian monarchy which is the Prussian Government. This Prussian *root* has been immensely strengthened by the Emperor's personal policy. He has buttressed up his formidable position by tightening and extending in every way the dynastic bonds between the Hohenzollerns and other ruling "families of Germany. Imperial penetration which is Prussian penetration, thus subtly and surely, aimed at controlling through the Prussianised rulers, the Governments of the non-Prussian States. The Federal Council was for all practical purposes of policy and administration an organ tuned and effectively controlled by Prussia, *And against this bulwark the waves of opposition*

of liberalism, of social democrats and of Radicals had until 1918 beaten in vain.

Thus, if Germany is to have a democratic Government, no tinkering of the old constitution will suffice. The machinery of government must be recreated on different principles in a different spirit and for fundamentally different objects. Secondly there must be a no less drastic reconstruction of the constitution and Government of Prussia. Regarded historically, the situation at the end of 1918 reverted to the situation in the spring of 1848. The leaders of 1848 grasped very clearly that unless 'Prussia was dissolved in Germany' the revolution which would have given a liberal democratic and unifying constitution on truly nationalist lines would end in a collapse and in the triumph of reaction. They recognised that the failure of the Revolution to master Prussia was the main cause of the reaction of 1849. The subsequent conversion of Germany to the principles of militarism, based on the Gospel of Power, was the result of this collapse. Germany has now imposed on herself the task of demolishing the work of Bismarck and the post-Bismarckians and of extirpating Prussianism without destroying Prussia. A similar task was imposed on the men of 1789 in France. They had to destroy the achievements and principles of Richelieu and of Louis XIV without destroying France. The substitution of a Republic and a President for the Empire and the Emperor is not the most striking point. A Republic, unitarian or federal is not in itself necessarily democratic. In the draft constitution framed for Germany there are several large defects. But if the Revolution has for the moment made Junkerdom important, it has not reduced the predominance of Prussia in Germany though it has put the predominance in a different setting. In a word, the difficulty of dissolving Prussia in Germany has been increased rather than diminished by the Revolution.)

The Chinese Press

The Tang Dynasty of China (618-907 A.D.) observes a writer in the *Asiatic Review* for April encouraged learning and patronised literature and started a government organ in which were published imperial edicts, rescripts and memorials. It was issued irregularly until 1351, when it was issued four times a moon. But for many years until it ceased publication it appeared daily. The issue was limited; but it was copied and circulated throughout the country in the form of proclamations and posted outside yamen and city-gates. Anonymous placards were frequently used for giving expression to the discontent and dissatisfaction of the public against acts of oppression and injustice. These were usually written in a popular style and were often caustic, cutting and satirical, as well as full of sharp and witty quotations. The *Peking Gazette* since the establishment of the Foreign Legations in Peking after the war of 1859-60 was the principal source from which foreign ambassadors derived their official news and the policy, opinions and news of the Chinese rulers. This gave one an insight into court and official life and etiquette as well as enabled one to gain a knowledge of the manners and customs of the people.

Modern journalism in China may be said to date from 1864 when an American Missionary, Dr. Y. J. Allen started a monthly magazine which had a wide circulation and was read by officials and *literati*. In 1872 the first daily newspaper was published in Shang-Hai. It maintained a high reputation for intelligent and wise criticism and was even welcomed at the Peking Court and remained the leading organ of Chinese opinion for many years. Other newspapers were published mostly at the treaty ports where the editors were free to express their opinions and advocate reforms which they were not allowed to do in the interview. With the inauguration of the national post office and the

extension of railways, there was a boom in newspaper production. During 1903 the young China party captured most of the press and were taking lessons from the Japanese regarding the use of printing machinery and the arts of process-engraving. When the Revolution broke out in 1911, there were no less than 700 newspapers which have now reached to over a thousand. In 1906 a daily newspaper for women was started in Peking. There are also a considerable number of magazines which have a wide circulation; and a women's magazine has advocated equal rights for women and their economic independence.

In 1907 a Press-law was drawn up by Government giving the ministry power to control, censor and when necessary muzzle the Press. This was superseded by a more stringent law which led to what was known as 'cartoon' warfare between the Government and the Press. The Chinese editors are not only masters of classical literature but also artists and poets; and they portrayed by their cartoons the vices of evils caused by officials, foreign oppression through loans, indemnities and abuse of power; humiliation and shame from the conduct of the Chinese towards foreigners, the ignorances, indifference and vices of the people, etc. The Chinese editors are able to satirise, deride and goad by the use of a single character; and the Pictorial Press was very good in derision and scorn. The effect of modern journalism on mandarins was most salutary. It has led to the agitation for reform and the spreading of progressive ideas among all classes, created a desire and demand for a constitution and parliament, with a view of regenerating the country financially politically and socially. The growth of the native press has largely removed the apparent indifference and unconcern of the people. It has largely taught the Chinese to think for themselves and taught them to work out their own salvation without the intervention of other nations.

Egyptian Administration.

The present crisis in Egypt makes it imperative on all students of the politics of the British Empire to learn something of the nature of the British protectorate over that country, the character of the British rulers and their ideals. Sir Malcolin Mc Ilwraith, in a paper that is published in *United Empire* (April number) explains the more salient and distinguishing characteristics of British policy towards Egypt and the personal temperament and character of the various British rulers who have presided over that country's destinies since 1882. Earl Cromer who was in power from 1803 to 1907 laid the foundations of all succeeding regimes. The leading feature of his rule was the gradual gathering together of all the threads of administration and their concentration in the hands of one man marked out in all possible respects for supreme power. He had to struggle continuously with those forces which resented his encroachments on their powers and prerogatives and which resisted his authority by active opposition or passive obstruction. There were trials of strength between the more daring spirits among them and Earl Cromer; and the choice lay between the personal government of the Khedive Abbas II and the personal government of Lord Cromer. The marvellous financial transformation and material development of the country which he effected are well within the knowledge of all.

His successor Sir Eldon Gorst inaugurated a new policy which the Liberal Government of Mr. Asquith desired to try, viz., to get the cordial support and collaboration of the Khedive. The experiment proved a failure both from a political and from an administrative point of view. The period was one of administrative sterility and the only measure of reform was the improvement of Provincial Councils. The demand for full Parliamentary institutions and agitation continued and culminated in the assassination of the

Premier Boutros Pasha, the retirement of Sir Eldon Gorst and the accession of Lord Kitchener to power.

Kitchener breathed a new spirit into the administration. During his regime (1911-14) a large number of innovations of various kinds were introduced, most of them intended to ameliorate the lot of the *fellaheen*. His administrative talents were no less remarkable than his military genius; but his greatest defect as a civil administrator was a positive passion for despatch at any price. Much of his legislation was seriously prejudiced by his unwillingness to allow reasonable time for its elaboration. There was certainly no stagnation under his regime and routine was reduced to a minimum. He took a special interest—no doubt largely military—in means of communication.

Since the proclamation of the British Protectorate, there have been a Sultan instead of the Khedive and a British High Commissioner in the place of the Consul General. This change has not greatly altered the outward aspect of affairs. The protectorate *de facto* has been converted into a protectorate *de jure*. The High Commissioner is placed in a position corresponding to his political importance; and this change will lead to the disappearance of the diplomatic corps of other states in Cairo and the substitution for it of commercial consuls, as in other British dependencies.

Prison Reform.

At the present day, prisons are very costly to the state, and they do not accomplish the end for which they are instituted. Under existing circumstances prisoners invariably deteriorate mentally and physically, by repression and coercion and for lack of right moral training. A very large percentage of them return to prison and thus prove the inadequacy of the system in every way. And recidivism means further expense to the state and greater degradation to the prisoner,

In punishment the man is the object of revenge, often vindictiveness—and he is also contemplated with a large amount of fear. The old theory that the punishment must fit the crime, regardless of the individual belongs to past ages and should be put with other useless lumber. Solitary confinement, straight jacket, the dungeon and the lash intensify evil and make men bitter and revengeful.

A writer in the May number of *The Theosophist* deplores all these and exhorts us to improve the prison-system both from a moral and an economic point of view. When one realises the many hours that a prisoner has to think and then what these thoughts can be, we find that they are only an intensifying of the old ones through reiteration and similar thoughts round him. Correspondence can be and is of the greatest possible benefit to prisoners, but here again discrimination and common sense must be used.

The following excerpt shows the difference between the old and the new prison systems in America. The new prison system gives the prisoner opportunity for self-expression and responsibility, and the spirit of the new system is brotherhood.

"The old prison system was based on the theory that punishment must fit the crime, without regard to the individual who commits the crime, the so-called criminal. Solitary confinement in iron cells, inferior and insufficient food, the lock-step, the shaven head, the strait-jacket, the lash and the dungeon, have been devised to repress the evil in the man. The reverse has been effected. The good in the man has been crushed; the evil intensified by the resentment at the injustice of society. Prisoners, guards, wardens, society, none have escaped the degrading influence.

In many States benevolent wardens are extending privileges, and finding the men worthy of the trust placed in them. So far this has developed law-abiding slaves. This so-called "honour system" is a step between the old prison system and the new.

The Teaching of Patriotism

Lala Lajpat Rai, in the course of an article on the above Subject, in the *Modern Review* for June, writes that love of India as a whole as distinguished from love of village, town, city or province is the point round which the teaching of patriotism in India must revolve. He says: 'I am sure Indian Nationalists do not want to set up an aggressive nationalism of the kind which will breed contempt or hatred of other nations. The idea that love of one's country necessarily involves hatred of others, or even indifference to the welfare of the rest of mankind, is absolutely fallacious and mischievous and should be combated through and through."

The teaching of Hindu-Mohammedan unity, says Lala Lajpat Rai, can be much facilitated by the writing of special and carefully worded theses on the lives of our national heroes. He observes "If Mother India had an Asoka, she had an Akbar too. If she had a Chaitanya, she had Kabir also. If she had a Harsha, she had Sher Shah too. If she had a Vikramaditya, she had a Shah Jahan also... If she is proud of a Todar Mal, she is equally proud of Abul Fazul."

After pointing out that the third part of our course for the teaching of patriotism must deal with our relations with the State, he concludes that

"Our loyalty must be rational, reasonable and sincere. Let me make it clear that any attempt to enforce the teaching of loyalty to the established British Government in India as such, without pointing out the road to make it truly national and truly democratic, will end in a fiasco. The analogy of Germany does not apply. The Indians must feel that their loyalty is voluntary, and an outcome of their conscious desire to remain a part of the British Commonwealth on terms of equality with the rest."

Vienna and Versailles 1815 & 1919.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, in the current number of the *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* institutes a comparison in some important respects between the European situation in 1815 and that at the present moment. Bonaparte was the Hohenzollern model both in diplomacy and in the conduct of military operations. Fortune however has decreed that the roles of Napoleon I and Wilhelm II should be reversed. The corsican began his life in obscurity ; he was thrown over the surface of public affairs by revolution ; he was the creature of a conflict which he had done nothing to provoke. The Kaiser inherited the most commanding monarchy in the world ; the true source of his power was the unparalleled prosperity of forty years of peace ; he wantonly entered upon a war of conquest which has ended in a revolution and his own downfall.

In the two struggles which ended respectively in 1814 & 1918, Great Britain played a central and decisive part. If the Napoleonic war dragged on its weary length for over a decade the cause was very largely the fact that for the first five years Britain limited her efforts to the sea and refused to put forth her strength on land. If the German war of 1914 had been finished in less than four years and a half, one of the determining causes is the fact that from the outset Britain threw herself into the struggle by land as well as by sea. But in neither war did Britain immediately decide the issue. In each case the issue was decided by the late advent of a powerful ally whose fresh and enormous resources turned the scale. In 1812 it was Russia ; in 1917 it was the United States. In spite however of the decisive influence exercised by Russia in one instance and America in the other, out of both conflicts Britain emerged with immensely enhanced prestige and power. Hence British influence is hardly less powerful at Versailles in 1919 than it was at Vienna in 1815.

The plenipotentiaries in both cases represented peoples wearied by the intolerable burden of war and eager for the establishment of perpetual peace. In each case the passionate desires of pacific peoples were voiced by a great idealist, Alexander I of Russia occupied the place at Vienna and later at Turus which in 1919 is occupied by President Wilson. The two men differ greatly ; but their ultimate objects are identical, viz. the bringing into existence of some organ of international government capable of preventing war, suppressing revolution and administering justice. Alexander formulated the scheme of the Holy Alliance of autocrats. The folly of the Holy Alliance consisted in the vagueness of its principles, the absence of any agreement as to what the application of religion to politics meant and the lack of all executive machinery for giving effect to its noble sentiments. Wilson's ' League of Free Nations' is free from the weaknesses of its Parisian prototype. Its membership is restricted to peoples whose governments are of a congruous type ; its principles are clearly defined, and it is provided with simple but powerful machinery of operation. The Holy Alliance was posterior to and an appendix of the treaty settlement of Vienna. The present League of Nations has been the first business of the Versailles conference ; it is the preliminary to the peace.

In 1814-15 the guiding idea of the settlement was legitimacy and the settlement itself aimed at being as far as possible a restoration of conditions precedent to 1789. The Revolution of 1789 was the enemy which was to be overcome. In 1919, the principle of national democracy is everywhere accepted ; hence not restoration but reconstruction is the prime object of the plenipotentiaries ; but once again revolution presents itself as a disturbing element. Rousseau is now a canonical evangelist and the Jacobins are but overzealous apostles. The new Revolution is cosmopolitan socialism, and the modern supplanter of Rousseau is Karl Marx.

The Banking Needs of India.

Mr. M. L. Tannan, writing in a recent number of the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* explains the banking needs that require to be fulfilled for the further development of India's resources. The position of banking in India is very poor. There is only one banking office for every 900,000 persons in India, whereas in the United Kingdom, there is one for roughly every 5,200 and in U. S. A. one for every 3000 persons. The paid up banking capital and reserve in India per million of the population is .008 of what it is in the United Kingdom and .004 of what it is in U. S. A. Though one cannot say that he believes in the theory of India's hoards, one cannot equally claim that a fairly large portion of her savings enters into productive channels. Hoarding more often than not, is "involuntary," and may be attributed to the sheer absence of banking and investment facilities.

India wants a Central or State Bank with a large paid-up capital and a network of branches in at least all the district towns. Such a bank is needed, if for nothing else, at least for dealing satisfactorily with the Cash Balances of Government both in England and India which average roughly 42 crores a year. These balances can be transferred to this Bank and can be utilised for helping the trade of the country. The London Branch will utilise the heavy balances now kept in London and manage the finances of the India Office. The Central Bank will also better do the work of maintaining our artificial system of currency. It can maintain the system of paper currency and Government can share the profits of the whole business with it. This Bank will be in a good position to provide facilities for the remission of money from one part of the country to another and can give help to other banks by providing facilities for the grant of loans at reasonable rates and also for discounting commercial paper sing their banner. It can render assis-

tance to the co-operative credit-movement and industrial development by helping the central co-operative banks and the industrial banks. Another alternative scheme would be to amalgamate the Presidency Banks and to permit them to raise their capital by twice the amount of their paid-up capital and reserve on condition that preference is given to Indian applicants. The right of note issue may also be transferred to this amalgamated bank.

Besides a Central Bank, the country requires many more Indian joint-stock commercial banks with a net work of bank offices preferably managed and controlled by Indians. More banks are wanted not only for mobilising the capital of the country and placing the same at the disposal of the trade, but also for the extension of our paper currency and for obviating the currency troubles. They would have helped the use of currency notes and cheques and helped the growth of bank deposits. Branches of English or Colonial banks will either eliminate the Indian joint-stock banks by cut-throat competition or drive them into poverty and depression. Secondly such banks cannot meet our needs owing to their most costly management and owing to their being out of touch with the needs of our people. They are likely to insist on the use of English for their banking transactions and thus put in a position of disadvantage the middle classes and the bulk of the native merchant classes. Under proper state control Indian managed banks will thrive very well, but it is necessary that state-control should not be excessive.

There must also be some specialised banks for financing our industries and agriculture; and we should have more industrial banks with very large paid up capital. There must also be some organisation to look after the interests of the banks, to promote co-operation among them and to provide facilities for the training of young men for the banking profession.

Indian Christians

Miss. A. J. Marris, a retired member of the staff of the London Missionary Society, Benares, brings to notice in the current number of *The East and the West* some of the special troubles, anxieties and everyday difficulties of Indian Christians. She divides the Indian Christians into three classes, those who are converts from Mahomedanism, those who are Hindu converts and those who are Christians by birth and descendants of converts. The Mahomedan convert never loses his personal and religious pride even when he becomes a Christian. To him the way of return to his old faith is always open and should either party to a Mahomedan marriage become Christian, the marriage is ipso facto dissolved and both parties are free according to Mahomedan law to remarry. In the case of Hindu converts, caste-habits and instincts like the inborn pride of the Mahomedan, persist long after the individual has become a Christian, often unconsciously and as a matter of course. With regard to food, water and other matters of daily life, it is far easier for the Mahomedan to accustom himself to the social life of the Christian community than for the Hindu. The habits and standard of the Zenana persist long after a woman may have broken with her old life and companions.

The Christian character of a community is always a matter of slow growth. Progress in this direction is complicated by the great differences in the original standards of morality of the many castes from which the Christian community is recruited. All converts, unless they belong to a mass-movement area, have to face the problem of self-support. School masters, clerks, mechanics and domestic servants will probably lose their posts if they become Christians, but other posts are generally available for them. The case is worst in the case of tradesmen and artisans who are

entirely dependent on family and caste support. Women converts are much in the same position.

The problems which the Indian Christians have to face are threefold, economic, educational and social and underlying these are great moral problems. The caste or family backing is almost entirely lacking to the Indian Christian of the cities, though it is one of the gains of the mass-movements. The old caste occupations are for the most part closed. To ensure a really Christian training for children, parents desire the possibility of founding schools where only Christian boys will be admitted; but in this there is the danger that boys thus brought up may be unable to take their place in a society of mixed creeds. The housing problem is another imminent one. Should the adherents of a mission be encouraged to live in the streets and bazaars? or should they live separately in their own quarters? Following this there is the question of neighbours and social inter-course and in this connection the dread danger that threatens is that the Christian community should drift or be forced into becoming one more caste among many. There is also the possibility of the Christians becoming isolated in the coming national movement i.e., becoming alienated in sympathy and affection and ties from the great nationalities that are becoming increasingly self-conscious in the different parts of the country.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

BENGAL UNDER LORD CARMICHAEL. By Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee. ["The Hindustan Review," April.]

ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN INDIA. By D. A. Shah. ["Journal of the Indian Economic Society," March.]

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE." By Lala Lajpat Rai. ["The Modern Review," June.]

SELF SUPPORTING SCHOOLS FOR INDIA. By J. B. Pennington. ["The Asiatic Review," April 1919.]

THE FAKIR AND THE CARPET. By G. M. Calmady-Hamlyn. ["The Occult Review," May 1919.]

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS. By S. Vythia Nathan. M.C., B.R.A.S. ["The Young Hindu," Feb. 1919.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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Mr. Montagu's Memorandum

A memorandum by Mr. Montagu on the Government of India Bill states that in regard to the division of functions it is contemplated that, apart from the administration of provincial subjects, the Provincial Governments will continue to discharge in their own provinces many duties on behalf of the Central Government in regard to subjects which will remain under the full control of the Central Government. For example, the administration of customs, shipping, laws and the collection of income tax. The agency of the Provincial Government in this respect is employed merely as a matter of convenience, and it is, therefore, always open to the Central Government to cease to employ such agency and itself to undertake the entire work of administration through its own officials. The Bill contains no express provision in regard to the reserved subjects, but clause 23 will cover the making of rules thereon. It is not contemplated that questions in regard to the dividing line between the spheres of the Central and Provincial authorities shall be subject to a legal decision in Courts. The intention is that the rules to be framed shall provide that doubts, whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject, shall be decided by the Governor-General in Council, subject to the control of the Secretary of State.

In regard to the diarchy, Mr. Montagu says that no alternative plan has yet been submitted which is consistent with the announcement of the 20th August in providing for a gradual transfer of responsibility. The alternative plans suggested have two fatal defects. First, at the outset, they give no such responsibility to the non-official element in the Government as will be recognisable by the councils or their electorates, and secondly, they provide no means whereby such responsibility and control could ultimately be secured, except by a sudden change from official to popular

government which would take effect simultaneously as regards all provincial functions. The scheme of the joint report does give immediate responsibility to Ministers, who represent the popular element in the Legislative Councils in regard to some departments of administration, though, as long as there is division of functions between official and non-official sections, such responsibility cannot be complete. At the same time by bringing Ministers into touch both at joint meetings and in the discharge of their own duties with the work of the reserved departments, it gradually familiarises them with the needs of those departments and the considerations affecting their administration, and thus prepares the way for the assumption by Ministers of further responsibility by degrees as additional subjects are transferred until the ultimate goal of complete responsibility is attained.

The new form of Provincial Government does not apply to Burma, which, for reasons indicated in the joint report, requires separate treatment, but Burma will come within the scope of the devolution provisions of the Bill, except so far as such provisions depend on the institution of a new form of Provincial Government. In regard to the Executive Councils, the suggestion of the Government of India that one seat should statutorily be reserved for an Indian is not adopted, because it is considered undesirable to include in a Bill any provision for racial qualification, but it is contemplated that in any event the Executive Councils will continue to include at least one Indian member, and if a second European member is added, there will also be a second Indian member. As regards the Indian legislature no formal limitation is proposed of the general powers of legislation conferred by Section 65 of the Act, but it is contemplated that the Indian Legislature will abstain from Legislation on provincial subjects, except where those subjects are declared to be subject to Indian Legislation.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Montagu on the Reforms

In moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 4th instant, Mr. Montagu made a remarkable speech, in the course of which he said :—

Whether India was a nation or not, we had promised her the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. We had given India representation like that of the Dominions on the Imperial Conference. India was to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore their Imperial task was to overcome whatever difficulties might be in the path and help India on the road to nationality. If there were those who considered that the Empire justified itself when it gave a country satisfactory law and order, adequate peace, decent institutions and a certain measure of prosperity, if there were people who believed that we fulfilled our mission when we run the country as an estate and not as a country at all, even then there were large proposals in the Bill which commanded assent from them, for example, the proposals for devolution and decentralisation.

Mr. Montagu, referring to Lord Willingdon, said although he had a plan of his own, he was certain he would have preferred to rely on his qualities which made his astonishing success in the government of Bombay. He said in effect that under a Governor such as Lord Willingdon a far more elastic arrangement would be far preferable to the scheme of the Bill, if in any province, the Governor would so influence his advisers and if the circumstances of the particular province made it possible, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent the Governor to discharge all reserved functions as if they were transferred. He could tell his Government that he did not believe much in the new dual form of government and would use none of his powers under the Bill, unless driven thereto they would always consult together and he would do the best to work the scheme in deference to the wishes of the Legislature on all subjects. If he were lucky he would perhaps get through his term of office without having to use his exceptional powers on reserved subjects. Therefore under the scheme of the Bill Lord Willingdon would get all he proposed. Under the scheme of the Bill, whatever the personality of the Governor, transferred subjects were bound to the representatives of people, but under the alternative scheme, nothing was guaranteed them at all.

The (Indo-British) Association was a body which got very angry when it was suggested that it did not intend to carry out the Pronouncement. It had done a great deal of harm in India by leading the people to suppose that it had more influence on the decisions of Parliament than he hoped it was likely to have. Its scheme was the scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats and was intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. The Provincial Government was not to be interfered with by the Legislative Council, the Government of India, or India Office. Future Sydenhams would remain upon the throne untrammeled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below. How would that lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government.

We should never get on with all the work we had to do in India unless we settled, as this Bill would settle, the constitutional question and its intermediate discussion. When he said that the Bill would settle the question, he meant that he hoped they would receive from the Joint Committee an agreed Bill, that all alternative schemes would be considered in far more detail than was then possible and that somehow or other a Statute would pass as a consequence of the second reading of the Bill which would launch India on the road to complete self-government. There was so much other work to do in India that, if we could once get a growing constitution for it to win for itself the goal we had pronounced, we could give attention to the improvement of education, development of India's great resources and industries and consider the reorganisation of her defences. But before we could do anything and in order to make these things possible it seemed to him essential to start her on the road to self-government.

He could not believe that Parliament was going to afford any obstacle to the partnership of India in the Empire. We had recently been so sympathetic to the national aspirations of the Arabs, Czech-Slovaks and others and India desired to achieve nationality. She was an original member of the League of Nations developed under our protecting care and with our political thought. Let us pass the Bill and start India under theegis of the British flag on the road we ourselves had travelled, in spite of all difficulties of area, caste, religion, race and education. If you pass the Bill and modify it until it becomes a great statute, we can say to the people of India : "The future and the date on which to realise the future goal of self-government is with you. You are being given great responsibility to-day and opportunities of consultation and influence on other matters in which at present we keep responsibility. You will find in Parliament every desire to help and complete the task which this Bill attempts if you devote yourselves to use with wisdom, self-restraint and respect for minorities the great opportunities with which the Parliament is entrusting you." That message the House should send to the Indian people to-day. That message cannot be sent unless the House is determined to pass without delay and with every desire that it should be improved before it passed a statute which means the beginning of Responsible Government for India (cheers).

Lord Cecil on Co-operation

We all believe we are on the threshold of a new era. It is so. What is that era to be? Is it to be gradual, and gradually increasing chaos in these countries until they have engulfed the whole fabric of Christian civilisation? Or by a supreme effort are we going to start on the road of international confidence and co-operation? That is really the issue before us. If I may venture to do so, I would appeal to all in this country alike, to the workman as much as to the employer, to the rich as much as to the poor to make a great effort—as great an effort it may well turn out as any we made during the War—but I am bound to say that, great as the effort may be by ourselves we cannot succeed. All the countries in Europe are exhausted by this long War. Our own energies are diminished. Our own resources are very much restricted. If Europe is to be saved, it will be saved by the united efforts of all those countries which were associated in the War.

FEUDATORY INDIA

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Sir M. Visvesvarayya

The following *Gazette Extraordinary* has been issued by the Mysore Government :—

In permitting Sir M. Visvesvarayya, K.C.I.E., to retire from the service of the Mysore State from the 10th June 1919, His Highness the Maharaja desires to place on record his appreciation of the great services rendered to the State by this distinguished officer. Sir M. Visvesvarayya after a successful career in the Bombay Public Works Department, was appointed Chief Engineer to the Mysore Government in the month of November 1909. Three years later he succeeded Mr. T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E., as Dewan of Mysore, an appointment which he filled with conspicuous ability for over six years. During all this period Sir M. Visvesvarayya laboured with unwearying zeal and single-minded devotion to increase the material resources of the State. His administration as Dewan has resulted in important and far-reaching developments in education, irrigation work, railway communications and industries, and has laid the foundation for a prosperous and progressive future for the State. Sir M. Visvesvarayya carries with him in his retirement the esteem and best wishes of His Highness the Maharaja and all classes of his subjects. As a mark of appreciation of Sir M. Visvesvarayya's valuable services, His Highness has been pleased to grant him a special pension of Rs. 1,250 a month.

Famine in Baroda

Famine has been declared in several areas of the Baroda State and relief measures, as provided in the Famine Code, are in full swing. An outstanding feature of the present famine is that relief works are not as crowded as in the previous famines. The Baroda State has promptly met the keen demands for financial assistance from the agriculturists by advancing more than Rs. 7 lakhs for takavi and Rs. 2 lakhs for constructing wells.

Hyderabad Council

It is stated on official authority that, instead of having a mere Chief Minister, H.E.H. the Nizam has decided upon establishing an Executive Council, with Sir Syed Ali Imam as President. The members, who will be selected from among the officials of the State, will be nominated later.

A Maharaja's Gifts

On the occasion of the birthday of H. H. the Maharaja Raj Sahib of Dhrangadhra, the following announcements were made :—A grant of Rs. 6,000 to the Girassia Hostels, Rs. 5,000 annually to Sunderba Anathashrama, a purse of Rs. 1,000 to Dr. Baria and Rs. 10,000 for sundry charities. Ten scholarships each of Rs. 23 monthly for higher education in commemoration of the visit of H.H. the Jam Saheb.

Mysore University

The opening of a Mysore University course for mining and metallurgy, suggested by the existence of mineral wealth in the State, and of a project for iron smelting and steel manufacture, which is likely to be put in operation soon, was lately proposed by Government and the question is now under consideration. A committee will be appointed by the Council to devise a scheme under which instruction in these subjects may be provided as one of alternatives for students of the B. E. degree, the course to be one of two years after passing the intermediate examination in engineering.

The question of the institution of a degree in agriculture has also been considered. A rough scheme was drawn up by the Director of Agriculture on the assumption that a college would be located in Bangalore where existing facilities, such as a farm at Hebbal and laboratories in Bangalore and the services of the existing officers of the Department of Agriculture, would be taken advantage of as far as possible, but as Government expressed a preference to its location in Mysore the scheme has to be considerably altered.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Bikaner on India and the Dominions

At the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner said that the comradeship of India with the Dominions in the war had created an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill, which he fervently hoped would prevent new Indian grievances and difficulties in the Dominions, and which would pave the way to an early and complete removal of those remaining. The Maharaja of Bikaner recapitulated India's war sacrifices in men, her valuable contributions in material, and the generous donations of the Indian Princes. He referred to severe post-war economic effects and other difficulties, notably the uncertainty of Indian Mahomedans respecting the fate of Turkey. Touching the recent disturbances, the Maharaja of Bikaner earnestly hoped that neither in the United Kingdom nor other parts of the Empire would public opinion allow itself to be perturbed by these, or by alarmist statements or propaganda.

Indians in the American Army

In the *Young India* (New York) says the *Modern Review*, there is an incomplete list of the men who adopted Uncle Sam's uniform and fought for the war aims of the United States. This list contains the following 15 names:—Ahmad Ali, K. C. Kerwell, D. N. Mitra, Amulya Mukerji, S. A. Mullah, M. K. Pandit, K. H. Patel, R. D. Shelke, C. L. Singh, Iswar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Karm Singh, Sher Singh, Lab Singh Tehora. To these Mr. R. Ahmed adds the names of Lieut. Dhiren Roy, Lieut. B. Sharma and Chandra Singh. It is to be noticed that some of our boys got commissions, too, in the United States Army. Considering that there are only 125 Hindu students (any native of India, Hindu or Mussulman or of any other sect, is called Hindu in America) in the American Universities, those of them who volunteered for fighting for the 'world's freedom' do not form a negligible proportion.

Indians in Transvaal

The provisions of the Asiatic Amendment Act are:—

1. Those provisions of sections 130 and 131 of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Transvaal) which relate to the residence on or occupation of ground held under a stand licence on proclaimed land by coloured persons and any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any deed of grant or freehold title in a Government Township shall not apply—

(a) to any British Indian who on the first day of May 1919, was, under the authority of a trading licence lawfully issued, carrying on business on proclaimed ground or on any stand or lot in such township, or to the lawful successor in title of any such Indian in respect of such business; or

(b) to any person bona fide in the employment of such a British Indian or his successor in title, so long as such British Indian or successor in title continues so to carry on business on the same ground or stand or lot on which or in the same township in which it was being carried on on the first day of May 1919:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as abrogating any exceptions contained in the said sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one or in the conditions aforesaid.

2. Those provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal) and any amendments thereof heretofore enacted which prohibit a person belonging to any of the native races of Asia from being an owner of fixed property in the Transvaal subject to certain exceptions specified in such amendments shall, subject to the same exceptions, be construed also as prohibiting the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by any company or other corporate body in which one or more persons belonging to any of those races have a controlling interest:

Provided that the provisions of this section shall not apply in respect of the ownership of any fixed property acquired by any such company or corporate body before the 1st of May 1919.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Indian Industries

The East India Section, London Chamber of Commerce, held a meeting at its offices on May 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir Charles McLeod and discussed Mr. Chadwick's recent Society of Arts paper on the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. Sir C. McLeod inaugurated a discussion on friendly lines, but specially alluded to the recommendation of the Commission in favour of raising railway rates instead of by direct specific increased taxation when Government needed money.

Mr. Dick, Deputy Chairman of the Section, strongly deprecated any hastening of the development of India, and called attention to the suggestions that openings should be created for labour when labour was even insufficient now for the industries which existed.

Mr. Jackson also supported gradual development since enthusiasm was not enough to ensure success, and when there was any native failure it usually ascribed some European influence.

Thereupon Mr. Longcroft, representing Messrs. David Sassoons, took up the need for interesting capitalists in India rather than in other countries. Sir Alexander McRobert did not think the Government in India had given sufficient protection to industry. They knew what had happened at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, while, although it had not been published, he could tell them that one of the most important British industries in the Punjab employing 3,900 hands, near Amritsar, had been in the greatest danger during the last few weeks. These were things which they had to consider in advising people to send their money to India. They should devote greater attention in the improvement of existing possibilities. An increase of one bushel per acre more wheat would mean twelve million sterlings to the country at the present prices which is much better than starting new industries.

Cloth Consumption in India

Sir Dinshaw Wacha has calculated that there were 13·6 yards of cloth for consumption in India per annum per head of the population in 1913-14, as compared with 9·28 yards, the annual average of the five years which ended on 31st March 1919, or a shortage of 4·32 yards per year per head. The figures explain the cry of shortage and high prices of cloth.

The Currency Commission

The terms of reference of this Committee are as follows:—To examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice and upon the position of Indian note issues and to consider whether in the light of this experience and of possible future variations in the price of silver modifications of the system or practice may be required; to make recommendations as to such modifications and generally as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of the trade to maintain a satisfactory monetary circulation and to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard.

India's Cotton Trade

In the twelve months, April 1918 to March 1919, the quantity of yarn spun in Indian mills was 615 million lbs. and that of woven goods manufactured 350 million lbs. as compared with 661 and 381 million lbs., respectively, during the corresponding period of 1917-18. The value of woven goods manufactured in Indian mills, as far as reported, amounted to Rs. 44 crores in the months of April 1918 to March 1919 as compared with Rs. 27 crores during the corresponding period of 1917-18.

The total imports during the week ending 24th May 1919 of cotton piece-goods by sea from foreign countries into the ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, and Rangoon amounted to 6 million yards as against 7 million yards and 14 million yards in the corresponding period of 1918 and 1917, respectively.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Education in the C.P.

A correspondent writes to the *Pioneer* :—The two Agricultural Middle Schools to be opened this month at Chandkhuri and Powarkhera mark the beginning of what promises to be a new era of agriculture in the Central Provinces. By working through the more enterprising adult farmers the Agricultural Department has made rapid progress within recent years in stimulating their practical interest in its teaching. Millions of pounds of improved seed are now being supplied annually from seed and demonstration farms managed by tahsil agricultural associations and co-operative unions, the members of which have been induced to co-operate for the commonweal. A keen demand for new manures and improved implements has arisen ; and the silent, plodding tiller of the soil is now beginning to realise, as he never did before, the enormous possibilities there are of increasing his farming profits by adopting the improved methods of cultivation recommended by the Department.

Cattle Census

Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Peoples' Association, has addressed the following communication to the Census Commissioner for India :—It has been announced that the intention of the Government is to take another census of the people of India in 1921. My committee suggests that it would be very opportune and at the same time would lead to a considerable saving of expense if along with the census of the people in India a census of the cattle of India were taken on which the sustenance of the peoples of India in a large measure depends. Hitherto the attempts at statistics have been of a very fragmentary nature and therefore unreliable. Should such a periodic survey of the cattle be taken as urged in this communication, much useful information could be gleaned and the necessity of a separate quinquennial census as now being taken may be abandoned, leading to a

considerable saving of finance on the part of the Government. My committee would also point out how imperatively necessary such a survey is, seeing that the people of India, not only on account of their large agricultural pursuits but also because for their daily sustenance, are dependent upon the cattle scattered over the length and breadth of the country.

My committee would also prefer that the above information should be gleaned on such definite heads : (a) stock of plough and draught cattle, milch cattle, young stock, (b) slaughter of cattle and hide statistics, (c) pasture land, (d) fodder crops, (e) yield of milk. Such information would help in the gathering of correct figures and would show whether the cattle in India are deteriorating and are insufficient for the needs of the peoples of India, which in its turn would lead to measures being adopted for their upkeep and maintenance.

An Agricultural Exhibition for Jaffna

Jaffna has moved very slowly in the matter of Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions, writes the *Morning Star*, while such exhibitions have been held in many other parts of the Island. There has been talks of organising such exhibitions in Jaffna every now and then, but, as far as we are aware of, only one was held, and that, two decades ago. We are therefore glad that an exhibition is at last going to be held a year from now, and a sub-committee has been appointed to devise measures to bring it about.

Condensed Milk

Condensed milk is becoming a fairly important item on Japan's list. With the development of the dairy industry in that country, the volume of shipment is becoming larger every year. In 1915 the year's export was, roughly speaking, 147,000 *yen*, or say, £14,700, whereas this year, during the four months, January-April, no less than £19,300 worth was shipped elsewhere, and much more money and energy is being put into the business.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Anthropological Papers: Part II. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. Printed at the British India Press, Bombay.

This book is a collection of twenty papers read by Mr. Modi on various occasions before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. It fully maintains the author's reputation as an able and prolific writer on anthropological subjects. Among the particularly interesting papers included in this volume may be mentioned those on Parsee ceremonies, rites and customs, the Ancient Iranian Belief and Folklore about the Moon and the Pundits of Kashmir.

A Short History of the Mahrattas. By Upendra Nath Ball, M.A. Published by Rama Krishna and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Rs. 1-8.

This is a very useful publication intended mainly for the B.A. class students of the Punjab University. The author has evidently consulted most of the standard authorities on the subject and carefully marshalled all the relevant and material facts bearing on the rise of the great Mahratta power. Mr Ball's account of Shivaji is at once succinct, accurate and reliable. The title is somewhat misleading, for the book takes us down only to the death of Shivaji.

The Rowlett Act : Its origin, scope and object. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

This is a han'ly pamphlet containing the full text of the Rowlett Act as passed in the Council. An introduction interpreting the technicalities of the Act is also appended : but the interpretation is mainly from the point of view of those who apologise for this drastic legislation and think it altogether inoffensive and harmless.

The Years Between. By Rudyard Kipling. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.

In this volume has been collected together Mr. Kipling's poems written at intervals during the past several years. To appreciative readers of Mr. Kipling's works, this book must be welcome, as it gives a varied selection of his best literary efforts.

The Oxford History of India. By Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E. The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This book gives a comprehensive history of India from the earliest period up to the close of the year 1911. The visit of Their Majesties to India for the Delhi Durbar is also recorded. Such a concise work from this eminent historian must find a place in every library. It is amply illustrated and will be valued by students as a handbook of Indian history very much like Mr. Green's "History of the English People."

Sohrab and Rustum ; Sree and Sore-Throat. H. W. B. Moreno, Central Press, Calcutta.

The first is a dramatised version of Mathew Arnold's well-known epic: "Sree" is an episode from one of Bankim Chandra Chaterjee's novels translated by Mr. Moreno and Mr. P N. Bose ; while the third is a farce in one act written by Mr. M. Hashim Khan and Mr. Moreno. It has been played with success at Calcutta and Simla and the book has already run through three editions.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

RELIGIOUS MYSTICISM OF THE UPANISHADS. By R. Gordon Milburn, Cambray & Co., Calcutta.

THE BUSTLING HOURS. By W. Pett Ridge, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. By Joseph Davey Cunningham, Edited by H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

INTERNATIONALISM. By Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D. International Reform Bureau, Washington.

THE HOME AND THE WORLD. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

THE SILK INDUSTRY AND TRADE. By Ratan C. Rawley, M.A., M. Sc. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.

PRAYER AS A SCIENCE. By W. Wybergh, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

BENOIT CASTANI. Translated by Arthur C. Richmond, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

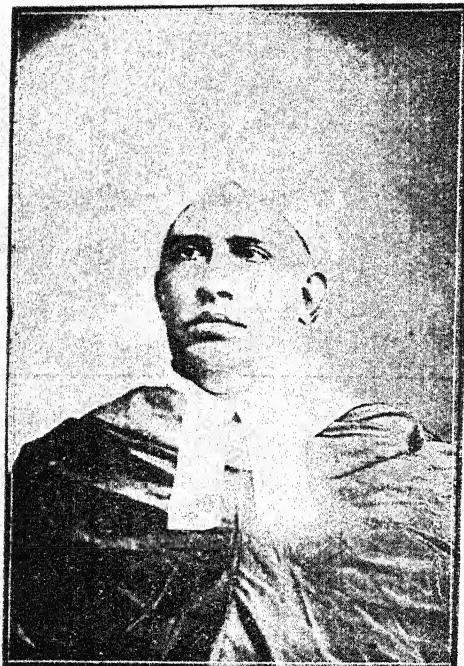
THE NEW ELIZABETHANS. By E. B. Osborn : Jane Lane, London.

A MANUAL OF DISTRICT BOARD WORK; PART I. By L. C. Sengupta, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

HAND BOOK OF PLANTAIN FIBRE AND FRUIT INDUSTRY. By J. K. Sircar, Sukchar, Bengal.

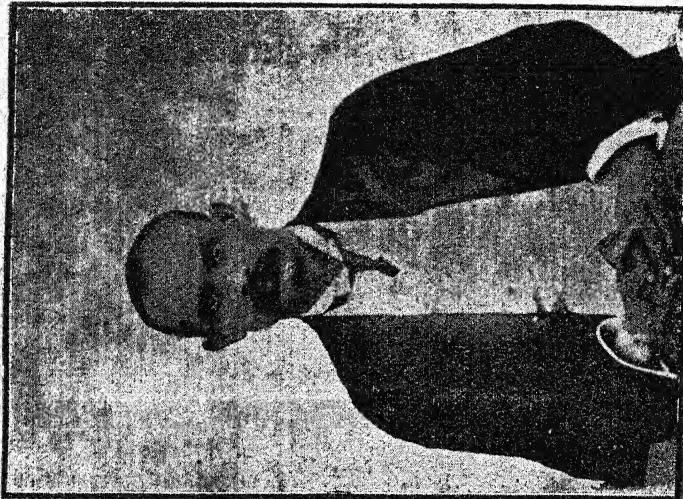
DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 21. Indian Budget. Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons.
Rumoured resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair.
- May 22. In the House of Commons Mr. Montagu announces that the Reforms Bill would be introduced in the beginning of June.
- May 23. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani is entertained at a garden party in Allahabad.
- May 24. The German Delegation delivers three fresh Notes to the Allies.
- May 25. The King to-day receives Capt. Raja Sir Hari Singh of Kashmir.
- May 26. Sir M. O'Dwyer makes over charge of his office to Sir Edward Maclagan.
- Government of India's despatch on the reform scheme is published.
- May 27. The "Bombay Chronicle" is asked to deposit Rs. 5,000 provisionally.
- May 28. Sir Michael O'Dwyer recommends abrogation of martial law in the Punjab.
- May 29. In the Commons Mr. Montagu formally introduces the Government of India Bill. The Germans hand over their reply to the Allies.
- May 30. The Indian Association, Calcutta, sends a cable to Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and Mr. B. N. Basu protesting against the Government of India despatch.
- May 31. Public meeting in Bombay presided over by Mr. Gandhi resolves to collect money towards Mr. Tilak's expenses in England.
- June 1. Sir Rabindranath Tagore renounces his Knighthood.
- June 2. Both the Proprietor and Editor of *Kathiawad Samachar* are sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.
- June 3. Pundit Malaviya is re-elected to the Vice-regal Council.
- June 4. Protest meeting in Madras against the action taken under the Press Act on the *Hindu*, and other Madras papers.
- June 5. Second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons.
- June 6. A manifesto is issued in Bombay offering co-operation with the Government in putting down lawlessness.
- June 7. Count Rantzau has handed a letter to the Peace Conference protesting against the establishment of the Rhenish Republic.
- June 8. Messrs. Shaukat and Mohamed Ali have been lodged in the Tul Jail.
- June 9. Security of Rs. 10,000 is demanded from the *Bombay Chronicle*.
- June 10. Martial law is withdrawn from the Punjab.
- June 11. A communiqué dealing with the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service is issued.
- June 12. The Social Democratic Congress at Weimar, Berlin, passes a resolution of indignation at the Entente's demands.
- June 13. The Lt.-Governor of the Punjab rejects the petition for mercy from Mr. Kalinath Roy, Editor of the *Tribune*.
- June 14. H. E. Lord Willingdon holds an informal meeting re. peace celebrations in Madras.
- June 15. A public meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, protests against the Government of India's despatch of March 5.
- June 16. The Servants of India Society celebrates its anniversary.
- June 17. The Amir's letter of reply to the Viceroy is received.
- June 18. The full text of the Reform Bill is published.
- June 19. The Viramgaum riots case is taken up before the special tribunal, Ahmedabad.
- June 20. An Order rescinding the pre-censorship of the *Bombay Chronicle* is issued.
- June 21. Protest meeting in Madras against the sentence of imprisonment on Babu Kalinath Roy.
- June 22. Sir C. H. Setalvad opens the Willingdon College at Sangli.
- June 23. The Indian Association, Calcutta, protests against the capital and transportation for life sentences in the Punjab.



SIR SANKARAN NAIR

Replying to Colonel Wedgwood, in the House of Commons on June 3, Mr. Fisher stated that Mr. Montagu had no official information, but he understood that Sir Sankaran Nair resigned because he differed from his colleagues in regard to the continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab.



JUSTICE SIR ABDUR RAHIM

A Gazette of India issued in Simla on June 6 announced the bestowal of a Knighthood on Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in honour of the King-Emperor's birthday.

THE HON. SIR ALL IMAM

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has decided upon establishing an Executive Council with Sir Syed Ali Imam as President.



Literary

Mr. Lansbury on the Ideal Paper

Speaking at St. Paul's Covent-garden, on the "Christian Witness in the Press," Mr. George Lansbury said it was impossible to serve God and the devil at the same time, the devil meaning the competitive, soul-destroying system which made men and women sell their brains for bread.

He felt very sceptical about the future of the Labour movement when he thought of its attitude towards the Press. They could not get the Labour movement to see that it ought to have a Press which would tell the truth irrespective of consequences either to the movement or individuals in it.

"If I were a millionaire," said Mr. Lansbury, "I would found a newspaper without advertisements, and without racing tips, and I would run it with a minimum of murders and divorce cases, and the very best propaganda articles I could get, and I would have both sides stated fairly."

"I would try through the medium of the newspaper to get people to make up their own minds rather than have their minds made up for them. We live in a sloppy kind of age when most of us are either too tired or too lazy to think for ourselves."

"Social conditions are as they are because people won't take the trouble to think. The function of a newspaper should be not so much to give people ideas ready made, but to stimulate thought, and enable them to form their own ideas."

Mr. Montagu and the "Chronicle"

Mr. Jinnah, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Bombay Chronicle," has cabled to Mr. Montagu denying the latter's statement in the Indian Budget speech regarding the free distribution of the "Bombay Chronicle" among British troops, which he says is absolutely without foundation. Mr. Jinnah regrets that the "Chro-

nicle" published the statement regarding the use of soft-nosed bullets during the Delhi riots and asserts that an immediate contradiction would have been published but the message from Delhi containing it was held up by the censor.

The Editor of the "Tribune"

The *Bengalee* writes:—The sentence of two years' hard labour passed on Mr. Kali Nath Roy, Editor, *Tribune*, by the Martial Law Commission has caused us the deepest regret. He had his baptism in journalism in the *Bengalee* office and we watched with keen interest the development of his faculties and powers which gave promise of a bright career. We knew him as one of the sweetest and gentlest creatures that ever trod the earth;

Mr. Asquith on Lord French's Book

Mr. Asquith made several speeches during his visit to Newcastle and in one the following occurs: I am constrained by loyalty to the memory of my lamented illustrious friend and colleague, Lord Kitchener, to correct at once the account which Lord French has given of his visit to Paris in the early autumn of 1914. It is wholly untrue to suggest that either Lord Kitchener, who was Secretary of State for War, or the Home Government contemplated or attempted gratuitous interference with the Commander in the field. The Government was seriously disquieted by communications received from Lord French as to his intentions, and the Cabinet unanimously came to important decisions for which I, as head of the Government, took and take now full responsibility. Lord Kitchener was entrusted with the duty of conveying and explaining those decisions to Lord French. The decisions were, in our judgment, the only ones which could have been taken by any responsible British Government, and I entertain no doubt that they would have had the practically unanimous support of the country. In visiting France and conferring with Lord French, Lord Kitchener performed a service of the greatest value to the country and, as events showed, with the best results.

Educational

The Indian Educational Service

In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Fisher stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of service of the Indian Educational Service had been made, though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection had just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India proposed certain provincial relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

A Research Scholarship

The Royal Society of London has awarded a research grant of £50 to Dr. Rasik Lal Datta, D. Sc., of the University College of Science, for his researches on the detonating temperatures begun jointly with Mr. Nilhar Ranjan Chatterjee M. Sc. of the Dicca College.

British Universities

We had now reached a point in educational development, said Mr. Fisher, Minister of Education, at Saddler's Hall recently at which it became clear that the Universities would be compelled to accept a larger measure of State assistance than had hitherto been afforded to them, so that they might meet the needs in certain important branches of scientific development.

Trained meteorologists were needed for aviation purposes, trained marine physicists in connection with submarines, and hydraulic engineers for the proper use of our waterways.

It was his intention, in collaboration with the Secretaries for Scotland and Ireland, to set up a committee which would distribute grants to Universities. In their administration there would be some opportunity to give counsel to the University as to what was most likely to contribute to the common-weal.

The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal

The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal (the society for the spread of knowledge) that was started in Poona in the year 1913 with the object of fostering the love of learning among the illiterate masses throughout the whole country by means of Free Reading Rooms, Free Stationary and circulating Libraries and weekly lecture series held its Triennial Election for the year 1919 to 1920 in the society's Shree Ram Free Library on Thursday the 22nd May 1919 in the evening under the Presidentship of Pro. V. K. Rajawade, M. A. when several members were elected. Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, is the President of this Society.

The School of Oriental Studies

Work of great value to the Empire has been done throughout the war by the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury-Circus. It has given extensive courses to officers in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, Swahili, and has passed out a large number of interpreters and instructed many others in the history of the peoples and the great movement of the East.

The Indian Women's University

The annual Senate meeting of the Indian Women's University was recently held in Poona, at which 32 out of 60 fellows were present. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the Chancellor of the University, presided over the first Convention and conferred the B. A. degree on the only successful candidate of the year.

Indian Students in British Universities

A Bengali lady recently took the LL. B. degree in England, while two more Indian ladies were given the Teachers' Diploma. A Kashmiri young man and also Mr. Gurumukh Singh—a younger brother of the well-known Mr. Saint Nihal Singh—both received the degree of M. Sc., in Economics in May last. Three more are now added to the list of Indian Wranglers at the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos; and two Indian students won the Natural Science Tripos.

Legal

Mr. Andrews on Kalinath Roy

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes to the *Leader* :—
 "I have received at last a copy of the full judgment given by the President of the Special Tribunal, Lahore, in Mr. Kalinath Roy's trial. I have also read through the series of articles in the *Tribune*, to which the charges formulated against him referred and on which the judgment and sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment, with a fine of 1,000 rupees, was passed. I wish to say with all the strength of my conviction, as an Englishman, that the verdict is contrary to all the ideas which I have cherished, from my youth upwards, of British freedom and justice. The unfairness of such a verdict seems to me only equal to the unfairness of refusing to allow the prisoner under trial to employ the counsel of his own choice. As there is no superior court in India to which an appeal may be made, the very serious expense must be incurred of an appeal to the Privy Council. Mr. Kalinath Roy is in extremely weak health and only with the greatest difficulty was he able to get through the heat of last summer. In addition he has recently suffered the most sad bereavement that can happen to a man in the loss of his wife. As one of his friends and admirers of many years standing, I would now very earnestly plead that funds may not be wanting for the payment of the fine imposed (if needed) and for the Privy Council appeal."

The Calcutta Bar's Protest

The following resolutions were passed by the Calcutta Bar at a meeting presided over by the Advocate-General on 19th May last :—

I. That the members of the English Bar ordinarily practising in the Calcutta High Court and in the Courts subordinate thereto respectfully protest against the recent proclamations issued by Major-General Beynor, Commanding the 16th Indian Division, and General Dobell, command-

ing the 2nd (Rawalpindi) Division, disallowing a legal practitioner whose ordinary place of business is outside the Punjab from entering the Martial Law area included in the limits of the said divisions without the permission of the Administrator of Martial Law as the said proclamations are a serious encroachment upon the rights of the public and upon the rights of the Bar the members whereof take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor and are entitled as members of the English Bar to appear in all Courts and to defend and they respectfully pray for the withdrawal of the said proclamations.

II. That the members of the English Bar ordinarily practising in the Calcutta High Court and in the Courts subordinate thereto respectfully protest against the order of the Administrator of Martial Law refusing permission to Messrs. Eardley Norton, B. Chakravarti, W. Gregory, C. R. Das, J. N. Roy, B. C. Chatterjee and J. W. Langford James to enter the Martial Law area in the Punjab to defend clients in several cases who had engaged their services as counsel and who are charged with offences punishable with death or transportation and they respectfully demand the permission necessary for the discharge of their duty as counsel.

III. That the Junior Advocate do send by wire a copy of the above resolutions to the Secretary of State for India in Council (with a copy to the Attorney-General) and to His Excellency the Viceroy (with a copy to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) and a copy to the Chief Justice of Bengal.

Martial Law Sentences.

The Indian Association has passed the following resolution :—The Committee of the Indian Association records its emphatic protest against the unduly severe sentences passed by the Martial law tribunal in several cases in the Punjab and is strongly of opinion that they will create a feeling of embitterment in the minds of the people.

Medical

How Disease Spreads

An entomologist has been at work on the Panama Canal zone investigating certain predatory insects for several months. He has discovered some new pests. One of the most interesting is a small beetle which bores into the ivory nut, one of Panama's largest exports. These nuts are used to make buttons. This beetle is no larger than a grain of wheat, but it can penetrate the tough fibre of the ivory nut which is so hard as to turn the edge of a sharp knife. A large number of other insects have been collected, including weevils and beetles, which may be spread over the world from the piers at Colon, where large cargoes are temporarily stored in transit.

Public Health Organization

Regarding the resolution on the increase of budget allotments for sanitation moved by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma in the Legislative Council on the 8th March, a grant of five lakhs has been made by the Government of India as initial grant to form a nucleus of public health fund and provision has been made for this amount in India budget estimate for 1919-20. A committee of medical men chiefly composed of public health experts met in Simla on the 23rd and 24th May to advise upon the best means of applying such fund and to consider proposals for the establishment of a central public health organisation. The proceedings of the Conference were opened by Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

Influenza

Dr. Charles Edward Nammack, an American physician, observes that uncomplicated influenza does not kill unless injudicious attempts are made to relieve pain by opiate dosing, or to reduce temperature by coal-tar products. He is convinced that every death certificate which gives influenza as a cause of death is a confession of failure to

find a complicating broncho-pneumonia. He urges that coal-tar products are responsible for more deaths than influenza. "Influenza demands isolation, ventilation, elimination, and sustentation. Only these, and nothing more." If the patient insists on more, he orders a combination of ammonium carbonate, grs. 5, to facilitate expectoration, ammonium salicylate, grs. 5, to mitigate pain with the least depressing effect, and aromatic wine of erythroxylon coca, one-half ounce as a nerve stimulant and muscle invigorator.

Merits of Sterilised Water

Some interesting facts bearing on the transmission of influenza have been collected by two U. S. Army Surgeons. The investigations covered 66,000 troops. It was proved that the catching of disease and the death rate coincided with the washing of mess utensils in unsterilised water. That is, deaths were few in the battalion in which the mess things were washed in boiling water and high in the battalion in which warm water was used for this purpose. In fact the warm water battalion became physically unfit while the hot-water battalion was composed of hardy, vigorous men. Dish-water, then, is the conveyor of disease.

How Soap Cleanses

It is generally considered that the efficacy of soap depends mainly upon its decomposition, when it is mixed with water, into all alkali and fatty acid. The alkali thus set free dissolves the grease by which the dirt is attached to the surface to be cleansed, and the water then carries off the dirt. But this is not all; the fatty acid from the soap neutralises any free alkali remaining after the loosening of the dirt and thus prevents the alkali from attacking the cleansed surface itself.

This is very important when soap is applied to the skin, and the painful effects produced by some varieties of soap are due to the fact that they possess an excess of free alkali, more than the fatty acids can neutralise.

Science

Boy Chemist's Wonderful Discoveries

We are to-day enabled to acquaint readers, writes the *Advocate of India*, with some remarkable discoveries made in the chemical world by a 17 year old lad Mr. E. E. Dutt—discoveries which are expected to revolutionise the industrial development of India in the near future.

The discovery was made in the Central Provinces a couple of years ago when the Germans were developing some of their most fiendish methods of warfare. At the request of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, who became acquainted with the discovery when the lad applied for patent, it had to be kept a profound secret during the war lest the Huns heard of it and put it into capital use against the Allies.

Young Dutt has, in addition, discovered and patented methods and processes by which pure sulphur could be manufactured from gypsum (sulphate of lime) which is plentiful in Rajputana, viz., within the states of Bikaner and Jodhpur and also in the North-West Frontier Provinces in Kalabagh and in Sind. The significance of this achievement cannot be over-rated. As stated in the records of the Geological Survey of India, a cheap supply of sulphuric acid would be the key to many new industries in India, now either non-existent or in a feeble condition. The defect could now be remedied.

The lad has also found out simple and cheap methods of manufacturing soda, and carbonate of soda and alumina and an equally cheap process of extracting potash from ordinary rocks in this country. As a fertilizer potash is largely used in Europe and America and the countries, which use them, are till now practically dependent on Germany for the supplies. Young Dutt's discovery would enable India to export potash in large quantities and successfully compete with Germany.

Acoustics of the Violin

The current issue of *Science Progress*, publishes the following appreciation of the exposition on the "Acoustics of the Violin and other Bowed Stringed Instruments" by Prof. C. V. Raman, of Calcutta :

"Helmholtz on an experimental basis was able to construct a partial theory of the bowed string. F. Kriger-Menzel and A. Raps photographed upon a revolving drum carrying a film, various points of bowed strings so as to exhibit their displacement-time-graphs. E. H. Barton and his pupils took simultaneous photographs of the behaviour of the strings and either bridge, belly, or air of a monochord or violin. But in none of the foregoing cases was a direct mechanical theory of the string, bridge, etc., attempted. This is now done by C. V. Raman. The equations of motion of the string are written and solved for the case of a periodic force applied transversely by the bow at any given position. The equations of motion of the bridge are next written and dealt with. The *modus operandi* of the bow is afterwards examined and a simplified kinematical theory of the bowed string is based upon it. This leads to a number of types of vibration—two-steps, three-steps, etc., zig-zag motions appearing in the corresponding graphs. Another interesting subject here treated is that of the effect of the mute which, by loading the bridge, enfeebles and veils the tone of the instrument. For the purpose of these tests, loads were placed at various positions on the bridge, and simultaneous curves obtained photographically of the bridge and of each of the strings in turn. The instructive results so obtained are given in two plates. Photographic reproductions are also given of simultaneous vibration curves of the belly and G-string of a violoncello when played at and near the "wolf-note" pitch, showing alternate cyclical variations of amplitude.

Personal

Sir Rabindranath and the Viceroy.

The following rather spirited letter has been sent by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore to His Excellency the Viceroy:—Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised Governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition,

the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of Knighthood, which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Swami Shraddhananda.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi, Swami Shraddhananda writes:—

“I am convinced that under the present conditions in India the civil breaking of laws without producing upheaval among the masses, for which neither you nor any Satyagrahi is morally responsible, is impossible. Hence, consistently with the views you hold, the time for the civil disobedience of laws other than the Rowlatt Act will never arise in the near future. I am further of opinion that when real tranquillity is restored in India the Rowlatt Act will have gone out and again no occasion of civil disobedience of laws on its account will arise. The result is that the actual result of my signing the Satyagraha vow formulated by you having disappeared, I beg your leave to withdraw my name from the Satyagraha Sabha founded by you. As a Sanyasi I will continue my work of the preaching and practice of the eternal principles of Dharma which include Satya, Ahimsa, and Brahmacharya also.”

Political

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's Minute

All the Nationalist papers chorus approval of Sir Sankaran Nair's masterly minute of dissent. This brings us particular joy, says the *Servant of India*, as Sir Sankaran's position is identical with the position which the Moderates have consistently taken up ever since the publication of the Reform Scheme. He in terms 'accepts' the Scheme in a general way in so far as it refers to the provinces and asks for a division of subjects in the central Government. He resists firmly any whittling down of the Reforms outlined in the Report, but it is clear that he is a warm supporter of the M. C. proposals. We notice that with regard to many of the detailed provisions of the Scheme Sir Sankaran takes the same view as this paper ventured to take against the prevailing opinion. Verily, it is when a thing is denied to you that you begin to appreciate its worth. But we cannot understand for the life of us how the Nationalists who are ecstatically enthusiastic of Sir Sankaran Nair's minute could consistently denounce the supporters of the Scheme as the very embodiment of unwisdom and pusillanimity.

Hon. Mr. Chintamani on the Punjab

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani on the eve of his departure to England said in the course of a speech at Allahabad :—

"I do not think there can be two opinions among thinking and self-respecting Indians with regard to the character of the measures that have been adopted in the Punjab during the last five or six weeks in the name of law and order. I verily believe on such information as the Punjab Government and the Martial Law authorities have enabled us to possess, and with all the inferences that we might draw, filling the gaps in that information as best we might—I verily believe—

that in that province the local Government has taken such steps that unless the whole country rings with the cry of denunciation and unless every one of your representatives who are now in England, or who will shortly be there, will make it their first duty to represent to the authorities there to exercise some control over the authorities in India, not to leave everything to that new divinity called the man on the spot, not to think that to sing the praises of the strongest Lieutenant-Governor is an adequate substitute for giving comfort and consolation to the people who are being treated in this manner, constitutional reforms or other administrative reforms will cease to have any meaning or any value in the eyes of any Indian whatsoever."

Mr. Tilak on Self-Government

At a meeting of the British and India Association at the Caxton Hall, Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., presiding, Mr. B. G. Tilak declared that the Indian movement for her dominion self-government was not anti-British, but merely anti-bureaucratic. Even to-day they did not ask for full dominion self-Government. They did not demand that the Government in India should be made responsible for India even as regards the Army, Navy and foreign affairs; which they definitely reserved to the Government of India as at present constituted, that was responsible not to the people of India, but to the people of Great Britain. They asked for responsible Government only in domestic affairs.

Burma Reform Scheme

The Burma Reforms League, an offshoot of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, has expressed disapproval of the revised Craddock Reform Scheme as opposed to public opinion and in direct conflict with legitimate national aspirations and has decided to send a deputation to England if branches and other Associations support. Funds are to be collected for the expenses of the deputation.

General

British Labour Manifesto

The well-known Labour Leaders, Messrs. Robert Williams, Robert Smillie and George Lansbury, have issued the following appeal :—

India which contains 315 millions of human beings, is at present ruled by a handful of officials whose gross incompetence and ignorance have brought these peaceful, law-abiding people to the verge of open, undisguised revolution. Indians ask the same rights, the same duties, the same recognition as Serbia, Poland, and other small European peoples. The bureaucrats of India reply with a Coercion Act which robs Indians of all freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of public meeting. Indians are unarmed, yet they are bombed from aeroplanes and shot down by machine guns. We cannot believe our countrymen and women understand these things ; neither do we think they realise that these autocratic methods place in jeopardy the lives of thousands of British men, women and children. We, therefore, ask you to join us in our protest against the bombing and shooting of unarmed men and women, and in our demand for a public enquiry into these outrages, the complete withdrawal of the Coercion Bills, and the immediate introduction of Self-government, giving to the millions of Indians the same rights as are enjoyed by Canada, Australia, and Africa.—*India.*

India and the War

In the House of Commons, Mr. Fisher stated that including the hundred million war contribution, the war expenditure of the Government of India to the 31st March was about £127,800,000. The Indian Princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 in cash, besides considerable sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

Passive Resistance

A manifesto issued on the 6th June by a number of well-known citizens of Bombay states :— Viewing with horror and detestation the atrocious deeds of lawlessness recently committed in certain parts of this presidency and elsewhere in India, we desire to make public expression of our resolve to perform our duty as loyal citizens of the Empire and to stand by and support the Government of Bombay in the primal duty of all Governments, the maintenance of civil law and order. We dissociate ourselves at the outset from the pernicious doctrine of active disobedience or even passive resistance to civil law which has been sedulously promulgated throughout the presidency of late among ignorant people and we bind ourselves to combat those doctrines as far as possible by every means in our power. Finally we pledge ourselves to assist Government by word and deed in the preservation of order. We make this declaration in response to an address made to us by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in his speech of the 16th April last wherein he appealed to all leading citizens to make clear their determination to uphold the cause of law and order and to trample under foot the twin demons of lawlessness and disorder.

India and Double Income-tax

At a recent meeting of the Royal Commission on Income-tax in London, Sir C. McLeod stated that double income-tax reacted adversely upon the Indian Exchequer and retarded the development of India's natural wealth and staple industries, because her trade and commerce were largely financed by British capital. The income arising from India should not be taxed by the British Exchequer. Sir Charles McLeod suggested that there should be no British taxation of profits of companies operating solely in India or the Dominions. Distribution of any tax should be negotiated between "the Mother Country and the Dominions.